### AN

## INSTITUTION

O F

# General History:

OR THE

# HISTORY

OFTHE

# WORLD.

### The FOURTH PART.



#### CONTAINING

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The Original and Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards and Franks in Italy: the Affairs of Britain; the Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, their Heptarchy; the Monarchy of the English Saxons, that of the Danes, with its end in reftoring of the English Saxon Line down to that of William the Norman, with the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use.

#### AND ALSO

That of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire, from the Promotion of Nicephorus to the Death of Constantine Ducas XII. A. D. MLXVII. being the
Year after the Conquest of this Nation by Duke William the Norman.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL. D. fometime Fellow of Magdalen College in Cambridge.

L O N D O N,

Printed for the Author's Widow by Miles Flesher, MDCLXXXV.

The High and Mighty PRINCE

# JAMES II.

KING of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

GREAT SIR,

MONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Addrefs themselves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchsafe to permit a desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Presence to Congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms, by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title, both by right of Succession to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and also by designment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book To His Royal Highness JAMES the Duke of York, which I now most humbly offer To the Sacred Majesty of King JAMES the Second.

Whom I befeech the King of Kingslong to preferve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Posterity in the History of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject.

Mary Howel.

### PREFACE

TO THE

## READER

Giving an Account of this VOLUME.

THICH contains the History of the Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy to the Conquering thereof by the Goths, then their Original and Kingdom to the Destruction and Ruine thereof by Narses the Roman General and the coming in of the Lombards, with the Original and Kingdom of them down to the Conquering of it by Charles King of the Franks. who Governed there, and was Crowned Emperour by Leo Bishop of Rome: Next the Affairs of Britain from the departure of the Romans out of the Island to the Destruction thereof, and forcing the Inhabitants into the Mountainous places by the Picts, Scots and Saxons: the Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes that seized on this Land, their Heptarchy, which was united in the Monarchy of the English Saxons, and carried on till Conquered by the Danes, their Original and Kingdom here to its end, in reforing of the English Saxon Line to the end thereof, being Conquered by Duke William the Norman, giving an Account of the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use, taken from the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks suitable to the nature and usefulness of such an Undertaking.

With the Constantinopolitan Roman Affairs from the Deposing of Irene and Promotion of Nicephorus (where the Third Part ends) to the Death of Constantine Ducas XII. Ann. Dom. MLXVII. being the year after the Conquest of Duke William the Norman, setting forth the several Actions, Polities, Laws and things of Moment du-

### The Preface to the Reader.

ring the Reign of each Emperour, with such Kingdoms as fell off from the Roman power and protection, and those that started up to the terrour of it and all its Neighbours, all linked together in such manner and method as never was yet Extant, being the Labour and Study left under his own hand in Writing by the Authour, whereof we have been Eyewitnesses,

H. London. Tho. Roffen. Sv. Patrick, D. D. Will. Denton, M.D. Rich, Ashfeild, Gent.

AN

Odoacer King I. of Italy and Rome.

# INSTITUTION General History:

The Hiltory of the World.

The Fourth Part.

### BOOK I.

Of fuch Kingdoms and Principalities as were Founded by Barbarous Nations in the Late Roman Provinces now contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

### CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards and Franks Erected in Italy.

### SECT. I

The Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy,

The Space of Eighteen years.

DOACER King of the Heruli and Iurciling having, as we have formerly shewn, Conquered and destroyed Orests, and deposed Augustulus his Son, became Master of Italy, and of Rome, formerly the Mistres of the World, which hereby was also degraded, to gether with Augustulus, the Imperial Diadem being plucked from her Head, and the Robe torn from about her Shoulders. The Conquerour viewing the Remains of her Ancient Majesty, and contemplating the Lines of that Beauty wherein she had surpsided all Rivals, as much as the Light of the Moon doth that of the objects and fruighting Serse, was confined and amazed, could facreely

of the obscure and twinkling Stars, was confounded and amazed, could scarcely believe what he had done, or where he was; and confcious of the Extravagan-cy of his own Fortune, as well as of the vicifitude of humane Affairs in geSect. I. neral, durst not, it feems, be so bold as to take up and assume the Imperial Enfigns which now lay at his Feet, but contented himself with an Inferiour Dignity. Thinking the Imperial Robe now to be threadbare or infected with some deleterious Quality, which of late had fuffered none to wear it long, though he might have chosen another, which by its newness might have been both warm and fafe, yet he onely changed the Imperial for Royal, the Title of Emperour for the more modest and less envied one of King of Italy, refusing utterly all Enfigns of Royal Majesty. The Ancient Lady in her great affliction was pleafed to fee this humility in a barbarous Robber, comforted her felf with the good Fortune of her Daughter, which still in the East retained her Imperial Dignity; she purposed to remove lower down towards the River, and quit those feven Hills on which she had been so much and so often exposed to Northern Blasts, and she had thoughts of taking another Course, which should be honourable as well as the former, gain her more applause and more suitable to her Age, and the Gravity of her present Aspect, to change the Title of Prince for that of Priest, and the Imperial Diadem for a Pontifical Miter.

2. Our new King of Italy as he thought to establish a new Kingdom, which should call him Founder, so of fixing the Seat thereof at some new Place, and of thillding a new City which he intended to call after his own Name TakesCourses Odoacria. But either finding the Vanity of this Project, or being diverted from it by greater Cares, he took other Courses, for securing his Interest. The Goths Vide Signing which had been called into Italy by Valentinian, to defend the Countrey against de Occidenthe Hunnes, he endeavoured to oblige by bestowing on them those Lands which tall Imperior formerly, but ineffectually, had been promifed them. He granted to Eurich, King of the Visegoths, that part of Gall lying betwirt the Alpes and the River Rhodanus, and onely remaining under the Authority of the Romans. With Gundobade King of the Burgundians he made a League and Alliance. On the Italians he laid Taxes and Impolitions sufficient to maintain an Army against foreign Invasions. Then to prevent intestine broils, he deprived the Roman Senate of its ancient Authority, and took away at first the use of Confuls, that he might diminish the Roman Spirit and Courage, by abolishing such Rites as put them in mind of the great Performances of their Ancestours. As to other matters, he retained the old Names and Offices of Magistracy, and maintained the Church in its ancient Rights and Immunities. When he had done these things, and as he thought laid lasting Foundations of his new Dominion, he lest Rome to the Go-He fixes his vernment of Bafilius the Prefect and Patritian, and removed his Court to Raven-

Seatat Raven- na. There he had not been long fetled, when Zeno the Emperour, hearing how his matters succeeded, envied his good Fortune, grudged him his new Possessions, and utterly refused to own, acknowledge or ratifie his Kingly Title to Italy.

Such therefore was the Reverence as yet born to the Imperial Name; that this got him the Repute of an Usurper, a Tyrant and an unlawfull Prince; which made him enter into new Councils for strengthning himself, and add Fear and Awe to that Love which hitherto he had especially desired to gain from his Hepute to Subjects. For an Example of terrour he put to death at Ravenna Brachilus a Codeath Brachi- mes, who fome fay spurned against his Government. Hereby it was perceived that he knew his measures, and understood how to manage his Affairs, and thereupon he began both to be feared and respected at home and abroad; insomuch that Genserich King of the Vandals in Africk defired his Friendship, and to obtain it granted Sicily to him to be held in Tribute.

3. Odoacer, as we faid, refused to name any Conful for the West, and it happened for feveral years that fometime one fingle one was created in the East, and sometime there was none at all. The Italians resented it, that by the willfulness of their present Master, they should be deprived of that highest Office of He makes Ba- Magistracy and Honour, and therefore to please them, he preferred Bafilius the Prefect to that Name and Dignity, which he also executed without a Collegue, in the year of our Lord CCCCLXXX, in the seventh of the Emperour Zeno, and the fifth of Odoacer. Now was it five years fince Julius Nepos, being deposed from the Empire of the West, lived quietly in Dalmatia by the knowledge and approbation of Odoacer, who wished him all repose and security imaginable. But at this time Viator and Ovida, who had the Title of Comites, bearing him malice, circumvented him at his Countrey-house, set upon him and murthered him. Odoacer whether acted by generofity of Nature, or by Jealoufie, and apprehension of so evil an Example, took it in great Dislain, and the year following, for which he named *Placidius* Consul, sent some Forces against them, and

He put Ovida having easily overcome them put Ovida to death. This fame year the Inhabi- Sect. I. to death for tants of Liguria complained to him by Epiphanius Bishop of Pavia, that Pelagius of julias No. the Præfectus Prætorio had doubled the Impositions upon the Countrey. By the Intercession of the said Bishop they obtained a Relaxation, and this Prelate having bestowed much cost and pains in repairing the Churches formerly ruinated

in his City by the Wars, obtained also of Odoacer a Remission of Tributes for five years, as an incouragement to the Citizens to rebuild their Private-Houses. 4. After this, Odoacer found an occasion for employing his Arms, and it was Odoacer con-

ques the Ru- against the Rugi a Northern People. He did it with such success, as we are told, that he took Prisoner Phabas their King, together with his Wife, and led them in triumph to Rome; but Frederick their Son made his Escape, and went to Theodorich King of the Oftrogoths, who then lay in Masia, and by this time

had his thoughts fo much upon Odoacer and Italy, that he prefently shewed they were very ferious and active. This Theodorich had been some time in Zeno's Court at Constantinople, and was, it's faid, highly honoured by him, infomuch that he made him Confet, and not long after he took a resolution to invade Italy. But as to the Inducement there are two different Affertions. The one is of

those who affirm that Zeno had always a great Kindness for Theodorich, and freely granted Italy to him to reign there, after he should have driven out Two several the Heruli with Odoacer their King. The other makes Theodorich to have pinions as to been ingratefull towards the Emperour, from whom he endeavoured to wrest the Empire of the East, to have brought into danger the City of Constantinople by Fire, and burnt many other Places. Having missed of his Aims there. he turned himself upon Italy, envying the prosperous Estate of Odoacer, who had lately overthrown the Rugi. From what Euagrius writes, one may guess

that Zeno was not always his friend; but what should be the occasion is uncertain. Eustathius an Historian it seems laid the blame upon the Emperour, and Marcellinus on Theodorich. The Writers that were his Countrymen will have him fent by the liking, well withes, and incouragement of Zeno: we shall prefent the Reader with the Story cloathed with fuch Circumstances as we find it

5. Whilst Theodorich therefore solaced himself with the Pleasures of Zeno's Court, his Oftrogoths lived at a quite different Rate, being by a League tied up from making any Depredations in the Roman Dominions; and not fufficiently His Army mu. provided for by the pay which the Emperour had agreed to give them, They curse the League, cry out against their King's Alliance, and to Constantinople they fend Messengers, who with tears in their Eyes complained to him of the Poverty

and Necessities to which they were reduced, and defire him to quit those pleasures wherein he had intangled himfelf, and, if he regarded his own Interest, and their Preservation, to return to them with speed; for else they must enter into some new Course, and seek out other Habitations. Now say the Gothick Historians. and those that follow them, Theodorich moved herewith betook himself prefently to Zeno, to whom he laid open the fad Estate of his Countrymen, and told him that feeing Italy was overrun by the Turcilingi and Rugi, and Rome the late Mistress of the World, and ancient Seat of the Empire, was now inflaved to the Heruli; if he pleased to give him order to redeem and recover it out of their Hands, he would doe his utmost endeavour, and therein employ his idle and indigent Oftrogoths. If he should accomplish his Designs, the Honour and Renown would belong, as due, to his imperial Majesty; and if he miscarried, he

would be rid of fo many Stipendiaries, and fave his money in his Coffers. This Zeno heard with Trouble, being very unwilling to part with him, but as well to give him content, as in Compliance with the publick Interest, he gave him leave, and dismissed him with great presents, to his designed Expedition.

6. Thus writes Fordanus the Goth from the relation of Cassiodorus, or out of respect to his Countrymen, and such as follow him. But Sigonius, all relations confidered, eloseth with that of Marcellinus, that Theodorich now satisted with the Honours and Favours heaped upon him, confented to the Petition of his Countrymen, and returning into Mæsia made war upon the Emperour, whilst his men were fresh, and their appetites were sharpned by the prevalent Power of necessity, and expectation. He marched as far as Constantinople and Melanthias, and wasting the Countrey round about returned to Novæ a Town of Mæsia, from which he had fet forth. At this time Odoacer, being told that Frederick the Son of Phobas, or Feleseus, King of the Rugi, was after his flight returned home into his own Countrey, fent Onulas his Brother with a strong party of men against him. Hereupon Frederick me able to endure the shock retired to Novæ, and made his

Sect. 1. application to Theodorich. Onulfus easily conquered the Rugi, whom he constrained to pass into Italy, and then the Lombards under Conduct of Gudeach their Onulfure King feized on their Countrey. Zeno all this while, as Sigonius tells you, was moves the Rehighly fentible of the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered without the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich, but prudently confidered with the Affront done him by Theodorich wi there was no dealing roughly with fuch a Spirit; and therefore in the year when Dinamius and Siphodius were Confuls, or the CCCLXXXVIII of Our Lord, he wrote to him most loving Letters, and kindly invited him to return to Court. Theodorich, if thou wilt look into it, Reader, notwithstanding all the Mischief he had done, closed with his invitation, went to Constantinople, and there excused his Mildemeanours by that necessity to which his Goths had been reduced. Zeno was as ready to give as he was to ask Pardon, and to grant him any other thing for the employment of his Men, and the raifing of his own Fortunes. Animated by this Reception, he moved the Conquest of Italy to him, using fuch Arguments as we formerly mentioned, inculcating that it would be more feemly, that he his faithfull Servant, and his Son, should possess that Countrey; than Odoacer keep the Senate and Common-wealth in flavery. Zeno to free Illyricum from the Goths was very willing he should try his Fortune, and by an Authentick Writing passed Italy over to him, bestowed on him a sacred Cap, and recommending to him the Roman Senate and People gave him leave to depart and begin his Journey.

Theodorich O-

7. Theodorich and his Goths were ready for their march, when an unexpected Accident diverted them, and for some time retarded their Expedition. Transilla King of the Gepidæ, and Busa of the Bulgari either jealous of his growing greatness, or solicited by Odoacer, who desired to remove the danger from his own Doors, indeavoured to crush his Design by falling upon him on a sudden, when he little expected fuch Treachery. Yet was he not at all daunted with the great danger which impended, but boldly attaching them when they were divided, in one ingagement overthrew Tranfilla, and in another battel defeated the Bulgari, a fort of People newly come out of Scythia. Animated by his Success as an Omen of his future Grandeur, with greater vigour he prepared for his Italian voiage, and when all things were ready, fet forth from Mafia in the middle of Winter, in the Confulship of Probinus, and Eusebius in the CCCCLXXXIX year of Our Lord, as is evident from the Chronicon of Cassiodorus who lived at this time, though Sigonius casts this Expedition into the following year. From Massia the whole Multitude of Oftrogoths removed with their Wives, Children and Baggage, and travelling through Syrmium and Pannonia, came by Land to the Borders of Italy, tavades Raly, for they had no Ships to transport them in the nearest passage. Proceeding as far as the River Sontius which runs not far from Aquileia, they there made a hault and incamped, because of the convenience of pasture. Here Odoacer presented himself on the farther fide, refolving to stop their progress, and for that purpose he secured the Bridge, where at this day is feen a Town called Goritia. But notwithstanding all he could doe, Theodorich forced his way over, and presently giving him battel drove him back into his Camp, which to storm he made all Preparations. Odeacer perceiving his Intentions, and that he was unable to maintain it, quitted the place, and taking advantage retired to Verona, for there was no Fort nor Garrison near at hand; the Devastations made by Attila not being yet repaired. Whilst he was thus employed in defending his Borders against the Goths, Gundobade the King of the Burgundians, pretending he was circumvented in a League made with him, took the Advantage now offered, and invading Liguria and Emilia, wasted and plundered the Countrey; then hearing of Theodorich his Success and Progress, he hastily retreated with his Booty into Burgundy.

8. Theodorich having taken order for fecuring the Borders, as he faw agreeable to his own Interest, followed Odoacer, and fate down before Verona. Odoacer had by this time rallied his dispersed Forces, and recruited them so with new Levies, that seeming to himself as able to graple with him as before, he came out of the Town and gave him battel; wherein he was again overthrown with great again, and flaughter of his Men, and forced to betake himself to his heels; and a great number of his Soldiers, which escaped the Fight, took the River Athesis in desperation and haste, and were swallowed by the Floods. Verona was quickly delivered by the trembling Citizens to the Conquerour, who made no stay in the A third time. Town; but still pursued Odoacer, and near the River Abdua forced him the third time to ingage, with the same Success as formerly. Odoacer in so great Straits yet comforted himself a little in the City of Rome, of which if he continued Master, he hoped he might maintain his Reputation, and Otter endure the shock

of Fortune, which he would fain believe could not be lasting, it was so violent Sect. 1. Odoscer kept and fevere. He refolved therefore to hasten thither, but when he came he found out of Rome the Gates fast locked and bolted, and the Walls manned against him, the Senate and People some think having intimation of the Emperour's pleasure concerning Theodorich. Inraged at this Repulse, he burnt and demolished as much of the Suburbs as the time would give him leave, and then made for Ravenna as his last Refuge. This City also one Libitta kept for Theodorich, and lay incamped before it for that purpose. But Odoacer acted by the indignation as well as extreme Necessity of his Affairs, resolved to drive him from his Post, and after a sharp conflict, wherein many perished on both sides, he slew Libitta, and took both his Camp and Ravenna, which he entred on the tenth of July. Here he labours to fortifie himself, when in the mean time Theodorich marches to Milan, which having got into his hands without much trouble, a great part of the Italian Soldiers there came to wait on him as the true and rightfull Lord of Italy. Amongst

others was Epiphanius Bishop of Pavia, whom he received with great respect. 9. Here when he feemed to have conquered the greatest Difficulties, and to have arrived almost at the pitch of his good Fortune, an untowardly Accident plucked him by the fleeve, and put him in mind of the Inconstancy of humane Affairs. For his Italians, who so lately came to acknowledge him for their Prince and Sovereign, perswaded by one Tuffa a man of Consular Dignity, revolted again to Odoacer; which struck him with great terrour and amazement, and caused him to quit Milan, in the fidelity and strength whereof he could not so much rely, and go to Pavia, where he thought he could better fecure himself Odoger besie- and his Friends. Odoger takes the opportunity, and sits down before the Town. guismin Pa- Epiphanius the Bishop labours all he can to compose the Disserence, and procure one but nise such Prisoners to be restored as were taken on both sides, without Ransome. Now whether by his Ghoftly Counfel Odoacer was moved, or rather discouraged

by the Valour and Success of the Goths whom Heaven seemed to savour, he raifed his Siege and marched back to Ravenna. Theodorich spirited asresh by so acrin Raven unexpected a Retreat, resolved not to trifle in that manner with his Fortune. and flight his opportunities, but leaving the Women and Baggage at Pavia followed the Enemy to Ravenna, which he blocked up in three feveral Places, not being well able for the fituation to get up and florm it. For the City lying two Furlongs distance from the Sea is hardly accessible on any part: the Haven full of Rocks and Shallows, the ground about it fenny and waterish, as well by the flowing in of the Sea, as Rivers taking their Course thorough it. Therefore Theodorich took up one Post at Pinetus three Miles from the Town, placed another Party at Palatiolum, and had a third Guard at the Bridge of Candidianus, waiting for fuch opportunities as the Siege should produce. Odoa:er perceiving he was over matched in Valour and Conduct, if not in numbers, was unwilling to make any Sallies, yet constrained to doe something for his Reputation, he iffued out, and fell upon the Party lying at the Bridge, where he was fo warmly received, that he found it expedient to make a quick retreat into the City. Theodorick foreseeing, that the Siege was likely to be drawn out in length, would not fpend all his time in fo lazy an employment, but leaving fufficient Guards to maintain his Posts, marched to other Towns possessed by Taker Arimi- the Enemy, became Master of them, and having taken Ariminum, improved the Advantage offered him thereby of stopping all Provisions from being carried by Sea to Ravenna. These things got him such Reputation, that Gundamund King of Africk, (the Successour of Hunerich that Arian Persecutour who was eaten up of worms) fent Ambassadours, made peace with him, and left off wasting

Sicily, which he had invaded. 10. The Siege was carried on very gently; few confiderable Acts of Hostility intervening, onely light skirmishes which the Besieged made to exercise his men, and tire out the Enemy, till Theodorich returned from his Expedition against the other Cities. Having taken them all, Cafarea excepted, which Odoacer had furnished with a very strong Garrison, he returned to his former Post at Palatiolum, on the twenty ninth of August, and removing his Family thither from Ticinum or Pavia vigorously renewed the Siege. Hereby Odoacer was so straitned for want of Provisions, that having made many ineffectual Sallies, at last, armed by Necessity and Desperation, in the silence of the Night he led out his whole Army, which Theodorich was not so negligent as not to perceive, and therefore drew his Forces together, and made himself ready to receive him. Here evidently appeared what influence Necessity and Passions have upon humane Actions. Such as formerly

Sect. I. were not able to receive a charge from the Goths, now bow them all down before them, Diver to his heels, and fly amain towards his Camp. Hither when he came, his Mother pre-Camp by Odo fented her felf in the Gate with intention to Stop him, asked him whither he was going, and told him there was no place of lafety for him, except the should take up her Clothes, and receive him into that part from whence he was brought forth into the World; with these words he was both ashamed and irritated to fuch a Degree, that rallying as many of his Men as he could get together, he charged the Enemy with fuch violence, that he drove him back into the Town,

and reinforced the Siege as strong as ever. 11. Now were all the Difficulties and Hardships, which usually attend a tedious League, renewed both to those without and them within: in the City great sterility bordering upon extreme Famine, in the Camp weariness and Impatience contracted by fo many fruitless labours and skirmishes. The Bishops fail not to interpole their Indeavours for an amicable composure; through their Intercession Messages are sent from both sides, and at length, at the desire of Theodorich, Odoacer consents that he shall reign with him in equal Authority and Power as King An Agreement also of Italy. Hereupon on the twenty seventh of February the Siege is raised, and that they shall Theodorich entring Ravenna lived friendly and peaceably with Odoacer his Collegue for some little time. But then he grew weary of that Fellowship, of which the Throne is wont to be impatient, and having invited him to a Feast, when he demanded his share configned to him by the League, pretending some Conspiracy

Odorer flain, against his own Person, he caused him to be flain together with his Son and the Principals of his Friends, about seventeen years after the Deposing of Augustulus, A. D. CCCCXCIII. Procopius plainly writes that he was treacherously flain, but Cassiodorus and Jordanus seem to make it more than a pretence of Theodorich. Nay the \* former says that Odoacer did really plot against his life, and the † lat- \*He con ter barely relates that he put him to death. But the one was in great favour with Thoughning him, and executed the place of Secretary in his Court, though a fober and grave Remembers, and the other being a Goth, and his Countryman might be cautious of grafin Olds. Writer; and the other being a Goth, and his Countryman might be cautious of crem miles. faying any thing which might reflect upon his Nation. But Odoacer so died, and rem spinish Theodorich eafily made himself Master of Italy, whose Government we are now distinction to relate. But forasmuch as the Goths made now, and had made such a noise has live priand buftle in the World, had done fuch things, made fuch Conquests and founded feveral Kingdoms, its highly requifite that we premife fomething concerning the Original and first Motions of this People, taking in also those of other Northern Nations in the way as they fitly present themselves. For out of the North they swarmed like so many Vultures, Kites and other Birds of Prey, fell upon the Eagle, and after fore bickering, having spoiled him of his Western Plumes, at length outed him of the Ness it self, and so held it and the Regions about it, till

a Cock of generous breed, though also of Northern extraction, cleared Italy and

other Countries of them, and trimming himself with the Western Plumes, setup,

and was owned, for a Western Eagle.

CHAP. I.

### SECT. II.

## The Original of the Goths and other Barbarous Nations, that invaded and seized Italy.

HE Northern Clime out of which these Goths and others derived their Sect. II Descent, who invaded the Southwestern Parts of the Roman Empire, the Gaths and was that Tract of ground which the Ancients thought an Island, but fince has been found to be a Peninsula. known but the Nations of the Roman Empire, been found to be a Peninjula, known by the Names of Scandinavia, Scandia, Scanza, Scanzia and Scantia, because the Inhabitants made use of high vide Gratia and fleep Rocks in the Room of Castles which they called Scanzen, to which Professionan and fleep Rocks in the Room of Castles which they called Scanzen, to which Professionan the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of Scandinavia in Hiller. Sea when the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of Scandinavia in Hiller. Sea when the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of Scandinavia. The Greeks called it Baltia from the inward Sea, for an Irruption of the Sea dalarum, Ge. it fignifies; and Procopius thought it to be Thule. It's a great space of ground compassed on the North, and the East by the Sea; and the Bosnick Bay and the Baltick Sea sence it on the West and South; as also by Rivers which pour

themselves out into the Botnick Bay, and the Russian or white Sea.

2. Tacitus placeth two Kingdoms in this Tract, viz. of the Sucones and the

Sittones. The former are also variously called Suiones, Suethani and Suethidi. by our English Writers Suedi and Suethedi, by others Suithona, homines Suetici. and Sueci worst of all. The Sueones or Suethi were so called as laborious and getting doms therein their livings by the sweat of their brows; and the Sittones, on the contrary; from a ot the sucones fitting sedentary or idle Course of Life, The Kingdoms were divided by the Mountain Seno fo named from the feven Hills; and the Countrey of the Sittones was called Norwegia or Nordwege because situate to the North. After Tacitus his time other Nations might peirce themselves into Scanzia, as did the Heruli and Rugi, and afterwards the Dani who had been a Colony of the Suedi, but retained and possessed themselves of part of the Countrey not long before Justinian's time, Procopius and Jornandes being the most ancient Writers that mention them, and the latter faying that they drove the Heruli out of the Seats which they had possessed in Scanzia. Now besides the Sueenes and Sittones, several other People are found to have been Inhabitants of Scanzia, as the Goths which Ofriguits and from their Habitations Eaftward and Weltward, carried the Names of Ofriegeths Wilrigats. and Weltwards. by the Latines corruptly called Vilameth. That Latines corruptly called Vilameth. and Westrogoths, by the Latines corruptly called Visigothi. They had the Name of Goten or Guten, which fignifies Good, from Strangers for their great humanity to fuch as they entertained. That the Goths inhabited Scanzia is evident from all

forts of Writers and other Testimonies, and there had their Name, as other People for their inhumanity to Strangers received contrary appellations, as the Zuadi Witti and Thaifali. Of the Goths other Nations descended, or were the same with them, and from fome Accidents received other Names as the Longobards, and Wandals. And these Names they took after the Migrations of those Scanzian Nations which they made far and wide, and thereby made themselves so considerable as to be known both by their old and new Names, and much more by the Effects of their victorious Arms.

3. For their first Motion or Expedition we are in the dark, and as in the Originals of all Nations, some truth is involved in many and great Fictions and Poetick Romances, fo we may probably conjecture in this of theirs. One flory we are to mention, because a late learned and ingenious Writer hath taken much Sheringham pains to make it probable. And it hangs upon this hinge of Truth, that the de Origina Goths or Getes in most ancient times out of Scandia made Inroads not onely into Geneis Anglathe Ghersonesus, the Islands of the Baltick Sea and the more Northern Parts of rum. Germany, but into several Parts both of the Asian and European Sarmatia, and Scythia, whence driving out the Inhabitants they there feated themselves, as well as in Thrace and feveral other Provinces. Upon this Foundation the Northern Writers raise particular stories, which we cannot tell how to call false as to the main of them, but are very Romantick in their Circumstances. As into other Regions, they say the Goths pierced (in very old time it must be) into that Part of the Afian Scythia where there was a City afterward called by them Afgard,

the Inhabitants whereof Afgardiani are by some thought the same with those whom the Greeks knew by the Name of Aspurgiani, both forts of Authours placing them near to the Lake Maotis, where the River Tanais with great fury A Colony our empties himself into it. Some think Ptolemy the Geographer called the City by the to Affardia, very Name of Affard or Affard. The Countrey in which it stood was in a peculiar way called Afia by Strabo, and the People Afei and Afiotæ by other Writers, being also called Turca whom Mela makes the same with the Tyrsageta, those whom at present we call Tarks, having long time after entered into those quarters after they were deserted by the Goths, upon their return back into Europe. These Aspurgiani had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of Scythia within Imaus, where the Aufones, Syebi and Iotæ Inhabited, whom Strabo comprehends under the very Name of Aspurgiani.

Wonderfull

4. Of this Afgardia or Afpurgia in process of time was King one Othin, who had many other Names, according to the feveral Gothick Dialects, but that whereby he is commonly known is Woden, from which the third day of the week is called Wodensday. Now most wonderfull things are said of this Woden, no more Famous and Romantick stories being told of any Heroe. What wonderfull Power he had in Magick in transforming himself and other things, is not fit here to be related; his ways of enchanting were peculiar. Of his Government fine things are told; as also his Acts and Conquests in the Eastern and Northern Parts are celebrated, he being faid to be Lord of that part of Scythia lying toward the South. At what time the Romans grew terrible to the World, by his Magick knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the World, he committed to his two Brothers Ve and Velir, the Government of Algardia, and went into Russia, whence he proceeded into Saxony, and thence into Gothia Suetica or Suethland. The Prince of this Countrey was one Gyluo, by whose consent he and his followers planted there. Here, by his Inchantments, Rhimes and Songs, he did such incredible things, that his Name became famous and reached all Countries, and afterward the Suedi and other Northern Nations facrificed to him and his twelve Affistants, which he chose to keep him in Magical Rites and Government, and wickedly paid to him their Duty and Devotion which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone.

5. Now to make a Judgment of this Story, it is very probable that some famous ment is to be Man or Menthere was of this Name, which indeed became wonderfully revered by the Northern and other German Nations. These Countries, as is observed and is fufficiently evident, have been much given to Magick and Inchantments, Charms and Tricks, many Monuments of their ancient Places of Burial, with their Runick Inscriptions sufficiently testifying enough of this matter at this very day. That some of the Goths were called Turca we hear, and it is not improbable, that in this return out of those Scythian Quarters some retained this Name, though the reason of it was in the dark. For in the County of Lincoln upon the River Trent, a few Miles from Gainsborough, there is a Town now called Torksey, which the Saxons in their Language knew by the Name of Turkefigga or the Island of Turks. In the Northern Countries many places bear the Name of Woden. It is not utterly to be neglected, that the Removals and Travels of the Goths, out of the more Northern Parts into Germany, and the adjacent Islands are said farther to be made out, both by the Inscriptions in Runich Characters, which are extant both in the faid Islands and in Sueden, as well as by the Annalists of these Quarters. Moreover great Pillars were in Sueden not long fince to be feen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in Memory of their Worthies, which had lost their Lives in Greece, Thrace or other places. It's believed by fome that from Woden, and his Companions who were Scythians, Suedia came to be called Nova Scythia, and the Inhabitants of the Chersonesus or the Cimbri to be termed by the Greeks, Celtoscythæ, being first known to them by the Name of Cimmerii, and why by this? but that because they were first in Scythia called Cimmerii, and into Germany and those parts travelled from the Bosphorus Cimmerius.

6. To be fure the People inhabiting Scandia, had those of the fame Names with themselves, living in the Scythian Regions, and which must necessarily be deduced from the fame Original. That those three severally denominated People which invaded and conquered this our Island were of Scandian Original, none can doubt, viz. the Jutes, Gutes or Getes ( the same with the Goths ) the Angli and Saxons; and from Ptolemy the Geographer it appears, that in Scythia or Cimmeria there were three several People which were known by these very Names. He

speaks of Iota lying upon the Sea of the Rhiminii. Of the Sasones under the Masfran and Alan Mountains. And though by name he mentions not the Angles, yet the Suebi he doth, or Suevi, part of which Nation the Angli are rationally thought to have been, being so called from the Angle or Corner on which they seized in Germany. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Northern Parts of Germany at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of Woden, that before the time of his Expedition no fuch Names as these do occur in Northern Writers, but after they became famous, especially the Saxons. In the Sacogothick Annals, those of Norway and Denmark, the memory of them flourishes; but amongst the ancient Greek and Roman Writers the Saxons are known, as also the Jutes by the Name of Cimbri, though the Suebi by that of their own. In Sarmatia, and especially in Livonia are many Towns, the Names of which are Saxon. And for the Maritime Parts, they speak the Language there at this very day: the same which about Pontus and those Northern Quarters of Asia, was spoken even in the time of Ovid, the Poet, who being banished thither, became a Proficient in the Language of the Getes. Well, this might be when Strabo placeth the Macropogones or Longobards in Cimmeria, about Syndica, near to which Woden is said to have reigned in Aspurgia. In Germany there is Triers, in Saxon Die Trier, and fuch there were in Scythia also. The Chatti also lived in Germany, not far from the Suevi, Angli and Chamani, and Ptolemy placeth them also in Scy-

thia next the Massagetes, without the Mountains Imii.

7. To these things might be added, that the Humours, Manners and Inclinations of the Gothick Nations or Cimbri, did much fuit with those of the Asiatick Scythians. And all confidered, that there were migrations there can be little doubt. the fame People being found at fo great distance. Now whether first these Nations passed from Scandia into Scythia, or out of Scythia into Scandia, may be some question; but it seems not difficult to be resolved, that setting aside the first planting of the World, they first went from Scandia, because the vast Tracts of that Countrey Germany, and the Islands speaking that Language, challenge the other forts of People of the Afiatick Scythia to have been their Colonies, for they were but few in number in comparison of their Neighbours, who spake in Language and lived far differently from them. Admit it then as possible that fuch a man as Woden there might be, it would be of consequence, if we had any light concerning his return into Scandia. A Tradition there was amongst the Saxons, that they came by Sea into Germany, but it is urged that no Footsteps of any other Invasion or Migration is to be found, but this of Woden. Some make it to have happened four and twenty Years before the Birth of Christ, about the time that Pompey wasted Syria; but if Woden delivered Denmark to his Son Skiold, whence the Kings of that Countrey were anciently called Skioldinger, this Skiold, according to the Danish Cronology, lived almost a thousand Years before Pompey; and accordingly Woden with his Asiaticks must have preceded the Danish Kingdom, and to Saxony, Suevia and Jutia have given their proper Names. By this account Woden must have been ancienter than Homer; but how will this confift with the Genealogies of our own English Saxon Kings, the Founders of the feven Kingdoms here, all which are derived in descent from Woden? But Hengist, the first that came into Britain, arrived not till about CCCCL Years after Christ's Birth, and he is faid to have been but the Abnepos, or Great Grandchild of Woden, as Cerdic, the Founder of the Kingdom of the Welflax ons, the Tenth from him: Whereas by the former account, Woden must have preceded the Birth of our Saviour above a thousand Years.

8. To dispatch therefore this Story of him, let us close with the opinion of them, who think that as amongst the Greeks, there were several there bore the Name of Hercules, but were all confounded together, and what was done by all was ascribed to one. It fell out in the same manner as to the matter of Woden. It's thought that there were three which bore this Name, all deified by Idolaters. The first, descended from Saturn and the Trojan Kings, called Asianus, and Odin biogainte or Woden the Ancient, who never came into Europe, but his Name and Rites were hither brought by others. The second of Upfall, to whom in Swedetand was a Temple dedicated thining with Gold, who was also called Afianus, but a stranger of the Scythians. The third was called Mathodin or Midlewoden, of whom Saxo Grammaticus maketh mention, who, the other Woden being abroad, play'd tricks, and took occasion to seign himself a God, but after his return sled into Phaonia, and there was flain by the Inhabitants. Some produce a fourth Woden, who being beaten by Pompey out of Asia into the Northern Parts, taught

CHAP. I.

10

Sect. 2. the People the Arts and Laws of the Afatieks, and was therefore had in especial Honour. And yet this flight from the Romans is ascribed to him of Upfall, though Honour. And yet this night how the state then or leave this Story of Wode, they lived in far different Ages. Let us take then or leave this Story of Wode, with the Migrations into 4/10, and back again out of that Countrey, and return Scargaing and into allow the Migrations of the Goebick Nations, which qualifying the Migration of the Goebick Nations, which qualify the Migration of the Goebick Nations of the Goebick Nations of the Goebick Nations, which qualify the Migration of the Goebick Nations of the Goebi are warranted by unquestionable History, or probable at least.

are warranted by unqueftionable Hittory, or probable at least.

9. It is not amis to premife, that upon paffing into other Countries, the fame for other of the countries of the According to the way of feverally terminating words, and bringing them as dam mono-According to the way of account tambers, the farme Goths are in feveral some mear as can be to the Genius of a strange Language, the farme Goths are in feveral some formatic in Writers called Gutze, Gutones, Gothones, Guttones and Guttonici, as the farme formatic in Writers called Gutze, Gutones, Gothones, Gutones and Guttonici, as the farme formatic in the writers and feeling and the formatic and the formatic in the formation of the formation Francones, Vasci and Vascanes, Frisi and Frisones, Suedi and Sueanes are the same. After the first migration of them North Eastward to the Lake of Meotis, where

Countrey is termed Gotthia and Gudlandia. And in like manner, the Franci and c. 4. even at this very day they retain both the Names, Manners and Language of even at this very day they retain both the feathers, maintain the feat out that Co Capitanesus Goths, as their Countrey that of Gothia, they feem to have fent out that Co Capitanesus lony which planted it felf between the Rivers Albis ( by those Goths called Got in publicis iony which planted it ten the preferved their Countrey Name. Groeius guelleth methods and Viftula, where they preferved their Countrey Name. Groeius guelleth methods that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they first went our of Scanzia, who will be supported by the distribution of the distribu Godonavia or Gothland; and coming into the Continent of Germany, drove out the related Johnson Ulmirugi, and there left a Colony which Tacitus calleth Gotthones. That the Islands " Burbairus adjoining they very anciently Peopled, there is no doubt, as also the Sea coasts, qui in illi where the Afii inhabited, who had this Name, and their Countrey that of Afii inhabited, tonia, from lying Eastward from them. Hence he believes they made Incursions nibut as far as Maoris, and into Dacia, but when he cannot fay; but that it was before the time of the Antonini. He faith he learns this from Spartianus, who in the Life of Caracalla writes that the Gotthi were called Getes, as many others also have

hinted, because the nearness of the Name deceived the Romans (though Gete be a Name of Thrace, and Gath a German word ) and the Goths held those places which anciently bore the Name of the Getes. Hence in the Reign of Philip, Fornandes brings them into Mafia and Thrace, and it appears that from this time, Part of the Goths remained in Massia, who by Jornandes are called Gothi Minores, and who receiving Letters from the Greeks, delivered them to the other Gathick

10. Amongst the Roman Writers, after Spartianus, he observes, that the first mention of the Goths is made by Aurelius Victor (published by Schottus, ) in the Reign of Decius, at what time out of Dacia, they poured out themselves into the Their Invali- neighbouring Thrace, being by Zosmus and Zonares called Scythians, as by their Original they well might, and did pass for fuch. In the time of Aurelian and Gallienus they proceeded farther, and wasted Greece, Macedonia, Pontus and Afia, several particulars being related by divers Authours. From others it appears that Claudius being Emperour they fell upon Marcianopolis in Massia, and then wasted both Macedonia and Illyricum, besieging Cassandria and Thessalonica. Both Maximian and Constantine the Great received them into friendship and society, and the latter made use of them against the Sarmatæ, and under Theodosius the younger, part of Thrace fell to their share. Procopius tells us that the Goths, called Hist. Guille. Tetraxitæ, lived near to the shore and straits of Maotis, and farther from them, the Goths and Visigoths, and Vandals, and all the other Gothick Nations anciently named Scythians, as all the other Nations of those Parts with some difference, in fome of Sarmatians, Melanclænians and other Names. On the other fide of the Lake lived the Cimmerians or Hunnes, who it's faid being perswaded by two young Men, that purfued a Stag, that the water was fordable (which they had not thought before) instantly took Arms and passed over. He adds that the Vandals were gone before and feated in Africk, and the Visigoths were in Spain. And so they fell upon the Goths, who dwelt in the Champian, killed many and chased away the rest. Such as escaped passed the River Ister, with their Wifes and Children into the Roman Territory, where they did much mischief. Afterward the Emperour planted them in a Countrey of Thrace, and fometimes they aided the Romans in quality of Confederates, receiving yearly Pensions, whereby it appears that the Goths ( so Procopius observes ) came not as Men conquered, but upon the Articles of a League. Sometimes also they made causeless War upon the Romans, till under Theodorich they removed into Italy.

11. Great Mischiels did the Goths bring to the Roman Provinces by their Inva- Sect. 2. fions and Inroads; but the greatest mischief of all happened by the Empire, its opening it felf to receive them. I mean when Valens received them into Thrace, as we have at large related in our fecond Part, in the year CCCLXXVI. Having by his leave passed the Danube, whither they were driven from their own Seats by the Hunnes, they presently turned head against their Entertainer, and afterward proved to many Vipers in the Bowels of the Provinces, still taking occasion to stir, and could not be quieted by any Seats or Entertainment given them, no though the greatest of them were preferred to the greatest place of Magistracy and Dignity, till they made themselves Leaders or Kings, and travelling Southwestward, at length seized upon the Provinces as Lords and Masters thereof. This the Reader may remember, from what hath been copiously related to him in this work, concerning their Motions in the time of Honorius, the Invalion of Italy, and taking of Rome by Alarick, their Actions in Gall and in Spain. It is to be observed that the Story told by Procopius, concerning the Deer being purfued by the young men, and (what thereupon happened) the Invafion of the Seats of the Goths by the Hunnes, and their flying to the Dinube, is by c. e. 24, 25, fornandes made the same with their flight thither in the Reign of Valens, whom they petitioned to be received within the Roman Pale, what ever Procopius talk of the Vandals being now feated in Africk, and the Vifegoths in Spain. It is also sarther to be taken notice of, that the Migrations out of Scandia were in more ancient times, and that those irruptions which brought ruine to the Roman Provinces, and gave beginnings to the Principalities erected by these Barbarous Nations therein, were from the Eastern quarters. Jornandes distinguisheth thus of their Habitations: Those that aboad in the first part of Scythia by Meetis, are known to have had Filimer for their King; they that inhabited in the fecond foil of Dacia, Thracia and Mæsia had Zamolxes, whom most Writers of Annals testifie to have been a wonderfully learned Philosopher. Belides this he had formerly spoken of their planting in that part of Scythia, which bordered on the Sea of Pontus. But now at the time that they grew fo terrible to the Empire, after that of Valens, they began to be known to the World, by the afterward terrible Names of Vifegoths and Offrogoths.

12. They were known indeed more by these Names, after their parting into Whence came several Quarters of the Empire, but the Names were much ancienter. And the Numes of that from their fituation of West and East, they were first called Westropoths Westropaths and offergoths and Ostropoths in their own Countrey is most probable, and Grotius concludes continue of and Offrogaths in their own Countrey is most probable, and Grotius concludes confinit of it from fornandes his Description of Scandia (who therein indeed mentions the name que Offrogaths though not the other;) and from Kapiffeus, who about the time of Claus Scandiacitus. dius makes mention of the Auftrogoths, with whom the Offrogoths are the fame, diebus forem They were joined together till the Reign of Ermaurick, and that of Valens, the procuring in Emperour; but then the Vijegaths or Weltern Goths departed from the Oftrogeths, and additional deficiency of the Design of Civilarian design of Civilarian design. frighted by the Humes, asked Valens leave to pass the Danube. And the Western-magnam Sca-gorbs (corruptly called Wisessign and Visigorbs) they were who being received, sa. Deinde and treated ill as they pretended contrary to the Agreement defeated and killed Offrogothia Valens. After this they feized on Thrace and Daoia Ripenfis, not by a precarious justa mare The Progress Right, but by way of Dominion, and even in the time of Gratian. Afterward guod Balibi

of the Wifer-part of them under Conduct of Fridgern invaded Theflat and Achaia, and ano am desire the part of them under Conduct of Fridgern invaded Theflat and Achaia, and and wife a different there was a superior to make a Peace. This Peace being not inding, Alarick their King laving wasted Brownishand Thrace and Greece, after Radagaifus invaded Italy through Papponia, as we large legoment. He was a large, and furt after the Galli Senones took Rome in the time of Florarius. He that succeeded Athanese did the like, and presently invaded Gall, which was forfaken by the Wandals. There the Western Goths settled a Dominion, and afterward transferred it over the Mountains into Spain, where they also erected a Kingdom. Of which Dominion and Kingdom we must treat particularly, and therefore here must leave the Westrogoths for a time.

13. The Offrogoths feem to have been the more considerable Party, the race of The Kings and, the ancient Kings, obeyed by both forts till this Decession, proceeding from them, the Ofregories and namely the Family of the Amali, to much celebrated among them. Ama-

lue ( to pass by some other Kings more ancient, the Names of whom are to be Amalicalofta. found in Farnandes ) was the Son of Augis, and it feems to eminent as to give a Har-na, fero Name to his Successours. He was the Father of Ifarna, and Ifarna of Offrogatha, propinguits. who in the Reign of Philip the Emperour with his Oftrogeths (fornances yet East, Latini knowing not, whether from him or their function, they received this Name.) for hincformarm:

that

Autrin...

11. Great

that being Confederates of the Empire their Stipends were not paid them, passed the Danabe, wasted Maesa and Thrace, and forced Marcianopolis to compound with him, and redeem it self. The Nation of the Gepidæ seeing him thus victorious envied him this good Fortune, and made war upon their Kinimen, as Jornandes, calls them, though by the word Patrules, and how they came to be their Kinfmen he tells you, he faith, in short if you ask the question. He puts his Reader in mind, that at the beginning of his Book, he shewed how the Goths proceeded out of the Island Scanzia with Berick their King, transported onely in three Ships to the Bank of the hither Ocean. Of these three Vessels, one, as often happens, failing flower than the reft, gave Name to the People; (which landed in an Island of the River Vifula, and afterward proceeded farther) for in their Language Slow is fignified by Gepanta. Hence came it to pass that by little and little, and corruptly it came to stick to them by way of reproach. For the Gepida without doubt derive their Original from the Stock of the Goths; but because, as was faid, Gepanta fignifieth something flow and sluggish, the Nickname of the Gepi. Mall Granus de thence arose, which I dare not believe, faith he, to be the falsest thing that is, pro Grant learner For they are of a flow humour and disposition, and more heavy as to motion By earn G. of the Body. Such is the Relation of Jornandes concerning the Name and Ori- Pair Gramation of the Body. ginal of the Gepidæ. He agrees with Procopius herein, who declaring which feein. Gru. were the greatest and most famous of the Gothick Nations, reckons the Goths, Vandals, Visegoths and Gepædes. He adds, that anciently they were called Sarma-Vandalish tians and Melanchlenians; that they varied all in Names, and nothing else, being ad imima. all fair bodied with yellow hair, tall and with good faces; that they had the fame Laws, Customs and Religion, being all Arians, and all spake the Gothick Language. He supposes them to have been anciently one Nation, and their Names to have been diftinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly, he saith, this People inhabited about the Danube; then the Gepædes held the Places about Singedon and Sirmium on both fides the River, where they were when he wrote his Hiftory. 14. There are other Testimonies sufficient to prove, that the Gepida were a

Gothoscanzian Nation. They also as we have seen, invaded and wasted the Roman Empire. They were once Affociates with the Romans, but joined with the Lombards and broke Truces, after which they made great stirs in the World till they were evercome, and in a manner destroyed by the Lombards, in the time of Alboin, who married Rosamunda the Daughter of Cunimund their King. But to return to our former Story: Fastida the King of the Gepidae being puffed up with the good Success he had against the Burgundians, whom he almost destroyed, broke the League with the Goths his Kinsmen. He sent to Ostrogotha, to whom both the Oftrogoths and Vifegoths were fubject, to tell him, that he was too much straitned in room, and he must give the Gepidae Land, or prepare for War. He answered he should be forry to make War upon his Kindred, but he would part with no Land, and thereupon a bloudy Battel was fought, wherein the Gepida were shamefully beaten, and the Goths contenting themselves with Victory, moved not during the Reign of Offrogotha. After his death, Cniua divided them into two Armies, and fending one into Masia, with the other consisting of seventy thousand Men, he himself sell on Eustessum or Nonæ; whence being removed by Gallus, a Captain, he went to Nicopolis a City Trajan had built upon overthrowing the Sarmatæ, near the River Jater. But Decius the Emperour marching towards him, he removed into the Parts of Hamonia near adjoining, purpofing for Philippolis. Decius intended to pursue him, and resting his Men at Berrhwa, Cniua with his Goths, fell like a Thunderbolt upon him, and forced him to fly into Mæsta. Cniua having long besieged Philippolis, at length got the Governour Priscus to join with him, and pursued Decius; where Gallus being Captain of the Limit had recruited his Army. And they came to an ingage ment, wherein first the Son of Decius, and afterward the Emperour himself was flain, and ended his Life and Reign together.

15. After this the Goths invaded Affa, where having burnt the Temple of Diana at Ephefus, and demolished Chalcedon; they retired into Thrace, and wasted that Countrey. They affifted Maximian the Emperour against the Parthians, and Constantine the Great against Licinius, forty thousand of them serving under him, who continued in the Roman Army by the Name of Fæderatt. These things they did under the Conduct of their Kings Ararick and Aurick, after whom came note Giberick'a notable Person. He overthrew the Wandals his Neighbours with Vifu- Aumar their King, who was descended of the Race of the Assign, renowned amongst reflect them. Such of the Wandale as remained often the Chambridge, renowned amongst Hall-him them. Such of the Wandals as remained after the Overthrow, begged Pannonia gm, claim

CHAP. I. And other Barbarous Nations which invaded Italy. of Constantine the Emperour, to whose Succession they were obedient forty years, Sect. 2.

till being invited by Stilico they fell upon Gall, but fetled not therein. Giberick Hermanarick being dead, after fome time Hermanarick was King, one descended of the most Judicio pubnoble Family of the Amali. He conquered so many Northern Nations, that by lies. Gib-rick, Domit polleni. fome he was compared to Alexander the Great. Having fubdued many ( the Here, exercitus. Names of whom fornandes gives us, but might have as well suppressed them; so Hereman, frange they are ) he could not omit the Heruli, but needs must fall on them Hermanarick alfo. The Historian tells us from a far better Authour, Ablanius whose work Militibilis hath miscarried, that this Nation of the Heruli, dwelling near the Fenns of Mar-pollens. otis in waterish places, had its Name from them, which by the Greeks are called Hebe: a People, he adds, by how much more fwift and agile, fo much more

The Original abundantly proud; for there was then no Nation, which chose not its light aror the Heruli med Soldiers out of them. But formerly in the same work formandes writes, that they were driven out of their Seats by the Dani, which Seats were in Scanzia, for of the Inhabitants thereof he speaks in that Chapter. With him Procopius agrees, that they inhabited formerly beyond the River Ister, ferving many Gods, De Bello Goth. and holding it no impiety to appeale them with humane Sacrifices. He adds, lib. 2. that they had Laws different from other Men, when Men were grown aged or fick, they were not to live; but intreat their Kindred to put them out of the World. The Kindred made a Pile of wood and fet the Man on the Top, and fent one who was a stranger to him in bloud to dispatch him, then set they the Pile on fire, and the flame being done gathered up his bones and buried them. When one of the Heruli died, his Wife (if the would be thought virtuous) was to strangle her self over her Husband's Tomb; otherwise she was esteemed infa-

mous, and an Enemy to her Husband's Kindred.

16. In time they over-topped the bordering Barbarians in Populousness and Power, and vanquisht them in fight one by one, foraged their Countries, and kept them under. They subdued the Lambards being Christians, and made them pay Tribute either out of Covetousness or Vainglory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in these Parts. In the Reign of Anastasius, having none lest to subdue, they remained quiet for three years, but for that reviling and provoking their King Rodulph, he made an unjust War upon the Lombards, not charging them with the breach of Treaties or any other Pretence. The issue was that many of the Heruli were flain with their King, and the rest flying were almost all cut in pieces. Upon this they left their Countrey, and passing through all the Land beyond the River Ister, sate down in the Countrey of the Rugi who had left it, and were gone with the Goths into Italy. But the Land being waste they removed to the Gepida, who at first permitted them to plant by them, but afterwards wronged and abufed them, which moved them to pass Ister, to dwell by the Romans there. Anaflatius received them, and afterward when they committed wicked Acts, he killed most of them, fending an Army, and would have destroyed them all, but their Leaders begged their Lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants of the Empire, and so some escaped alive; yet neither aided nor served the Romans. Justinian coming to the Empire, gave them a fertile Countrey and Goods, made them also his Associates, and perswaded them to be Christians; upon which they grew civiler, and applying themselves to the Laws of Christianity, served the Romans as Auxiliaries. But still, saith *Procopius*, they are salfe to us and covetous, not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious Mixtures with Men and Beafts, being indeed the wickedeft of all Men and Wretches, wretchedly Their Wick- to perish: Some of them continued the League with us, and the rest revolted upon this Occasion. To shew the savageness of their Nature, they killed Ochon

their King suddenly; without alledging any thing, but that they would no more 17. And indeed their King before had onely the Name, otherwise little advan-

tage above a private Man. All fate at meat with him, and put licentious Affronts upon him, the Heruli being the most indiscreet and lightest Men alive. But this foul fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours and Generals. After much confultation they refolved to fend for one of the Bloud Royal, from the Island of Thule. For the Heruli being overthrown by the Lombards, and leaving their Native foil, some dwelt in Illyricum, but others past not the River Ister, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. These conducted by many of the Bloud Royal, passed through the Nations of the Slani, a large defart Countrey, the Varni, and those of the Danes ( the Barbarians using no violence against them ) and coming to

Ararick.

the Ocean, and getting shipping arrived at the Island Thule, where they staid. Thus writes Procopius of the Heruli, who by Thule means the Peninfula of Scandia, which he calls ten times bigger than Britain, faith most of it was waste, but in that which was inhabited, were feated thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation was a King. Amongst them the Herulian wanderers planted themselves; and those who continued amongst the Romans, having murthered their King, fent some of their chief Men to the Island of Thale, to bring over one of the Bloud Royal if they could find any there. From amongst many they brought one, who dying by the way of fickness, they went back and brought another named Todassus, accompanied with his Brother Aordas, and two hundred Heruli. They being long upon their Journey, the Heruli about Singedon, conceiveing it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from Thule without Justimian's confent, fent to the Emperour to Conflantinople to give them what King he pleased. He sent them Suartuas one of their Nation, who had long lived at Constantinople, and him at first they received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the usual Directions. But within few days hearing of the coming of tha Ambassadours from Thule, they revolted from Suartuas (who had commanded them to goe out and kill them ) to the New Comers, and he was forced to fly back to Confiantinople. The Emperour fet himfelf to reftore him, and thereupon the Heruli revolted to the Gepidæ. So much writes Procopius of this People, of whom we often speak in the Course of our History upon occasion. It seems they lived beyond the River Uter, and afterward some of them passed into Scan-

dia, from which possibly also they descended amongst other Gothick Nations; for amongst Gothick Nations Procopius reckons also the Scirri and Alani, p. Balls Gaile, amongst whom he puts Odoacer, as one of them, and saith he was of the lib. Limits Lifeguard to the Emperour; and him other Authours call King of the Heruli, who invading Italy were we suppose more Civiliz'd, than those of whom Proce-

18. Well! upon the Heruli, Hermanarick King of the Offrogeths made war, and though their fwiftness prevailed against other Nations; yet it submitted to the flowness and stability of the Goths, and they served Hermanarick amongst other Nations. After them he fubdued the Veneti who became his Servants, though afterward in the time of Jornandes, because of the Sins of his Age they raged every where, being, though fprung from one Root, germinated into three Names of Veneti, Anles and Sclani. By his prudential valour he conquered the Aftri, who inhabited on the longest bank of the German Ocean, and as if it had been effected by his own Labours, he commanded all the Nations, both of Scythia and Germany. Not very long after, as he relates from Orofius, the Nation of the Hunnes raged against the Goths with more than bitter fury; and to be revenged on them for that and their other Pranks, he gives you an account of their Original alfo, as he found it related by Antiquity. Filimer King of the Goths the Son of Gandarick the Great, being their fifth Prince after their going out from the Island of Scanzia, having with his People entred into the Scythian Territories, found amongst them certain Witches, which in his Countrey Language he called Alierumne, and having them suspected he thrust them away from his Company,

The Original and compelled them to depart into the Wilderness far from his Army. Unclean of the Human Spirits feeing these Women wandering in the Defart lay with them, and procreated this most furious brood, which at first continued in the Fenns small and inconfiderable, as it were a kind of Men, neither known by any other word than that which signified an image of Mankind. From Prifess the Historian, he adds, that in the Fenn of Meets, this Cruel Nation possessed the farther Bank being expert in hunting and no other labour, onely when it grew into Multitudes, with

Frauds and Rapines it diffurbed the neighbouring Nations.

19. Concerning the Original of the Hunnes we must leave Jarnandes to himself, Hift. Con but concerning their Seats his Relation is confirmed by other Writers. Proceptis life.4. tells us, that the two Straits of Mount Caucasus, which let in the Humish Nations upon the Romans and Persians, were called the one Tzar, and the other the Caspian Gates. That the Countrey extending from Mount Caucasus to the Caspian Gates the Alani held, subject to none, but as Confederates they served the Perhans against the Romans and all the World. That under Mount Caucasus dwelt the Gabrian Hunnes; and some other Hunnish Nations; and hence they said issued the Amazons, and made a Camp at Themiscyrus by the River of Themiden, near where in his Days Rood the City of Amijus. But now faith he are left no Amazons in the Countries about Mount Caucasus. Strabo, he adds, and some others have

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made much discourse about them, but they seem to speak most truly, who 5. think that there was never any fuch Mannish Race of Women; nor that Nature in Mount Caucafus onely swerved from its sacred Laws, but that the Barbarians The Occasion of these Parts making an Expedition against Asia, brought their Wives along or there earts making an expectation against zina prought them wives along with them, whom they left in a Camp near Thermedon. That they themselves overrunning much of Asia were so encountred and deseated, that none escaped to the Camp; and that there their Wifes being forely put to it by the fear of the People adjoining, and by want of Victuals, took on them Countenances of Men, and armed themselves with the Furniture left by their Husbands, and with the fame performed some commendable Actions, compelled by necessity, till they were all flain. This is his opinion, and that the Amazons were Wives that went to war with their Husbands, the Experiment whereof, he faith, happened in his own time. And commonly the addictions which descend to Pofterity, are the Images of those which were before. For the Hunnes, in their Inroad upon the Romans, often coming to a Battel wherein some of them were flain, and the Romans fearthing the dead Bodies, have found Women among them. Other Armies of Women were never, neither infelting Afia nor Europe. Neither was it ever heard that the Caucasian Mountains had all their Men wafted at any time. Afterward, speaking of several other Nations, he subjoins that beyond the Sagini, were many Hunnish People in a Countrey called Eulysia, pollefled by these Barbarians in the maritime and in-land Parts thereof to the Lake Maotis, and the River Tanais, which disembogues into the said Lake, and the Lake into the Euxine Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called Cimmerii, but in his time Vturgurians. But the Reader may remember how we have already spoken much of the Viurgurian and Caturgarian Humes, from the same Procepius, who gives another Character of the Hunnes in general than Jornandes doth; for speaking of the Autos and Sclant amongst other things, he saith that they were remote from knavish Crast and Malice, being like to the Foumes in this very Innocence also. At length they drove out the Lombards, and planted themselves in Pannonia. But let us hear what other dreadfull things Jornandes relates in his Account of the War betwixt them and the Goths.

20. They being Hunters, some of them exercising themselves this way on the farther Bank of Maotis found a Deer, and pursued her, as was faid, before to the farther fide; for here he brings in that Story. Having by this means difcovered the way into Scythia, they fell like thunder upon feveral People he mentions, the Names of whom are hard to be understood, and amongst others they fubdued the Alani equal to them in Valour and Skill but unlike, as to Humanity, Course of Life and Shape. For whereas possibly they could not by force have maftered them, having afrighted and aftonished them by the Terrour of their Countenances, they feared them into flight. They were fearfully black to look on, but carried upon their Shoulders a deformed Lump (if it be fit to call it fo ) and no face which had rather little pricks or holes than any Lights or Eyes. Their ugly aspect betrayed the boldness of their minds, who were eruel

formulds his against their own Children, the first day they came into the World. For they becipion of cut and mangled the Cheeks of their Sons, that before they should receive the Nourilhment of Milk, they might be conftrained to endure the pain of a wound. Hence they grew old and beardless, and became youths without Comliness, their faces being fo furrowed with the Knife, that the fcars hindred the growth of Hairs. They were little in shape, but active and nimble, and Excellent Horsemen, broad shouldered and fit for shooting and casting of darts; they had strong Necks, and proudly they bore them. In humane shape they lived in beastly

21. The Getes at the fight of a People the most active of all others, and the Controller of Nations were afraid, and confulted with their King how to be freed from them. Hermanarick though Conquerour of many Nations, yet when he deliberated concerning the coming of the Humes, was deceived by the treacherous Rexolani, who took occasion to shew their falseness, though they ferved him amongst others. Punishing one Sanielk a Woman of that Nation, her two Brothers Sarus and Ammius, to revenge her death, gave him a wound in the fide of which he languished; and thereat Balamir King of the Hunnes taking advantage moved against him. With thought of this and the anguish of his wound, as also old Age, he was overcome, and died in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age. The Visigoths now had left their fellows, though formerly they had been joined with the Oftrogoths, and against them the Hunnes prevailed upon his

death, who were feated in the Eastern Coast and called Oftrogoths, the Viligoths being by the leave of Valens gone over the Danube, and received within the Roman Pale. The Oftrogoths after their departure continued in the fame place subman Pale. The Ostrogorns after their acparent continued in the same parties iect to the Hunnes, and were governed by Winithar of the Posterity of Amalus Winithar of the Posterity of Amalus Vendama who imitating the Valour of his Grandfather Ataulf, though inferiour in felicity Doming. to Hermanarick, fought prosperously against the Auta, and at first against the Hunnes, though Sigismund another great Man would not break his Faith, but joined with them. But in the third Ingagement Winithar was flain, and Balamber, King of the Humnes, kept under the Goths in quietness, yet so as by his Consent they Humnimund. had still a Regulus of their own. After Winithar they were governed by Huni-Hundreds

mund, the Son of the most potent Hermanarick, who fought prosperously against comrasti limit communication. the Suevi, and was succeeded by his Son Thorismund. He obtained a great Vic-nimundernum tory against the Gepidæ, and is said to have been killed by a sall of his Horse rie of fine He died in the flour of his Age, and the Goths fo lamented him, that for the space Proposition of forty Years they had no King in his place, his Kiniman Wandalar the Brother's Ferox ore. Son of Hermanarick was famous for his three Sons descended of the Race of the Amali, viz. Walamir, Theodemir and Widemir, who loved each other with Brotherly affection. But they were fubject to the Commands of Attila King of the Hunnes, and neither they nor any Scythian Nation could be freed from his Dominion, but by his death fo much defired by all Nations in common, and by the Romans too, a death which was as profitable as his life, had been wonderfull.

22. After his Death his numerous, or as Jornandes calls them, innumerous Sons, fell out about his Conquests, and lost them all, being overthrown by Ardarick the King of the Gepidæ in Pannonia. For Ellac the Eldest was slain, and the rest after the Defeat fled to the shore of Pontus, where the Goths had formerly lived. Many Nations were joyfull to be freed from fo grievous a Yoke, and feveral of them were kindly received by Marcian the Emperour, and had Countries distributed amongst them. The Gepidæ had the Seats of the Hunnes, and being Masters of all Dacia, required no more of the Empire but Peace and yearly Presents, as valiant and deserving Men; which he willingly granted, and which continued to be paid till the time of the Historian. The Goths seeing that the Gepidæ challenged the Territories of the Hunnes, and that the Hunnes also kept their The Offregoths ancient Seats, chose rather to ask Territories of the Roman Empire, than to indanger havePannonia themselves by invading those of others, and received Pannonia, which be-assigned them.

ing stretched out in a long Champian had on the East Macha Superior, on the South Dalmatia, on the West Noneum and the Danube on the North. The Countrey was adorned with many Cities, of which the Chief was Sirmis, and the last Vindomina. The Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ, the Cemandri and some of the Hunnes fate down in grounds affigned them at the Castle Martena. The Sciri, Satagarii and others of the Alans with their Captain Candax received Scythia the less and the inferior Magia, the Notary of which Candax the Grandfather of Jornandes was: and Gunthages the Son of his Grandfather's Sister was his Magister Militum, being descended also of the Amali. And he tells us that he himself though unlearned,

had been a Notary before his Conversion. The Rugi obtained Scandiopolis. Of the Sons of Attila remaining, one planted in the utmost Part of the Leffer Scythia, and two others in Dacia Ripensis. And many of the Hunnes every where put themselves into the Roman soil. There were other Goths, who, as he saith, were called Minores or the Leser, a vast People who had Vulfilas for their Bishop and Primate, who was faid to instruct them in good Letters, and in this time of the Writer they were in Mæsia, inhabiting Eucopolitana.

The Gothi

Their Brothers and Kings,

23. We have now brought the Oftrogoths into Pannonia, and there Jornandes tells us that fuch as were subject to Walemir, and his two Brothers Theodemir and Walemin and Walemi Widemir, though the Places of their Habitation were divided, yet their Councils Theud-mir were united. But the Sons of Attila now regarded them as so many Slaves Populit spr-run away, and came on purpose to look after them. They fell upon Walemi lathing them. alone, his Brothers knowing nothing of it, but he gave them fuch Entertainment that few of those that attacqued him escaped with their lives, but Humnimund Captain of the Suevi passing on to harrass Dalmatia, made bold with some of the Herds of Cattel belonging to the Goths, Suevia being Neighbour to Dalmatia and not far from Pannonia, especially that Part where the Goths then resided. Theodemir, the Brother of Walemir, thought this was not to be endured, not so much for the Cattel, as left the Suevi should thence take heart, and grow more insolent: therefore he waylaid them by night, and taking them napping by so unexpected an Attacque so mastered them, that Hunnimund he took Pritoner, and such as esca-

ped the Sword he made Servants to the Goths. Yet he was so mercifull as to par- Sect. 2. don what was past, and being reconciled to the Suevi adopted their King for his Son, and fent him home with them. But Hunnimund was so ungratefull, as for-

getting the paternal obligation, he stirred up the Sciri who lived above the Danube to join with him, to take up Arms and invade the Goths, with whom they had lived in Peace. The Goths looking on both as Friends were furprized with the War, but compelled by necessity, betook themselves to their Weapons and Walemir flain. revenged the Injury. They had the mishap to lose Walemir their King, who in the Battel riding hard to animate his Men, his Horse fell, and the Rider being cast

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to the ground, was flain by the Lances of the Enemy. But to revenge his Death and themselves, they managed the Fight with that earnestness, that almost all the

Sciri were cut off.

25. Hunnimund and Alarick Kings of the Suevi fearing what might be the effect of this Success, rallied the remainders of the Sciri, and with the affiftence of the Sarmatæ, Gepidæ and Rugi, made War upon the Goths. Walemir being dead they betook themselves to his Brother Theodemir as their Head, who calling to his affiftence his Brother Widemir, gave Battel to the Confederates and obtained a notable Victory, killing ten thouland of them upon the place. To be revenged on the Suevi, in the Winter he passed a Foot Army over the Danube upon the Ice, and fell fuddenly into their Territories, which on the East had for nearest Neighbours the Barobari, on the West the Franks, the Burgundians on the South, and the Thuringi on the North. With the Suevi the Alemanni were Confederate and joined, but Theodemir overthrew, wasted and almost subdued them both, and then he returned into Pannonia where he joyfully received his Son Theodorich, whom the Emperour Leo had fent from Constantinople with great Gifts. This Theodorich, being now in the eighteenth year of his Age, got together of his Fadoth wonders, ther's Guard and fuch as loved him, almost fix thousand Men, and without his Father's knowledge, passing the Danabe, fell upon Babai King of the Sarmatæ, who was grown proud for a Victory he had got a car Camundus a Captain of the Romans, killed him, and plundering his House, and getting what other booty he could, returned with Victory. Then fell he upon Singidonum, a City which the Sarmatæ had seized, and getting it into his hands, restored it not to the Romans, but kept

it in his own Dominion.

26. The neighbouring Nations were now so wasted that no more booty remained to be got, and the Goths being inured to War were so distressed in Peace, that they wanted both Cloaths and Victuals. With a great noise they all flocked to their King Theodemir, and prayed him to lead them out into what Quarter he pleased. He fent for his Brother, and casting lots appointed him to go into that part of Italy where Glycerius acted as Emperour, and he himself as the stronger would march Widemir dies against the stronger Empire, or that of the East. Widemir presently invaded Italy and died, leaving for his Successour Widemir his Son, whom with Gifts Glycerius perswaded to quit that Countrey, and going into Gall there to join himself with the Vifigoths his Kinfmen; and with them he made up one Body, and fo they held Gall and Spain that no other prevailed against them. Theodemir the elder Brother passed the River Saus, and threatened to make War upon the Sarmatæ and others if they molested him in his passage; and none daring to oppose him, he took Naisfus the chief City of Illyricum, and fent his Son and other Captains to other

places, who became Masters of Ulprana, with Heraclia and Larifa. Theodemir yet was not content with this prosperous estate of himself and his Son, but leaving Naissus with a Garrison went and laid Siege to Thessalonica, wherein he inclosed Clarianus a Patritian sent thither by the Emperour with an Army. Clarianus seeing himself unable to grapple with him, sent to him, and by Gifts procured him to remove the Siege. Now was a League made betwixt the Romans and him, whereby he had given up to him places to plant his Goths in, of hard Names; as, Ceropellæ, Europa, Mediana, Petina, Bercum, and others called Siam. There the Goth's with their King lived in quietness; but not long; for Theodemir fell deadly fick in the City Cerræ, and having called to him the Goths, and appointed Theo-

dorich his Son to fucceed him, departed this world.

27. The Emperour Zeno understanding that Theodorich was King over his Nation was well pleated with it, and fending for him to Constantinople, held him in great esteem amongst the chief Nobles of his Court. After some time Jornandes tells us farther, that he adopted him for his Son in way of Arms, or to increase his Martial honour, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own charge, and made him Ordinary Conful, which was esteemed the chiefest Good, and the first Digni-

CHAP. I.

Sect. 2. ty in the world; and not onely did he doe this, but erected also a Statue to the fame of fo great a Man before his Palace. Theodorich thus enjoyed plenty and all good things, but knowing his Goths in Illyricum to be ill at ease, he chose rather to get his Living by labour according to the custome of his Nation, than to enjoy the good things of the Romans in idleness, when in the mean time his Countreymen fa-

red meanly. He applied himself therefore to the Emperour, and humbly defiring liberty to speak, demanded what reason there was why the Western Parts, which had been fubject to his Predeceffour, should now lie under the tyranny of the King of the Turcilingi and Rugi. He prayed him to fend him and his Nation thither, and thereby to rid himself of so great charge; and if by God's assistence he should succeed in his Enterprize, the Glory would be his. He told him it was better that he being his Servant and his Son, if he overcame should hold that Kingdom as by his Gift, than that one whom he knew not should under the yoke of a Tyrant oppress his Senate and part of the Commonwealth with a flavish Captivity. If he overcame he would hold it as his Gift, and as by his Favour; and if he miscarried, the Emperour should lose nothing but be a gainer by the bargain, being delivered from fuch expence as he was at. The Emperour hearing this, though he was forry to part with him, yet would not displease him but granted his Request, commending Treedoriebbe- to him the Roman Senate and People. Hereupon Theodorich departed to his Goths, comes Mafter and led them into Italy, as we have formerly shewn; where besieging Odoacer in Ravenna, he so straitned him, as this same Authour writes, that he begged pardon, which first he granted him, and afterward deprived him of Life. And in the third year after his Invasion of Italy, having privately advised with the Emperour Zeno, laying off the Habit of his Nation, he took Regal Ornaments, as one who reigned over both Goths and Romans.

23. Thus we have feen the Original of the Goths, and have drawn down their flory to their coming to found Kingdoms in the Roman Empire. Concerning their Manners and Dispositions they had their Name from being Good as it imports, and Grotius hath taken some pains to prove that . Mey continued when in great power. Of this in the course of our History we have seen something, and more are to see e'er we have done with them. For their aukward Habit take it as Sidonius Apollinaris defriles it. "They are red with Saffron, they are fhod with high Shoes made of The Habit of "Hair which reach up to their Ankle-bones: Their Knees, Thighs and Legs are

" without any covering: Their Garment high and strait, of divers colours, scarcely " reaching to the Hamin firetched out: Their Sleeves onely cover the tops of their

"Armes: Their Caffocks green, with a red Welt: Their Belts hang on their "Shoulders: Their Ears are covered with wreaths of Locks: they use hooked "Lances and missile Hatchets. Here we cannot but take notice that the Wandals and Longobards, or Lombards, were of the fame Original with the Goths. Procopius faith expresty that they were Gothick Nations as well as the Gepidæ, and he had reason to be instructed in their descent, being acquainted with Gelomir their

The Windals King, and the Nobles brought Prisoners to Constantinople. He tells us the Language or the same o- of the Wandals was Gothick, and doubts not but that they were anciently one People, distinguished in Names, but agreeing in Original and Manners. He relates that together with the Goths they came out of their ancient Countrey to the Fen of Maoris. Jornandes reckoning up the People of Scandia mentions the Vinoniloth, which, as Grotius observes, fignifies the Possession of the Winoli, for so they are also called; and Winili, and Vinili by fome Authours. Wandal fignifies a Wanderer, who continues not in one place; and so they seem indeed for some reason to have had the Name: and not onely they, but other people in Germany and elsewhere might be so called also for the fame reason: but no where means those Wandals who for some time held

Spain and Africk, as we have largely feen, and were fubdued by Belifarius.

29. Of those that were originally of Scanzia, part as was said in old time sate down with the Goths at the 1 en of Mæotis. Of them who invaded Spain and Africk the Ancestours in the space of a year came from the Ocean where they inhabited, into Dacia io much vexed by Incomers. Fornandes faith these Wandals were called Afdingi. They came into Dacia in the Reign of Aurelius Antoninus the Emperour. In the time of Aurelian they inhabited at the Danube, and making a League with the Romans, promifed them Succours. Constantine gave them part of Pannonia, and hence they poured out themselves into Gall, when Honorius was Emperour. Thence they proceeded into Spain, such of them as were called Silingi into Bætica, and the rest into Gallæcia and the neighbouring Regions, Godigischis being their King. Gontharis succeeded him, who subdued the Alani that then were potent in Spain. To Gontharis fucceeded Gowrick commonly called Genferick

the Conquerour of Africk, who confirmed his possession thereof by a League with Scct. 2. Valentinian the Emperour. What things he did, and how far he reigned, the Reader may remember, as also what was done by, and happened to, his Successours out of that account we have given of them in our Second Part; for there being little of consequence concerning them, but what also involved the Affairs of the Romans, we thought it not fit to make a particular History of that their Kingdom in Africk, which was foon again reduced by Infinian. Now we shall onely add concerning them farther what Gotius hints, that some memory of the Dominion of the Wandals in Spain is still preserved in the Name of Andalusa, which anciently was Wandalofia, and in the Wandalick Tongue was Wandaloth.

CHAP. I. And other Barbarous Nations which invaded Italy.

30. As there might be feveral People which had the Name of Wandals, from their changing of Seats and Habitations, so also in Germany and elsewhere, others to whom that of Longobards was given, from the length of their Beards. But those who made such a noise in the Empire, and seated themselves in Italy, from whom Lombardy flill is fo called, were of Scandia also, descended from the Gepida, o whom, if Grotius observe right, first mention is made in the time of Theodosius, by Prosper Aquitanus. From Procopius it appears, that with the Gepidae their Parents, they had Seats on this fide the Danube. Paulus Warnotridus writes that they were called first Winili before they had the Name of Longobardi. In the fixth year of Julin the Emperour the Gepida were utterly crushed by them, and their Amgdom came to an end. By these same Longobards was the Son-in-law of Justin and Pandarius overthrown. After Tiberius had succeeded, Justin they came into Italy and made Antarick King over them, What progress their Arms made there in the times of Tiberius and Mauritius we have feen already, and how they founded a Kingdom, and that they held all Italy, in a manner, except Rome and Rayeona, and continued their Dominion for two hundred years, God willing, we are to be in the particular History of their Kingdom. But the Goths were their Predecessours therein, and their Kingdom first is to have place; for we have brought already Theodorich into Italy, and there placed him on the Throne of Qdoacer.

### SECT. III.

### The Kingdom of the Oftrogoths in Italy.

The space of Sixty years.

Doacer being dead, Theodorich eafily made himself Master of Italy; which done, Dalmatia and Rhætia, formerly in the Hands of his Enemy, submitted also themselves to his Power. Sicily was something Vide Signium flubborn and unwilling to acknowledge her new Lord; but by the de Occidentali means of Cassiodorus his Lieutenant he brought her into subjection peaceably and Imperio. 1. 16. without bloud-shed. There remained now onely one Rub to be removed, and that had been laid in his way by the rashness and folly of his own Men, who being left in Pavia, upon notice of his Success at Ravenna, transported with the News, flew out of that City to congratulate with him; which the Rugi, who had ferved Odoacer perceiving, took the advantage, and feizing on the Town, plundered it with all the Countrey adjoining. But the Stars of *Theodorich* were too powerfull to fuffer him to miscarry in this adventure, and make shipwreck of his Fortunes in the very Haven; therefore leading his Army down to Pavia, within a few months he easi-Theodorichre- ly reduced it, used his Victory with moderation, and by the sequel of his Actions duceth Pavia. shewed, that though War feemed to be his Masterpiece, yet he delighted not in it for its felf, but used it as a means to procure a firm and lasting Peace. Sheathing then his Sword and taking the Sceptre, he first endeavoured to confirm his Estate, by Leagues and Alliances with his Neighbour Princes. In the first place with the Emperour, who readily admitted of his Friendship and Society; then with Clodonee King of the Franks, whose Daughter Andesteda he desired and obtained in Marri-

Sect. 3. age. His own two Daughters which he had by a Concubine he bestowed, the one on Alarick King of the Westrogoths in Gall, and the other on Sigismund Son of Gundobald King of the Burgundians. When he had thus fecured his Government, both within and without, he fet about the modelling of his Polity, and herein he used the advice and diligence of Aurelius Cassiodorus, a most learned man, whom he had made a Patritian, and adorned with the greatest honours of Comes, Conful. and Prafectus Pratorio. Him he retained by him as his Counsellour, both for modelling the State, and governing it when he reduced it into form and order. By his advice he made new Laws, it's faid, and reformed bad Customs, and by his direction, if not his Hand, were written his Letters and Commissions, the choicest of which he preserved and published in twelve Books still extant, being to many monuments, not onely of this new Gothick Model, but even of the ancient Roman Polity it felf.

He made very

2. Indeed the greatest alteration which recommends that which Odoacer had so the Go.

Otherwise the same torm of Government, and the several forts of Magistrates he left as he found them : viz. the Senate, Confuls, Patritians, Præfecti Prætorio, Prefect of the City, Quæstor, Comes Largitionum, Comes Rerum privatarum, Domesticorum, the Magistri Militum, Equitum and others, as is evident from the forms of their Commissions, wherein the Nature of their Offices is expressed, and fuller and better than any other Authour now extant. ( as the Reader may perceive by what he hath already perused in our Second Part, ) to be seen amongst the variæ Epistolæ of Cassiodorus. These Offices with others he ordinarily conferred on Romans. Suits and Controversies arising in the Provinces, if amongst Goths he would have determined by Goths, if amongst Romans by Romans, and if betwixt a Goth and a Roman by those of both Nations, fent down into the Countrey for that purpose; all which he oversaw himself, and administred suffice with all Severity and Impartiality. To such Heruli and other Barbarous People as being brought in by Odoacer, defired to continue in the Countrey he affigned new Seats and Possessions, giving those they had formerly enjoyed to the Goths his Countreymen. Those Italians who had kept their Faith once given to Odoacer immutable he not onely pardoned, but some of them he promoted to the greatest Honours. Indeed such as broke Faith to himself by revolting he abhorred, and according to the Roman Law took from them the Power of making Testaments. What Tributes Odoacer had imposed he still required, and laid a new Imposition upon the People called As publicus, which yet he would remit to fuch as any Calamity had rendred infolvent, or as he faw occasion. Following the Example of the late Emperours, and Odoacer, he made Ravenna the Seat of his Kingdom, to which having now a Title not onely by Conquest, but by the Gift of the Emperour, as is faid, and the Consent and Choice of the Senate, he laid aside his own Countrey Habit, and assumed the Purple with other Ensigns of Royalty; to accommodate himself to the Humour of the Italians, and remove that prejudice which

He obliges all Orthodox, ftriving every way to gratifie them as he did indeed all his Subjects; his subjects as well by the former Methods of Conduct, as by releating Prisoners, redeeming

he obliged his People, and obtained their Love and hearty affection. 3. But as humane Councils are imperfect and uncertain, even as all fublunary Affairs are subject to change and perpetual Inconstancy, that he was deficient in his Measures, appeared quickly in one or two particulars. The Burgundians having invaded Liguria, had thence led away Captive all the Inhabitants, and thereupon the Countrey lay altogether waste, and remained in a desolate Con-Some Errours, dition. He had taken, as formerly was faid, the Benefit of the Law from such as had revolted from him, who being very confiderable not onely for their Number, but Interest and Relations, it made a great disturbance, discomposed the Affairs as well of his Friends as others, and much discouraged the People in all Places. At the Solicitation of Laurentius Bishop of Milan, and Epiphanius of Pavia, he published a general Pardon, and thereby seasonably applied a Remedy to one of the Distempers, and because there was no Course to be taken, for replanting of Liguria out of Italy it felf, which the Wars had so much exhausted, he refolved rather to have empty Coffers than to suffer that Countrey to lye desolate, to be both an Eye-sore, and obnoxious to the Attempts of any Enemy. He

fent Epiphanius whose Vertues he knew to be much admired by the King of

different Habits and Fashions might beget in the fancies of the People. And though in his Opinion he was an Arian, he not onely not troubled but favoured the

Captives, and other Acts of Clemency and Bounty; whereby all manner of ways

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the Burgundians on an Embassy to him, furnished with money for redemption of Sect. 3 the Captives, and he being very welcome improved the advantage afforded by his Reputation to fuch an height, that by his Christian Eloquence and Fatherly Exhortations, he perswaded Gundobade to release the Prisoners without Ransome. The King alledged that it was quite contrary to his Interest, both as a Prince and as a Souldier, and granted his request with this restriction, that such as had been taken in Fight should pay their Ransome to those that took them, lest he should disoblige and utterly discourage his Souldiers, by remitting what was their due and not his, and taking from them the price of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon publication of the King's pleasure, so great multitudes returned home, that the Towns of Gall feemed to be unpeopled. Out of the Territories of Lugdunum or Lyons alone in one day departed four hundred men, and out of those of Saxony, and the places adjacent, so many in all as made up the number fix thousand. Toward the furnm that was to be paid for the redemption of fuch as had been taken by private Souldiers, Syagria a Woman of great fanctity, and Avitus Bifthop of Vienna contributed: how many these were could not be computed, because many of them fled away. Also in his way homeward, Epiphanius took the City of Geneva, whither Godegifal, imitating the King his Brother, difmiffed fuch as were in his power; with which stream as it were, the former great current being enlarged, filled all the ways leading into Italy. Epiphanius returned in the Head of them as in a glorious Triumph, and coming to Theodorich obtained a relief of the necesfities of his Captives, especially those of the better fort. All which Euodius, an eye

witness and fellow Traveller, hath related in the Life of that Bishop.

4. But long is it fince we heard any thing of Rome, formerly the Stage of the greatest Triumphs, as well as the Seat of Council, and the School of Policy. Now at length arriving at the D. year of our Lord, the Eighth of the Emperour Anastasius, and the Eighth of Theodorich, an Idea and Resemblance of the former Triumphs presents it self unto us; an Image of its ancient splendour, and that infinite concourse of people which of old from every Nation flocked unto her, when yet all she received were but her own Citizens and Domesticks. The thing that draws us thither is a Journey of Theodorich himself, whom we cannot but follow in this kind of Pilgrimage undertaken to pay his Devoirs of Admiration to that Queen of Cities, of which he had often heard, read much, but had never had the contentment to fee her. All Italy at the news of this Progress seemed to be moved, and ambitiously ready to encourage that zealous respect he bore to the ancient Seat of its Empire and Majesty. There seemed to be a contention betwixt those that inhabited in and about Ravenna and such as lived at Rome, whether they should bring, or these should fetch their King to the City. With a most splendid Train, and such an appearance as of a long time had not been seen, he made his Entry, and was received with incredible joy and applause of the Citi-

zens, who omitted nothing wherein they could doe him honour. At the Court he was welcomed by an eloquent Oration, made by Boëtius the most eloquent Scholar and Oratour of this Age, to which he answered in a very obliging Speech, protesting his study and endeavours for advancement of the Dignity and all possible advantages of the Senate. Thence proceeding into the Circus, as far as the place called Palma Aurea, he spake most lovingly to the People; which done, he entertained the Senatours at a triumphal kind of Feast, and gave a Largess of Corn to the Commoners. Several days he spent in viewing the Antiquities of the City, with which his eyes could not be fatiated, professing that the Forum of Trajan alone, though to one that faw it every day, could appear no less than a miracle, and that when he had mounted the Capitol, he saw all humane wit and policy sur-

mounted. He took especial notice of, and commended the admirable Fabrick of the Baths, and the wholesomeness of the Waters. He grieved to see the ruines of the Buildings, but chiefly of the Walls, to the repairing of which he contributed great fumms of money. Neither did his care extend to Rome alone; to all the Cities of Italy his munificence reached, wherein he took order for building flrong Castles, and stately Palaces; and to this end wrote his Letters to all his Subjects to fuffer Stones to be gathered out of their Fields, and to preferve old Marbles which had formerly been used in decayed Houses. He seemed so far ravished with

the remains of the Majesty of old Rome, that he said it was a piacular crime, for any one who could fix his habitation there, to be long absent. Yet his Affairs calling him away he returned to Ravenna, having much quieted the stirs raised about the election of a Roman Bishop, which, joyned with his great desire to see the

place, had called him thither.

5. In the mean time Anastasius the Emperour, ordering his matters quite contrary to the Maxims of Theodorich, had the quite contrary fortune, being as much ha-Anaflaging the teed as the other was beloved by his Subjects. Whether out of envy to the King, Emperone in or bearing him a grudge for holding from him Pantonia, which he claimed as beyond the Federar Empire he took configure to greated with him and longing to the Eastern Empire, he took occasion to quarrel with him; and as Marcellinus hints, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, sent out a Fleet to Sea, with orders to waste the coasts of Italy. To balance his power the better, he encouraged Clodonee King of the Franks in his Attempts against the Goths, and the more to court him deligned him Conful for the faid year, of which honour it's faid he would not accept. As for Theodorich, not onely his demeanour towards his Subjects, but his rules and methods of waging War were diametrically opposite to those of the Emperour. His custome was to be present himself in Expeditions, except some notable matter hindered; and to purchase Peace not with Gold and Silver, but with Steel and Wood, his Sword and Bow. The Bulgari, whom Anastafius had bought off from wasting his Dominions, having nothing else to doe, passed out of Thrace into Parmonia, which wasting and harasting at their pleasure, they seized on the City Sirmium. Theodorich having notice could not goe in person against them, the Affairs of Italy and Gall requiring his stay at home, and his Eye to be upon the motions of the Franks and the Burgundians; but to preserve the place of his Nativity, and keep the War from his own doors, rather than out of any respect to the Emperour, whose hands were now full with the Persian War, Throdorich te- he fent Petza a Comes with confiderable Forces, who the year following very hapduceth Panno- pily finished the War, recovering both Sirmium out of the hands of the Bulgari, and the whole Province. Having so happily dispatched this War he relieved Mundas, whom Sabinianus had belieged in a certain Castle in Illyricum. Theodorich gave the government of Pannonia to Colesseus a Comes, a Copy of whose Commission Lik3 Ep. 23.

extending both to matters of War and Peace, and that the girding with a Sword regs, jure ans. Makes Coloff- was the mark and badge of their Office. After this Committion follows a Letter Police Project to Governour directed to all Barbarians and Romans inhabiting Pannonia, acquainting them that aufficia d he had made Coloffeus their Governour, and requiring them to take notice of and Simulation

obey him as fuch. 6. There being a quarrel betwixt Alarick King of the Vifigoths in Gall, and Clode-dem Galvan 6. There being a quarrel betwixt Adarick ling of the Vijgenss in Gaussia Gooden and the nee King of the Franks, and both of them being his near Allies, he omitted no argu
light Gen
ments to perfivade them to take up the matter, denouncing War in a manner to it begins

the aggrefiour, and promising relief to the oppressed, as is to be seen in his Letters president

the aggrefiour. As it usually happens in such a case, he who was least his 3.5 h,

collected by Cassinderus. As it usually happens in such a case, he who was least his 3.5 h, in fault, and most unsit to decide the controversie by force of Arms gladly accep- 2,3,4 ted the mediation, but he who had more reason to be consident, rather upon the ftrength of his Sword than the goodness of his Cause, made Excuses, framed Delays, and in conclusion utterly refused to be concluded by Arbitration. Theodorich addresses himself to the Burgundian King, as also to those who commanded the Heruli and Thuringi then inhabiting near the Alpes, and invites them to

the government or ramonta to consum a commission of the configuration of

their own Affairs, which would not be a little indangered by fuch Succeis as the Frank promised to himself. But while these Neighbour Princes thus think of Mediation and Balancing, Clodonee resolves not to loose his opportunity but passing the Loire begins the War, and in a great and bloudy Battel deprives Alarick both of Life and Kingdom, whose Son Amalarick, things being in so desperate a Condition, withdrew himself into Spain, there to expect when an opportunity of recovering his Estate should be presented by better Fortune. Theodo-Sends Theudas rich pitying the Condition of the Youth fent Theudas, an Officer of his own, to take care of him, and resolved if he could not recover those Cities of Gall, which were already lost, to prevent the Progress of Clodonee, and secure the rest

join with him in the Mediation, using Arguments drawn from the Exigency of

which still remained in the Power of the Goths.

7. To this purpose he published his Proclamation, that the Offrogoths his Subjects should be ready by the latter End of June to begin their Journey, clawing them Significand with fuch Expressions as these, There is no need of persuading Goths to fight, onely of magistic acquainting them with the thing, which is rather a Pleasure to a warlike People. In dendacrithe Confulship of Venantius and Celer, or the DVIII. Year of our Lord, his Army, mind. under Command of Hibba a Comes, passing the Alpes raised the Siege before Carcasson, relieved Arles, and taking in Toloufe, Orange and Marfeilles, left that Part of the Countrey lying upon the Rhone in the Hands of Clodonee, from whom Theodorich was not

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able to recover it. Sending many Thoulands of Priloners to Ravenna, he feized on Sect. 3. fuch as he recovered, to the use of Amalarick his Nephew, placing Governours where he faw occasion as well in Gall as in Spain, which was divided betwixt the faid Amalarick and Gifalerick. But while he thus bufied himself in Gall, Romanus the Comes Domesticorum, and Rusticus a Comes Schole, with and hundred armed Ships and as many Flyboats, wherein were aboard Eight Thousand Soldiers, invaded the Coasts of Italy, as was formerly hinted, and having attacqued Tarentum to no purpose, got good booty and so retired; whether fent on purpose, or on their own accord, Sigonius accounts it uncertain, though Marcellinus wrote that they were fent by Anaflafius, and it doth not feem probable that Robbers and Pirates should put to Sea with fo great a Power without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Prince. Theodorich having little or no Divertion given him hereby, the Year following hired a great Number of Gepidae to reinforce his Garrisons in Gall, and took special care that in their Paffage through Liguria, and the Countrey of the Veneti, caffind var. they should doe no injury to the Inhabitants. To this purpose he directed his 1.5. Epicot. Letters yet extant to Veranus Saio to fee them keep good Order in their March, and wrote to the Army it felf, acquainting them that he was once minded to give them Provisions for their Journey in Specie, but afterwards confidering that Victuals either might not conveniently be had, or elle spoiled by the way,

fage, gravely, and like a Prince that was folicitous for the good of his People,

he had now ordered them three Solidi in Gold by the week; a small Allowance one would think, or else his Forces were not very numerous. 8. Theodorich having allowed his Gepida three Solidi a Week for their Paf-

the Tax due

Convenience alone, and accustomed to Depredations, could not keep their Hands from pillaging the Inhabitants of the Cottian Alpes in their way, which Milde-Providentifimeanour touched the King as near as if he in his own Person had been the Suffer of Backgrafter. And as a prudent Prince who ought to neglect his Profit for a time, rather mand. than utterly to loofe his Revenue, he caufeth his Letters to be written to Ep. 36. Faustus the Prapositus, or Prafectus Pratorio ( to whom he giveth the Title of Illustris Magnificentia tua) wherein he lets him know that he remitted to the Cention Alper faid Inhabitants of the Alpes Cottie the publick Money payable in the third Indiction. He compares the Army to a River, which though it doe much good

flowing in its own peculiar Chanel, yet inlargeth its Pallage and doeth much Mischief, when it riseth beyond its due Proportion, bearing down all before it. By the third Indiction is meant the third Year in fifteen, according to which Number the Emperours computed the times, after that the reckoning by the Olympiads came to be obfolete. Who began this Computation is uncertain. It's commonly ascribed to Conflantine the Great; but Cedrenus will have it invented by

Theodofius. Of those who father it on Constantine, Panningus fetcheth the Original Serent Onimons about of the Indictions from his Victory over Maxenius, Jeleph, Statiger from his Lixthe Original and Number of his Manera Quinquennalia to the time of his Kicemalia, thinks the
Mumber of fifteen was invented. Baronius affirms, that there is no recisoning of Quen eide of Years by the Indictions to be found before the feventh Year of Constantine, wherein he Am 312.

overcame Maxentius; that Cenforinus, who writes of all manner of Supputations faith nothing of them, nor do any Ecclefialtical Monuments till the litting of the Monan Council under Julius the Succession of Sylvallars, but from the Great Ash it manifelly appears that from the faid leventh, Year of Confinning, and the Consultation of himself, and Licinius, the Indictions began to be reckoned in the Calendar.

9. Now for better understanding this matter it is to be considered, that the Indictions were famous for two things, viz. the Payment of Tribute or the Ordinary Tax, and the Supputation of Years or Diffinction of times. In respect of the first, they feem of a much earlier Date than the times of Constantine, and introduced by Augustus Caefar, who, as Dion Cassius witnesseth, a little before Our Saviour's Birth began a Rescription or Tax; first of such as lived in Italy, and were worth Ducentia Sessertia, somitting then such as were not so rich or inhabited the Provinces, 1562 1. 101. for fear of Influerections. From which shortly after being delivered by the settlement of his Affairs, when his Treafury was now very low, he imposed the Tax upon all the World. Perceiving that Commotions might hereupon be raifed, feveral Perfons were fent away into feveral Provinces to look to the Peace, and amongst the rest Sulpicius Cyrenius was takenifrom his Attendance upon Cajus Cafar, and dispatched into Syria, M. Lollius being appointed Governour to young Cafar in his room. That in this fense Indictions were not of a much later date, appears

admonified them by Letters to carry themselves moderately, and as became those that fought for the Safety of all Italy. But they measuring Decency by

ought to have petitioned,

Sect. 3. from Julianus and Paulus the Lawyers, from what they answer concerning Lands obnoxious to this Indiction or Payment. But what fort of Payment this was or how it was fessed, whether by Poll or a Tax upon the Estate, hath been doubted. It's most probably conjectur'd that it was levied both ways, at first, a certain Estate in Land and a certain Age (though various at several times) being required of those that paid it. For the Chief Collectour took notice of all Perfons who were to pay and who not, and at what time they had already begun or were to begin to pay, registring their Names. The Syrians, as appears from D.1.3. de Con-Ulpian, were obliged to pay Tribute, the Males at fourteen and the Females at fibur. twelve Years of Age, or the time of Puberty. Afterward, the way of payment by Poll called Capitatio, came to be more diftinguish'd from the Land Tax called

Fugatio, and that in the time of Ulpian.

10. Granting then that the Indictions, as they noted or imposed Payment of Money, were before the time of Constantine, yet that so anciently they were made use of for Supputation of times doth not any where appear. But how should they come to comprize the Period of fifteen Years, or so many together to be called the first, fecond, third Indiction and fo forward, till the fifteenth be reckoned, and then to begin again? Some with Scaliger guess the reason to have been, because Constantine reckoned from his Quinquennalia to his Vicennalia. Others, as Paulus Petavius, because Men being not sessed of old, till they were fourteen Years old complete, the Sels or Tax could not be laid or estimated but for fifteen Years at most, those who should be taxed at the next fifteenth Year being yet unborn. And Baro-Vide Baron. nius cannot possibly (he faith) assign any other reason than this, that whereas fixteen Years were formerly required for a Soldier to serve before he could challenge a Mission, Freedom from the Capitatio, or the Privilege of the Emeriti, Constantine, who had much kindness as he himself professeth for the Veterane Soldiers, cut this term shorter by one Year, and appointed sifteen for their Service. That all these fifteen Years should be reckoned by so many Indictions thence probably came to pass, because of every of these Years Annona indicebatur, Provisions either in Specie or in Money were imposed and laid upon the Provinces by Refcript or Edict of the Prince, and so they were called Indictions ab indicendo; care being taken by feveral Laws, that before the beginning of the Indiction, true and Authentick Breves should be made for prevention of Fraud and Cheating in the Collectours. Hence this Indiction came to be called Distributio and Fusio. Baronius farther conjectureth, that the Reason why the Indictions began on the twenty fourth of September was, because that then Harvest being every where got in, the Emperours were wont at that time to indict, impose or lay the Taxes upon the several Provinces. But Petavius affirms that the beginning of an Indiction was the same with that of a Year, and that thereupon the Romans computed their Indictions from after the Winter Solflice, but the Greeks from the first new Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, who having not their Months fixed as had the Romans but moveable, and their first Month beginning with the first New Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, which most commonly happened on the twenty fourth of September, it came to pass that the Roman Indiction had a divers Epoche from that of the Greeks. The Emperours that succeeded Constantine followed the Greek Account, as also did their Subjects; but the Bishops of Rome always observed their own, and still retain we are told, their ancient Custome. The Indictions were so notable, and the Supputation by them, that it was very convenient to make this Digression upon them. But of their beginning diversly in divers Countries we have spoken in our fecond Part; Let us return to the Kingdom and Government of *Theodorich*.

11. For the Year following or the DXL of Our Lord, in the fourth Indiction,

Falix made Theodorich to oblige the Countrey of Gall, and reward the Virtue of Falix a de-Casted var. ferving Person of that Nation, joined him in the Consulship with Secundinus, who Pilling Aug. was named for the East. Concerning this Person he wrote an Epistle Commen. flating datory to Anastral the Emperour, still extant, for his approbation, together the with another directed to Fælix himself, both Commonitory and in way of Commission. Herein he commends him for his frugality, which had inabled him to undergoe the Expences of the Dignity to which he doth also incourage him, they being great. For the same Year and the same fourth Indiction he made Argolicus Presect of the City, that he might, as he tells him in his Patent, succeed Cassind, ver. to his Father's Honours, bidding him confider how great a matter it was in the 18.3 & 11 beginning of his Preferments to have grayheaded Rome committed to his Government, and charging him to carry himself so justly, modestly and generously, that he might no way diffrace his Employment, but maintain his Dignity amongst so

many grave and understanding Persons as the Roman Senate afforded. In ano- Sect. ther Epiftle he commands him to give all furtherance to one John, with whom he had agreed for cleanling the common Sewers of the City of Rome, concerning the prodigious Magnificence of which he spends many words, affirming that they exceeded even the Miracles of other Cities. In a third he orders him to Ibid. Ep. 30. give leave to Paulinus a Patritian to re-edifie the publick Store-houses, which were fallen down for Age and want of Care, that they might be preserved for the use of Posterity. About the same time he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and having affured the Fathers, that as he took care for redrefling all grievances, especially such as concerned their City, so he could not but mind them of several Omiffions, which by Information of divers well meaning Persons were come Theodorich re- to his knowledge. As that the waters of the Formæ were now made use of to prehends the turn Mills and to water Gardens; that the flaves appointed by Princes to that fervice were feized and employed by private Men, and that Brafs and Lead which had made Eternal Jones King of Theffaly, and Midas King of Phrygiatheir first Inventours, being employed by adorning the Walls, were pilfred away and imbezelled. He tells them therefore that he had fent one John, ( probably the fame with the other ) to have information, concerning these matters, and bids them join with him, to promote that for which they of their own accord

12. Being now much intent upon Acts of Charity and Publick Works, as he had Ibid. lib. \*

Acts of Cha- before been kind to the Gravasiani and Pontonates, he remitted the Tribute of this Ep. 32. 8 40 fourth Indiction to the Inhabitants of Arles, who endured the penury of that glorious fiege as he expresseth it, and with them to all in Gall under his Power, giving many reasons to Gemellus to whom the Order is directed, for his dealing fo favourably with that People; but chiefly this, that rather the Equity of their Cause, than good Nature induced him so to doe. About this same time he Ep. 34. fent one Maradas a Comes, to protect and defend those of Marselles from all Acts of Violence and Oppression, commanding them to receive and obey him in fuch Capacity. The year following forefeeing in what danger Italy might be through the many Excursions and Depredations made by the Northern Nations, and confidering how he himself had shewn the way, to any that would invade these Quarters, he caused the Castle of Veruca situate upon the River Atlesis to be fortified. Moreover at this time, as Sigonius will have it, he married his Sifter Amalafreda to Trafamund the Vandal King of Africk, as also his Neice to Herminfred King of the Thuringi. And taking notice of Symmachus a Patritian, how excellent an Architect he was, and how industrious he had been in adorning the Suburbs of Rome, with private Buildings, he thence takes occasion to perswade him to imbrace a more Noble Subject of his Abilities, in repairing the Ancient Theatre, which through Age, the confumer of all things, was so much decayed. In the Letter the King, or rather Caffiodorus, fell into a Rapture, when Caffiod Fir. he confiders the force of time, which one would have thought, should sooner l. 4. Ep. 51. have worn out Mountains than fo strong and admirable a Fabrick. Having admired its arched Roofs, he talls into a Discourse of the Original of Theatres, be-The Original cause he hath to doe with a Learned Man. He tells him that when of old, Countreymen in Festivals were wont to facrifice in their Groves to several Deities, the Athenians first brought up this Countrey practice into the City, calling that a Theatre in the Greek Language, which may be expressed in Latin by the word Visorium, as which at a distance, and without any impediment might be seen by the People. The Front hereof was called Scona, from the darkest shade of the Grove. where, at the Spring, Shepherds were wont to fing their Songs to feveral tunes. In those times flourished Musick and Sage Sentences of those most prudent Ages, but afterwards this honest Discipline, avoiding the Conversation of naughty Persons out of Modesty, retired.

13. Thence he comes to shew both whence the Tragedy and Comedy received their Names, to speak of the Muses, the Mimus and Pantomimus, wherein we must not follow him, and at length tells Symmachus, that whether it should be thought fit to underprop the Fabrick or repair it by new Buildings, the Expense should be out of his Chamber, both that the Architect might be renowned for so good a work, and Antiquity feem decently repaired in his own time. And this we thought fit to infert, that the Reader may fee the generous Humour of Theodorich, and the Learning of Caffiodorus though a little affected, whose style is not fo much barbarous as was the time, wherein Latin through long continuance, which altereth all things, and much more through the mixture of foreign and exo-

### 26 The Kingdom of the Oftrogoths in Italy, Contemporary Part IV

panians be-cause of the

Sect. 3. tick words, if we look at the true idiome and phrase, was quite changed from it felf, and acknowledged its vassalage and subjection to the barbarous Northern Nations as well as the Cities and the Countrey it felf. And hereof this learned and worthy person was so sensible, that in his Presace to his Epistles he both acknowledgeth it, and deprecates the disdain and indignation of his Reader. This same Theodorich se- year so fruitfull in acts of Clemency and Magnificence, Theodorich did still more good in remitting to the Inhabitants of Campania the Tribute they were wont to pay, and this he did in confideration of the lofs they had sustained by the eruption of the Hill *Vefuvius*. Concerning this there is a Letter or Order extant directed Coffeed Fig. to Faustus the Presect, wherein he tells him that the Campanians having received this damage had petitioned him to that effect. That he was ready to grant their request, it he could be rightly informed of the accident, and how to judge of the particular damages done thereby. He commands him to fend some person of approved fidelity into the Territories of Nola, or Naples, to survey the Grounds, and take an eslimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allow-

ance out of the Tribute.

14. Then doth he tell the History, and recount the sad circumstances and effects of the usual Eruptions. He premiseth that the Countrey, lest it should enjoy perfect felicity, was continually allarmed with that calamity, yet was it not fo terrible as else it would have been, because it gave fair warning of the impendent and ap-A Description proaching mischief. For such strugglings and motions there were within, that of its Eropti- Vapours breaking out with a mighty noise terrified all round about the place. The Air, faith he, is all thickened and darkened with that footy Exhalation, fo that it gives notice of its rifing to all Italy. Ashes throughly calcined flie throughout the great Sea, and terrene Clouds being gathered, it rains drops of Duft in the transmarine Provinces: it being then clearly discovered how much Campania it felf fuffers when the mischief is felt in another part of the World. You might there behold, as it were, Rivers of Dust to run along the ground, and dry Sand to flow with fervent violence, as if it had been liquid streams. You would be amazed to see the plain Fields swell as high as the tops of Trees, and those Meadows fadly wasted with hot Embers which lately by their pleasant greenness allured the Eye. That everlasting Furnace belcheth forth purple but barren Sand, which though adust with continual burning, yet causeth to take Root and fructifie those several Seeds or Stalks it receiveth, and with great celerity repaireth what it had formerly wasted. What strange Exception is this to the general rule and course of Nature, that one Mountain should roar to such a degree, that to many parts of the World should be terrified by the change of the Air; and that so it should cast about its own substance that yet it should receive no loss nor diminution! It bedews the Regions far and near with Dust; vomits out heaps upon the Neighbourhood, and yet this Mountain, exhausted by so many and so great evacuations, continues to be an Hill for fo many Ages. Who would believe to great pieces of Earth, lying in the plain, should have bubbled up out of so profound depths, and no otherwise than as light Chaff spit or blown out of the Mountain's mouth? Elsewhere great Mountains burn privately, and in their own place; here almost the whole World must know of the matter. Wherefore feeing that the Inhabitants are not to be credited in a thing which may be attelled by the Universe, let your prudence make choice of a man who may both rehearle them, and prevent all fraudulent and furreptitious dealings. Thus doth Caffiederus though in an odd fort of Latine elegantly describe and paint out to the life all the Accidents of this Eructation, which, and that defervedly, makes Baronius Ad Arm. 471. reprehend John Bodin for taxing Procopius of lightness and inconsideration, in that he writes how the Ashes of another Eruption flew as far as Constantinople.

of Vefuvius.

15. This too famous Vesuvius takes its rise from a pleasant and open Champion Vide Schmit (being made or nourished of Earthquakes and Burnings) where the pleasant Se-kine less betws empties its Waters into the bosome of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and that in the Giovina & Giovina & Company of the lower part of Campania the Happy, a Countrey never sufficiently commended for Luca del fire its admirable fertility, in which respect Pliny calls it the place of perpetual contention betwixt Ceres and Bacchus, and by Merula it is styled the Paradise of B. Italy, This Mountain, or Hill rather, elevates its felf for about four miles, its highest top not being one mile perpendicular from the Sea, in compass about twenty four, fo separated from all other Hills as if it scorned their conjunction and alliance, or rather they were afraid of it as a dangerous Neighbour. The skirts of it are befet with fruitfull Vines, beautifull Trees, pleasant Flowers, and wholesome Herbs, all over but where it looks upon the East, which side being either originally, or

through the accession of this new adventitious Earth, more steep than the other, Sect. 2 bears onely wild Trees and brushy matter. On the top it is divided, or rather incompassed with another hollow Hill, shaped in the figure of an Half Moon, from which it is parted but with a small Valley or Plain called the Atrium, it being probable that anciently it was all united in its felf, and plain and even, as both Strabo describes it and Dion Cassius witnesseth; in process of time this division being made by Stone and Ashes, which it vomited out of its own Bowels. From this Plain, as well the one as the other of those highest Ridges, is barren, naked. and all covered with Ashes and broken Stones, which continually rowl downward. which makes it very difficult to climb up, so high, as to come to the prospect of the ancient Vorago or Hole, although there grows Broom, which affords some

ihelter against the Torrent, and here and there causeth better footing.

16. At this day the Mountain is incompassed with a well peopled Countrey, and noble and elegant Cities, adorned with rich and fumptuous Edifices, and in many places with large and stately Palaces, each whereof feems rather the Habitation of a King than the Pleasure-House of some private Noble.nan; so rich are they in their Furniture, exquifite in their Fabrick and Workmanship, and delicioutly feated amongst Gardens, Grotto's and Fountains. But as nothing is perfect in this World, but the best and most pleasant things subject to change and inconstancy, Campania the Happy is in this respect unfortunate, that it fosters so great a mischief in its own bosome, which Time, the finisher as well of miseries as pleafures, hath had no power to conquer and fubdue. Whether this Fire find matter within the Bowels of the Mountain it felf, or rather burning below in fome inferiour Valley makes onely a passage through it, and a vent for discharging the Vapours and Ashes which arise from the bituminous matter, Sulphur and other Minerals lying in the Countrey round about, and by its hot Fountains and otherwise giving arguments of terrestrial Fires, as Seneca was of opinion, it's not our work here Ep. 70. de Esto enquire. If we could tell the Reader when either the Eructations of this Moun-na. tain or Atna began, it would be more proper to our Defign; but here we are destitute of Intelligence; for the inward cause having been the same in all Ages, many fuch Accidents may have happened before these Monuments of Antiquity received their Being, which communicate to us the most ancient Observations about this Countrey. It's fcarcely worth the while to take notice what the pretended Perosus of Annius tells us, that in the last year but one of Aratius the Sixth. King of Affyria, Italy burnt for many days in three feveral places about the Istri, Cymei and Veluvii, and that these places were by the Janigeni called Paleusana, that is, the burned Region. 17. This is indeed agreeable to the Etymology of the word Vesuvius, fignify-

ing Fire or Spark, in the Greek Tongue, as a late Writer tells us, in which respect the Volsci in their ancient Speech called it Vesbia, which as those who are skilled in that Language affirm, is the same with Fire. Several others write of the Antiquity of these Fires proceeding from this Mountain, and whence the Countrey should be called Campi Phlegrai, but when they first began, they do not take up-The several E- on them to tell us. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo seem to speak of them as having ruptions when happened in times remote, such as they had heard and read of, and the Hole and Ashes onely demonstrated to the eye, that formerly such things had been. This perhaps was also the reason, why Pliny who was so diligent in reckoning up the feveral places of this nature, yet makes no mention of this though it was fo near him, and his curiofity at length, to pry into the mysteries of so great a wonder, brought him to his end. But he intended onely to make mention of fuch as continually vomited forth their flames, which this Vefuvius doth not; and perhaps it might have smoaked in his time, but because it did not much enda- Annal. 1. 5 mage the neighbouring Countrey he passed it over in silence. To be sure, Tacitus, Prospetabates, pulcherimum describing the pleasantness of the Isle of Capri, the place of the sensual and volup finum, ante-

tuous retirements of Tiberius, speaks of this Hill as not having formerly done that quammons armischief, which it did afterward in the time of Titus. Hence Writers conclude, descens facient that before the time of Tiberius there happened no fuch burnings as to destroy the \* Hic est pam. natural beauty of the Mountain, at least had not been so long a time as suffised to pineis viridis the reparation of it. And this they inforce from a Verse of \* Martial, which seem-brn. 1. 1. epign. eth to hint at some such thing.

18. John Boccace speaking of Vefuvius, tells how it broke out into flames before Lib. di Mont the reign of Titus in the time of Nero, having first fent forth a thick smoak, which ended at last in a shower of Ashes that filled all Campania, and the Sea it felf.

Seneca speaking of this very time, which fell in the LXV. year of our Lord, in the Nat. 1.6. cc. 3. Confulfhip

Sect. 3. Confulfhip of Regulus and Virginius, and on the fifth of February, makes no mention at all of the burning out of that portantous. part of Pompeia, and much endamaged all the Countrey. It's supposed therefore that Boccace mistakes the Name of the Emperour, although the experience of modern times affureth us, that fuch Earthquakes are ordinarily accompanied with Eruptions of Vesuvius. But to be fure fixteen years after, about the year of our Lord LXXXI. in the time of Titus, happened fuch an one as could not be concealed; it's effect being so sharp, as made those that lived in that time both to teel and speak. Of this have written Pliny junior, Suetonius, Zonaras, Orosius, Tacitus, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus, Martial, Ausonius, Eusebius, and many others. So strange were the accidents, circumstances and effects of this Eruption, as cannot well be expressed. Suetonius gives an Abstract of them, but Xiphilin the Epitomizer of Dio is more express, who having first described the Mountain, and then the ordinary and common figns and effects of its conflagration, affirms that they were nothing in comparison of what happened at this

The dreadfull 19. Before the Eruption a great number of men of unufual bigness, such as Giome in the time ants, its faid, were feen to wander about the Hill, the Countrey and neighbouring Cities, both by day and night. After followed a very great drought, and prefently fo dreadfull Earthquakes, that the tops of Mountains became level to the adjoining Grounds. Then were heard fubterraneous founds, like to Thunder and the bellowing of Beasts, the Sea roared, the Heavens made a noise, and great crackings and rulhings were heard, as if the Mountains had all fallen together. Then first of all began mighty Stones to be cast up to the top of the Hill, which being removed out of the way, such vast quantities of Fire and Smoak burst out, that the Air was filled, and the Sun darkened no less than in the greatest Eclipse, the Day turning into Night, and Light into fo prodigious Darkness. Hereupon the people, according to the superstitious humour of those times, thought the Giants were fallen out amongst themselves, the rather because the Image and representation of them were to be seen in the Smoak, and a noise of Trumpets seemed to be heard. Some thought the World now returned into its ancient Chaos, or was to be confumed by Fire; yet unwilling to die, and covetous of Life, when the whole World seemed to perish with them. They ran out of their Houses into the High-ways, out of the Ways into their Houses; from Sea they hasted to the Land, and from the Land to the Sea, still imagining, according to the restless humour of mankind, that new things would be better than the prefent condition.

20. So vast a quantity of Ashes at length fell, that both Land an Sea, as well as formerly the Air, feemed therewith overwhelmed, which did great mischief, not onely to Men, their Fields and Cattel, but destroyed in a manner all Fish and Fowl. Two Cities, Herculanum and Pompei it covered, and buried therein the Inhabitants alive, as they were fitting in their Theatres. Nay so incredible was the quantity, that it flew as far as exgypt, and Syria, not to mention the nearer parts of Africk; as for Rome it so thickened and darkened the Air there, that the Sun was thought to be eclipsed, to the ordinary fort, and the more understanding were confounded at the accident, knowing nothing of what had happened in Campania: therefore they imagined that Nature was dissolved, and that Heaven and Earth would come together. And although at Rome they were more scared than hurt for the present, yet afterwards a grievous Pestilence followed, as the dreadfull Effect of so dismal a Cause. The beginning of this Eruption fell on the first of November, about one a clock, in the first year of Titus his Reign, as appears from an Epistle of Pliny junior, wherein, setting down the occasion and manner of the death of his Uncle (who wrote the Natural History, and going too near to pry, was choaked with the Smoak and Dust) he resembles the first appearance of that huge and strange Cloud unto a Pine Tree, for to no other, he faith, he could fitly compare it, it feeming to have, as it were, a long Trunk, and Boughs spreading out above it. Sometimes it appeared white, otherwhiles dusky and spotted, according to the mixed proportions of Earth and Ashes. Reckoning up the several accidents which accompanied this Prodigy, amongst the rest he saith that the Pumice Stones slew about the Ears of men in the open Fields, yet having confulted together what to doe, they held it fafer during the Earthquake, when their Houses tortered and reeled as if they had been drunken, to be without than within doors, arming their Heads with Pillows and Bolfters against the blows they expected. In conclusion, so dreadfull was this Conflagration, as well in its felf as circumflances, that Cliverius affirms the Hill ever fince to have burned, and others that from this time it became forked or horned at the Sect. 2. Top. Ecclefiastical Writers make use of it to express the Infernal Fire, and particularly our Learned Doctor Jackson upon the Creed affirms this burning of Vesuvius to have been as a Beacon to give warning to all Flesh, and from the Lib. 1.c. 24 admirable Conformity betwixt the Predictions of the Prophet Joel and the Narration of Pliny, he doubts not to fay that now was fulfilled that Prophecy, I Jod. 2. 30. will shew Wonders in the Heavens, and on the Earth, Bloud and Fire and Pillars of Smoak, as also that this was the beginning of the terrible Day of the Lord foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the World was a long time shaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like Calamities in Trajan's time, recited by Dion Cassius.

Another in the 21. The next Eruption of this subterraneous Fire that is taken notice of, hap- De Prodigii: pened in the time of Severus; and as Lycosthenes guessed in the Year CCIII. and L2.

CHAP. I.

the tenth of that Emperour. The Historian relates that now Vefuvius shined with mighty flames, and roared with fo huge a Noise that the found reached as far as Capua; this being possibly the time whereof Galen writes, that a great Quantity of Ashes was carried from it as far as the Sea. The next breaking forth Of Dioclesian of this combustible matter was in the time of Diocless.in, about the Year CCCV. when it flew over all Europe, if Maiolus be to be credited, who writes that the Fire was extinguished by the Prayers of St. Januarius, how truly, seeing no other L. 1. Coll. 16. Authours make mention of this Eruption, we shall not enquire. Of that which P. 284. followed next after, and happened on the fixth of November in the Year CCCCLXXI. many Authours have written. We are told that adjoining Towns and Regions were laid waste by this burning, and that such a Fear and Consternation seized the People, that they betook themselves for many Years to Supplications and Processions, that they might avert the Wrath of Almighty God. Besides what happened in this Year two other Eruptions are spoken of in the CCCCLXXII. and CCCCLXXIII. of Our Lord, which fome conjecture to have been one and the same, and that it either continued or broke out at several times for so long together. However the matter stood in reference to time, most dreadfull were the Accidents of this, or these Conflagrations. Marcellinus affirms the day to have been turned into Night, and that all Europe was covered with the small dust which flew about in the Air, and the Inhabitants of Constantinople, to prevent the like Judgment for the future, kept an Anniverfary day of Prayer and Sup-plication the fixth of November. This confirms what Procopius relates of the flying of the Ashes as far as that City, for which he is rashly taxed by Bodin, though Leo the Emperour was struck with such Consternation, that he could not rest quiet in the Town, but went and sojourned at Mamantis, and these Ashes were blown into Africk as far as Tripolis, if not in the same Year, in that which followed. The next Conflagration was that which gave occasion to this Discourse, and happened in the Days of Theodorich, which ten others have followed in succeeding Ages. But the greatest by far as can be known was, that which fell out lately in the Year M. DCXXXI. on the fixteenth of December, the manner whereof and the direfull Effects, are described in the Italian Language by gi, & Proton Gioviano di Lucca, a Doctor of the Laws and Apostolical Protonotary as he is tario Apostoflyled, who hath taken pains to collect out of Hiftory all the other Conflagrati- lito, one mentioned. But we have made too long a Digreflion, which the remarkable scending

ness of the Subject extorted.

22. Spain being now at this time held, and governed by the two several Interests of Gisalarick and Amalarick, the two Gothick Kings, the former it seems Thendat Vic. took Arms against his young Neighbour. But his Designs were not so deeply toious in laid, nor his Preparations so cuick and suprises. not content with his share, resolved to have all or none, and for that purpose laid, nor his Preparations fo quick and furpizing, but Theudas the Governour or Theud-hais, Protectour of Amalarick easily discovered them, and was so well provided, that Populis imperations Protection of Annual A Carlo Representation of the Country. The Representation of Agrick, who kindly Troft Mand, Gifalarick betook himself to Trafamund the Vandal King of Africk, who kindly Troft Mand, Confident or Confident o entertained him, and jealous of the Power of Theodorich supplied him with Money. This Theodorich much stomached, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he upbraided him with ingratitude; in that having been so obliged by him he requited him by entertaining his Enemy. He had honoured him, by bestowing his own Sifter on him in Marriage; whereas he had given but his Daughters or Nieces to other Princes: which Sifter he extolls not for much for her high Birth and Quality, though she was descended of the Stock of Amalus, as the Excellency of her Mind, being a Woman equal to him her Husband in Prudence, and not fo

Sect. 3. confiderable for her Royal Estate, as admirable for her rare Policy and Councils. 3. He admonished him feriously to consider of the Injustice he had done; less the  $\frac{Cassilar}{hb_{1}}$ ,  $\frac{Cassilar}{hb_{2}}$ ,  $\frac{Cassilar}{hb_{3}}$ ,  $\frac{Cassilar}{hb_{3}}$ King of Italy should be provoked to doe something, which might manifestly break that good understanding, and peace that had been formerly betwixt them, and for as much as an unlooked-for Injury, and the finding of Treachery where one discourse expected Friendship and good Offices cannot be endured. He desires him to give treating. heed, to what he had ordered his Ambassadours to say to him by word of mouth. ".". Gifalarick(or Gefaleck)it feems by this Letter, having got what fupply of Money he defired, was gone into other Countries to find out some good Advantage for recovery of his former and better Fortunes. Yet Trasamund excused himself so plaufibly, that he gave full and abundant fatisfaction to Theodorich, which he expresseth in another Letter published by Cassiodorus next after the former, wherein is mentioned also a Present of Gold sent by the Vandal King. This Feriman mile wherein is mentioned and a present of Gold Rott of Theodorich refuseth to accept, expressing what great delight he took in restoring it, Regala, C. and fome Vanity, in fetting forth his own Commendations for fo doing, concluding fine ultiwith an Exhortation to his Brother-in-Law to be more cautious and exact for the time to come. In the mean time Theudas, by his order, governs all Spain in the Name of Amalarick.

23. The year of Our Lord DXV had M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senatour for Con-23. The year of Our Lord DXV naq M. Ameuro, buyons and procurement ful, of whom we have already spoken, and by whole means and procurement ful, of whom we have already spoken, and by whole means and procurement fully and the Western we have discoursed so much other matters, especially of Italy, and the Western Provinces. To so high a Dignity he did not come per saltum, or leaping over the Heads of such as were far above him, through the wantonness of Fortune, but by degrees and as Vertues themselves are wont to increase, for so Theodorich his Ma-Cassada, 120. fter expresseth it in his Letter to the Senate. His first step in preferment was the lib. 1. Ep. 4. Comitiva privatarum, which Office having managed prudently, innocently and without Corruption, he was advanced to the Comitiva facrarum Largitionum. Having in this place also demeaned himself with such Moderation, that he shewed what was just and equal, both by his Example and Precepts under the former King, by Theodorich he was preferred to the Dignity of Prætor, in discharge of which Trust, having left a pattern of Modesty and Moderation to such as should come after, he came to be Corrector of the Brutii and of Lucania his own Countrey. At length he arose to the Dignity of Præfettus Prætorio, as also the supreme Honours of a Patritian and Conful discharging the Office of Secretary still as appears by the Letter lately mentioned, wherein aswell as in that which precedes it he is commended, though truly, for the greatness of his Family, the honourable Actions of his Ancestours, and his own Personal Vertues. But it was the Custome for Princes to extoll their Candidates, and blazon their Vertues and great Atchievements to the Senate, that they might feem not to have conferred Dignities and Preferments, upon unfit and undeferving Persons.

Theodorich fubdues the

24. About this time, it's uncertain what Year, Theodorich subdued the Allemans, and forced them to pay Tribute, as Agathias hath written, and appeareth from the Kings Letters directed to the Inhabitants of Suevia, wherein he lets them know that he had made one Fridelade their Governour, for restraining thests and robberies wherewith they were much disturbed. Within a year after the Confulfhip of Caffiodorus, while he still cherished the Fortunes and Hopes of Amalarick his Nephew in Spain, he was informed that Eutharick, the Son of Viterick and Grandson of Beremund, lived in that Countrey. For Beremund the Son of Thurismund descended of the Family of Amalus, leaving Scythia, as Jornandes writes, went and lived in Gall with Theodorich the Successiour of Vallia King of the Westrogoths, by whom being honourably entertained, he left a Son called Viterick, who was Father to this Eutharick, a Person excellently qualified both in He married his Body and Mind. Theodorich hearing him much commended was very defirous Daughter Dough and When he had the fatisfaction, glad he had found out one who to Embartek was both of his own line, and every way deferving his Alliance, he gave him in Marriage Amalasuenta his Daughter. Two or three Years after he made him Conful, and Anastasius the Emperour, to please and oblige the Old Man, presented him with the Robe called Tunica palmata, and adopted him as his honorary Son in thereupon mortal and irreconcileable differences arose betwixt them.

the way of Arms. In the mean time Herminfrid, King of the Heruli, put to death his Brother Berthar, and after that calling Theodorich King of Gall to his affiftence made an end of Belderick his other Brother; but when he had done his work, and Theodorich demanded part of the Countrey conquered according to the Articles of their Alliance, he refused to make good what he had ingaged, and

25. Betwixt

25. Betwixt the Emperour Justin and Theodorich, there was maintained from the Sect. 2. first a good Intelligence and Correspondence, as appears from mutual Offices of Kindnels and Amity. Justin himself bearing the Title of Conful in his second Year, took Eutharick the Son-in-Law of Theodorich for his Collegue, and farther graced him by a titular Adoption, as a Letter shews, which afterward was written to the Emperour by Athalarick the Son of Eutharick, whom Amalasuenta his Wife bore the Year preceding his Consulship. Being designed Consul, Euing Conful vitharick went to Rome, there to enter upon his Office, which before he approached he was met by all the Ranks and Degrees of the City, who strove by all means to doe him Honour, as one whom they expected to see shortly upon the Throne. He on the other fide omitted nothing to gain their good Opinion, difcharging his Office with all possible Liberality and Magnificence; for some way or other he gratifyed the Senatours both Goths and Romans, and pleased the People with Shews on the Theatre, particularly with fuch wild Beafls procured out of Africk, as Rome had never feen till that time. Having done this at Rome he returned to Ravenna to his Father-in-Law, and there also strove to exceed himself in Liberality and obliging Actions. Some time after Theodorich was vexed in his mind by News received out of Africk, where the Wandals had imprisoned his Sifter Amalfreda after her Husband's Decease, and put all the Goths to death who went over with her upon the Account of the Alliance, under pretence of a Conspiracy. Theodorich having not sufficient strength at Sea for Invasion of Africk, could not revenge the Injury as he defired, and in the mean time Hilderick the King contracted a fast friendship with Justinian, Nephew to the Emperour, and who managed all Affairs in the Extreme Age of his Uncle.

with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Theod.

26. Hitherto we have beheld Theodorich fo to demean himself, that one might not fear to propound him as a pattern to other Princes, and his Actions as fo many Copies for them to write after, fuch his prudent Conduct, his Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, and which Cemented all, his Justice, Equity and Moderation. Now we must see him degenerating from himself, and blurring those Lines of Government which he had so exactly drawn; so hard is it for Man that is placed on high, not to be giddy and intoxicated with Ease, and the Fumes of

continual Pleasure. Yet had he shewn any discretion in the choice of a Subject, turns cruel to wherein to exercise the mutability of his humours, he had been the less unfortunate, because more excusable; but the hard Measure he made, falling upon one who deserved better than any of that Age wherein he lived, in this respect For-A most excel- tune it seems ow'd, and paid him a very ill turn. This Person was Boetius a Patritian who had twice or thrice been Conful, and fuch a Man as one ought carefully to describe, lest we doe him injury. Of so noble an Extract, that therein he excelled all his Contemporaries, deriving his Pedigree from Manlius Torquatus, which of later times had been enobled more by Anicius his Great Grandfather, and others of that most potent and noble House, to behold the Power and Interest of which most Eminent Persons came into Italy; an House which so abounded with Wealth, that Zosimus the Historian envying the Greatness thereof, writes that this Family of Anicii possessed in a manner the Riches of all the Romans. In his younger years he studied at Athens, where the Profession of Philosophy had been restored, which as he neglected not in general, but searched into the depths of all Sects and Opinions, so especially he addicted himself to that of Arillotte, and therein spent most of those Eighteen years which he passed away in that University. The Name of that Philosopher, was formerly scarcely known to those Vide Baron. that were merely skilled in Latin, as he himself faith; but he translated his works, and illustrated them with Commentaries in that Language, hereby sufficiently evincing that of all Roman wits, he best understood the Scale, and could fathom the Depths of the Peripatetick.

27. For the Reader must not think that the Philosophy of Aristotle, which in these later Ages hath obtained the Principality in the Schools, was always of such Reputation as we have teen it in our time. At the beginning of Christianity the Sect of the Stoicks much prevailed, but especially, the Opinions of Plato, which in the primitve times were of fuch Repute, that the greatest Rubs, the true Religion met with, were laid by those Prejudices that were thence received. For although much furtherance it received from fuch Philosophers as were converted, in refuting the Vanities and Impieties of Paganism, yet the great Writers against it were of that Sect, and both Tertullian and Origen of old complained, all or most of the Herefies which crept into the Church, took their Original from the Tenets of (this) Philosophy. Long was it e'er the Schools became

Sect. 3. Peripatetick, and Philosophy had ceased to be Pagan, e'er she forfook the Accademy and the Porch. At length she courted Aristotle so much, that she made him ample amends for her former Neglects; and here, as formerly she had done much milchief as well as good in the School of *Plato*, fo the indeavoured to obtrude the Opinions and Notions of *Arifforle* upon the Christian Faith, witness *Gilibert* or Gillelert, the Bilhop of Poictiers, of whose Profession of Philosophy and the Herefie he thence fucked, let Ecclefiastical Writers speak. We shall onely observe farther concerning this Subject, that the Peripatetick Philosophy was vehemently believed and promoted by the Schoolmen who found it most agreeable to their Quirks and Niceties, and possibly the real and essential Difference and Subsistance it placeth betwixt Substances and their Qualities (upon which Doctrines some Novelties in the Church have been founded ) was the great Reason it hath been advanced, not onely above true Reason but the Holy Scriptures themselves. As much concerned are they to answer a text or place in the Philosopher, as in St. Peter or St. Paul; and Theology hath not onely received its Model and Method but even Rules from him. So hath this Sect prevailed in later Ages, that from it Writers have received their Terms and Manners of Speech, which makes it necesfary that young Students be therein first instructed and well grounded before they advance to other Exercises, and make any Attempts upon Experimental Philoso-VideCaster phy, or Divinity it felf.

28. But to return to Boetius, none draws his half fac'd Picture fo much to the L. E. Le. Le. life, as he who afterward destroyed the Archetype, I mean Theodorich the King who gives him fuch Encomiums, and heaps fuch Commendations upon him, as the sense and apprehension thereof could onely be obliterated by the Power of Jea- Multa eradilousie. He not onely commends him for his skill in the Precepts of Aristotle, but for tions signal his perfections in all manner of Learning, whereof he makes him fo great a Helluo, that he uleth a word applicable to fuch Creatures, as upon which the Nourilliment they have received hath been very well bestowed. The knowledge he ascribes to him is as well practical as speculative, and herein appeared his worth, that he was not content to be Learned alone; but would have others partake of that which made him so considerable. Therefore he taught to speak Latin, what soever Authour was considerable amongst the Greeks; for instance Pythagoras the Musician, Ptolomy

thourstransla- the Astronomer, Nicomachus the Arithmetician, Euclid the Geometrician, Plato ted by Boetius, the Divine, Aristotle the Logician, and Archimedes the Mechanick, about whose Works the King, or Cassiodorus for him, ipends many words, the effect of which is this that Boetius periectly skilled in his Doctrine of Motions should make two Clocks, whereof one should explicate the Motion of the Spheres, and the other the Diurnal Course of the Sun, both which were to be presented to the King of the Burgi. Such is the Testimony given by one that turned his deadly Enemy, but this as we formerly termed it is but an half fac'd Picture, representing onely an Idea of his Intellectuals, what he was for his Morals we must also discover, to present him in all his Proportions. First then as a means to make him good aswell as knowing, to the former secular Learning he added the Knowledge of Theology and the Holy Scriptures, as appears from his Books concerning the

Bleffed Trinity, and against the Errours of Nestorius and Eutyches.

29. What Influence this Knowledge of Christianity and true Philosophy had into his Life and Actions is fufficiently evident from his Management of Matters during his last Consulship, and the great hatred he contracted by his Impartial Jultie, and defending private Persons from the Injuries and Oppressions of unreasona- Vide Signitude Defending private Persons from the Enjuries and Oppressions of unreasona- Vide Signitude Defending of the Master of the de Orich Injuries and Oppressions of the Master of the de Orich Injuries and Oppressions of the Master of the de Orich Injuries and Oppressions of the Master of the de Orich Injuries and Oppressions of University of the Orich Injuries and Oppressions of University of U Kings Houshold, and other greedy and ravenous Goths, from the Claws of whom he Bostium de rescued many miserable Italians, and to the great Indignation of such Monsters, Consolarions. protected his innocent Countreymen, aswell from publick as private Impositions and Rapines. When during the Rage of a most Cruel Famine, a great Summ of Money was required of the Inhabitants of Campania to their utter undoing, he opposed the Project of the Præsedus Prætorio with such Zeal and Constancy even before the King, that it was quite dashed and laid ande. When the greedy Courtiers had already devoured the Estate of Paulinus, a Man of Consular Dignity, in hope and expectation, he rescued it out of the Mouths of those greedy Leeches. Albinus a Person of the same Quality, he defended against the Accufations of Cyprianus the Informer, and by his Wit and Eloquence, protected him when the King accused him of High Treason, and referred his Trial to the whole Senate at Verona. Thus swimming against the stream he met with great opposition, both from King and Courtiers, and having inraged them by croffing their

CHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Defigns, he was at length fivallowed up in the Gulph of his Princes Jealousie and Sect. 3 Indignation. Once out of his Office, in the fucceeding Confulthip of Maximus, he was accused by Basilius, Opilio and Gaudentius, of whom the first for no good deed had been difmitted the King's Service, and undertook this Employment to redeem himself from his Creditours, and the other two having been condemned to Banishment had taken Sanctuary, and thereupon were ordered by the King's Edict, if by a day prefixed they departed not from Vienna, to be stigmatized His pretended in the Forehead and then driven away. Yet the very fame day did these Villains accuse Boetius, and their Accusation was admitted; which tended to this effect. that he had endeavoured to advance the Power and Interest of the Senate above that of the King, having hindered an Informer from bringing in an Impeachment of Treafon against the Fathers: and Letters were forged to make out his Intentions and Aims

to be for the Recovery of the Roman Liberty. Theodorich either privy to this Villany, or lightly giving credit to those suborned Witnesses and seigned Crimes, rashly condemned this Innocent Man, and confiscating his Estate banished him to Ticinum or Pavia, where comforting himself aswell as he could with his Philosophy. he made a Book concerning that Confolation, and committed to writing those passages for information of Posterity, aswell as of the present Age.

30. Having imprisoned Severinus Boetius at Pavis, he caused Symmachus his Father-in-Law, and a Person of great Learning and other worth to be apprehended, committing them both to fafe Custody, for they were not both committed at the fame time, as some have thought, but Symmachus enjoyed his Liberty, whilst Boetius had too fad occasion to bewail his own Condition, and congratulate the Liberty of his Father-in-Law, as he doth in his Book de Consolatione. Not long after Beheaded to- Theodorich caused them both to be beheaded, and if thou wilt believe, Reader, the Relation of Martianus, who wrote his Life, and received it as a Tradition from the

Church of Pavia, Boetius after his Head was off, took it up with both his Hands, and being asked who it was that struck him, answered The Ungodly, and so walking into the Neighbouring Church and kneeling down before the Altar, when he had received the Sacred Mysteries, he expired, and after his Death was honoured for a Saint. And why may not this Story be as true as what we find concerning St. Denis, which whosoever will not believe may goe and see, if he please, the Crosses erected in the several Places where he rested himself with his Head in his Hand, betwixt Paris and the Town which now bears the Name of that Martyr. The very fame is also told of our St. Alban, who was beheaded for his Religion as St. Denis was. But so fell this Noble Pair of Senatours, surpassed by none other in any Indowment whatfoever, which renders Mortals both Excellent and Glorious. Concerning one of them we have already feen, what their great The Charac- Enemy (as he proved) testifies, and for Symmachus, the same Hand gives him ter of Symma- large Commendations, true no doubt, because Procopius saith in few words the same

things and more, although the reason the King gives in one of his Epistles, be not fo folid as were the Buildings for which he fo much extolls him, when he defires him to take upon him the Care of repairing the Theatre formerly mentioned. Antiquorum That he was well skilled in Theology appears from Bretius his dedicating his diligentiffinus writings to him concerning the Trinity, wherein he makes him Judge and Cen-imitator, Mo-

four of his Books; and that he was well feen in all the Sciences, from Priscian the bilissimus in-Grammarian of Cafarea, who taught about this time at Constantinople, and dedi-fittuor, &c.

cated also to him the Book he wrote of Weights and Measures.

31. But concerning the Worth and Innocency of them both, there is one Tef- Ex Prisiana timony behind, and that is the too late Repentance of Theodorich, whose forrow, Grammatico as *Procopius* tells the story, was in its occasion and height full as remarkable as the remove Con-Punishment had been unjust. Not many days after their Execution, when the King flantinopal went to Supper, he had ferved up to his Table the Head of a Fifh of an unufual bigness. Delay his, the substantial bigness belong the substantial bigness belong the substantial bigness. This Theuderich (as he calls him, and by his right Name) fanfied to be the func caffield. Head of Symmachus lately put to death, who, as it were biting the nether Lip, de Orthografeemed to threaten him in a gastly and cruel manner. Seized hereupon with phia. c. 12. Horrour and Amazement, and falling into a Cold-liveat he hafted to his Cham-titus operisinber, and lying down upon his Bed commanded his Attendants to cover him with prefi Geneva. many Clothes. Then did he reveal the whole matter to Elpidius his Physician, la-Hist. Gothlib.

diesof Melan- menting the Sin he had committed against Symmachus, and soon after died, this being tody for a the the first and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against todesh, when the first and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against todesh, and commends centuring men without Examination. Thus Proceptus both excusses and commends centuring him for the Rathness and Injustice of the Fact, and yet herein exceedingly praising him, that the Fact was fingle, the whole Course of his Life and Government having been regulated and poifed by Justice and Moderation. Though his putting those

Scct. 3t wo Persons to death was inexcusable, yet his sorrow and repentance was remarkable, though the thing savoured of Rashness and Cruelty, yet his after-thoughts were figns of Mercy and good Nature; befides, the Extravagance of his Fancy as That fet afide to the Head of the Fith, feems to have been an Effect of the Fickleness or tendera most Excel-less Phines ness of his Conscience. This however must be faid, that Italy never enjoyed more ferenc and happy Days, never more Splendour in the highest pitch of her Greatness, never more folid and lasting Peace with Ease, Pleasure and Security, than under his Government. That few which obtained a Kingdom by Force and Violence, preserved themselves and it by such Calmness and Sweetness of Councils and Actions: In conclusion, that few fo believed by their Subjects were fo terrible to their Enemies, both which Procopius testifies of him. He died it's said on the Second of September, in the 34th. of his Reign, and the Seventy second of his Age. When he saw his end approaching, having sent for the chief of the Gothick Nobility, he declared for his Successiour Athalarick the Son of his Daughter Amalajuenta by Eutharick lately deceased, commanding them to receive and obey him as fuch; to love and cherish the Roman Senate and People, and to maintain Amity, and good Correspondence with the Emperour. His death is reported to have been portended at Naples, by the fall of the Head from off his

Grandfather

32. Athalarick then a boy of Eight Years of Age, succeeded his Grandsa-Athalarick ther. His Mother was the Regent of the Kingdom, being a Woman adorned with home. all Beauties and Accomplishments both of Mind and Body. Of Countenance and Afpect composed to such Majesty, as would strike the beholder with Veneration. Of such fluence and sweetness of Speech, that being skilled both in the Latin and Greek Tongues, she ravished the Minds and Atsections of her Hearers; in sum, for Wisedom and other Indowments which fit and qualify a Person for Govern-Letterswritten ment, far above her Sex. By her order, Ambassadours and Letters are dispatched, Adi & confa

Letterswritten ment, far above her seek. By her older, imman Senate and People, and to the to Copied Is by the Regent in the Name of the young King to the Roman Senate and People, and to the to Copied Is. neighbouring Princes, in League and Amity with her Father, fignifying his death, Ep. 1,2,3 and how the Child succeeded by virtue of his last Will and Pleasure declared wight ado, in the presence of the Nobility, whence the choice was so unanimously approved, that it feemed rather a manifestation of the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. That this Example of the Nobility, was readily and chearfully followed by both his Gothick and Roman Subjects, who had not onely promifed but fworn Obedience to him. The Senate therefore he defires to imitate fo good a Pattern, telling them he had fent to them Sigismer a Comes with others, who in his Name should also make oath to preserve to them their Rights and Privileges, and he bids them ask boldly of him whatfoever they thought would increase the Security of their present Estate. The People he courts in like manner, requires also from them an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance, and promifes under no less an obligation all Offices of Justice, Equity and Clemency; to cherish the Goths and Romans alike, and maintain them in Equal Rights and Privileges, making no other distinction, than that the Goths undergoing the Travails and Dangers of War for the Publick good, the Romans should enjoy quiet and security within the Walls of their own City. · He puts them in mind, how by the mutual Oath of Prince and People, the Memory of Trajan's Government was renewed, who as appears from the Panegyrick of Pliny, at his Entrance upon the Confulship, both swore himself and received the Oaths of the Magistrates, Senate and People. To Tiberius the Præfectus Prætorio of Gall, and the Provincials, as they are called, under his Jurisdiction, he promiseth by Oath the like good Government, having exhorted them to Fidelity and Obedience, and written his Letters to Victorinus their Bishop, to stir them up, and provoke them to be good Subjects, both by his Precepts and Example. He beggs also his Prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleafed to confirm to him his Earthly Kingdoms, that he would suppress his Adversaries, forgive him his Sins, and mercifully confolidate and preserve what he had so bountifully and gloriously conferred upon his Parents.

33. Such was the beginning of Athalarick, or rather Amala fuentha ( or Amalafuntha, as the is commonly called ) his Mother; who, either as pious and humble Penitents are wont to doe, conscious of the Frailty of Humane Nature, imposed upon her felf and Son the strong Bonds of an Oath, to check and pull them back when they should exceed the Bounds of Equity and Moderation; or, not ignorant what Diforder and Difficulties fall upon Kingdoms in the Minority of Princes, provided for his Security and Establishment as prudently as she could, courting thus his Subjects into the strongest bonds and ties which could be laid upon their Consciences, by this plausible Stipulation and Exchange of Oaths. That

with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Athalarick. CHAP. I.

> the latter Confideration effectually moved her, the Dictates of Nature may fuf- Sect. 3. ficiently satisfie, and that the former did not want its effects also, the Course of her Actions doth fufficiently manifest. For her principal care seemed to be for

Her care for his good Education, and the feafoning of his tender Years with good Learning Vide Coffied. his Education and religious Precepts; committing him to the exact Discipline of most grave variar him and fober Masters, who should instruct him according to the Roman Custome, Ep. 1. and their manner of the Institution of Youth, though the Goths were therewith offended. That fuch there were at this time who could very well doe it, we cannot doubt, because of that Publick School which had lately flourished at Rome. wherein were professed Law, Eloquence, and the Liberal Arts by most Learned Men, maintained at the publick Charge. But of late their Stipends had either been denied or very badly paid, which coming to the Knowledge of the Regent, she directed Letters in the King's Name to the Senate of that City, exposulating the neglect of so considerable a matter, and requiring the punctual payment of these Salaries for the time to come. Forasmuch as Arts are nourished and maintained by Rewards, she tells them it is Wickedness to defraud the Teachers of Youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be farther excited by an Augmentation of their Incouragements. She commands for a greater certainty of their Allowance, that they be paid every half year, and that if any Officers retain the Money longer than that time, they be responsible both for Principal and Interest. Her Reasons are, that Learned Men are not to depend upon the proud and disdainfull Humour of others, that it is a shame that Players should be provided for, who serve onely for pleasure and recreation, and they be neglected who are the Formers of good manners, and breeders up of Eloquent Wits for the Service of the Court. But especially that they may not be distracted by solicitous

thoughts, and necessary Cares for a Livelyhood, which must render their pains more ineffectual.

34. Having fufficiently provided for her Son's Instruction by way of Precept, the her felf became his Miltress in the other more significant and effectual part of Example. She not onely kept off her Hands from invading the Lives, Rights, Privileges and Estates of the Subject, but restored to the Children of Symmachus and Boetius, what had been so unjustly taken from them, and in general protected and secured the Roman and Italian People from the Rapacious practices of the Goths: who as Strangers that have their Fortunes to make in a conquered Countrey, fought to build their Families upon the Ruines and Desolation of the Natives. To Amalarick the King of Spain, and her Nephew by her Sister, who stood in need of some Incouragement and Allistence, (Theudas his Guardian having, by his Marriage with a great Lady of the Countrey, made himself in effect more King than his Pupil,) the gave part of Gall lying beyond Rhodanus, and retained that on the nearest side for her Son; what her Father had taken away from the Inhabitants of Carcasson, the restored, and remitted the Impositions he had laid upon them. Forefeeing also that by retaining that Part of Gall now mentioned, the should draw an heavy War upon the Kingdom, and the Franks into the Bowels of Italy, she yeilded to their King's pretensions, and delivered it up into his Hands. Shortly after Justinian came to the Government in the East, being assumed as Collegue in the Empire by his Uncle Justin. Assoon as his promotion was heard of in the West, Amalasunta dispatched Ambassadours to him, to congratulate his good Fortune, and to defire a Continuance of that Friendthip and Alliance which had been betwixt their Predecessours; if the Epistle be Var.lib.S.Ep.1. rightly directed as now we have it in Cassiodorus. And what she desired on her Son's behalf was readily granted, as we may conclude from that good Correspon-

dence, that was betwixt them as long as Athalarick lived, and the Coins which Vide Baron were stamped at this time, whereon is on one side to be seen the Image of Justinian, viae Baron.

and on the other the Name of King Athalarick.

35. We have already shewn how the Goths misliked of the breeding of their Hujus vol. lib. young King, and defiring to wrong the Subjects, would have him brought up 1.6.2. after the Barbarian way. How hereupon he was debauched by ill Company. How Amalasunta his Mother was brought into great Difficulties, and purposed to deliver up Italy into the Hands of Justinian. How Athalarick her Son died of a Confumption, and thereupon she procured Theodatus the Nephew of Theodorich to be King, and how in way of requital he basely caused her to be murthered. We shewed in its proper place, that Justinian upon this occasion resolved to make war upon the Goths, having lately fubdued the Vandals in Africk; that Mellages passed betwixt him and Theodatus, who put a Guard upon the Emperour's Ambassadours,

36 The Kingdom of the Oftrogoths in Italy, Contemporary PART IV

Sect. 3 and in conclusion that Belifarius by order passed from Sicily into Italy. The Reader must also remember that he pressing upon the Gaste. der must also remember that he pressing upon the Goths, they chose for King one Vitigis, who caused Theodatus to be murthered. Vitigis drew the Franks to his Party, but made war, though valiant enough, unfuccesfully against Belifarius, who at length carried him and his Wife along with him to Constantinople. Into his Room was Ildebald the Nephew of Theudas King of the Westrogoths, and Governour of Verona preferred, who killed Vræas the Sisters Son of Vitigis, and was himself killed by Vil.s a Gepids. After him was made King one Erarick, by Birth a Rugian, and confequently of a Gothick Nation, a Man of good reputation amongst the Barbarians. He would for a good Reward have delivered up Italy to the Emperour, but after a short Reign of five Months was killed by the Goths, who chose Totilas to be their King. He proved a fevere Scourge against the Greeks, then warring in Italy. He was the Brothers Son of Ildebald, a Man very Warlike and Active, as we have described his Actions at large. He carried himself with much Gallantry and Justice. He took Rome more than once, wasted Sicily, and at length died of his wounds, after the Battel fought with Narfes, received by one Asbades a Gepida. He Reigned eleven Years, and in him fortune shewed Fickleness and Inconstancy. The next and last King was Teias the Son of Fridigern, who did wonders in Battel against Narses, but was killed, and the Kingdom of the Goths in Italy

received its period with him.

Vitigis.

Ildebald.

Totilas.

36. So was the Kingdom of the Oftrogoths, overturned in Italy by the Vigilanof the Gaths cy and Conduct of Narfes, that famous Eunuch, after it had continued some fifty in Italy wholly nine Years. How this was done, hath been discoursed at large in our Account of the

Wars of Justinian, to which here we have nothing to add, little occurring concerning the later Gothick Kings, but in reference to the Wars of Italy, managed against them, chiefly by Belifarius and Narses the Officers of that Emperour. The Goths after the Death of Teias were headed by Aligern his Brother, but without the Title of King, and they strugled some time to no purpose, though they called in the Franks to their Affistence. Their Kingdom being destroyed, the Sovereignty and Command of Italy returned to Justinian the Emperour, who governed it by Narses, as a Province of the Eastern Empire. Narses having suppressed the Goths and driven out the Franks, fet himself as to Actions of Piety and Religion, so to repairing Towns which had been demolished in War, to the restoring of Buildings both facred and profane in Rome, and other places. But as of other things, fo of these we have no particular Account, for the following Years are so barren of any History, that as Sigonius witnesseth, in all the Antiquities of Italy and the West, nothing is more rude and uncertain, our best guides Procopius and Agathias having taken their leave. But, from the overthrow of the Gotbick Kingdom in Italy, which happened in the Year DLIII. to the coming in of the Longobardi, or Lombards, which fell out in the DLXVIII. passed fourteen Years, all which time Narfes seems to have governed, and spent it well, as we are told, in mending what had been marred by the former Wars. In these Wars that great mischies happened both to Places and Persons cannot be doubted. That those that were faithfull to the Emperour fuffered much may eafily be conceived, and particularly we are told of the Family of the Titiones. This Family flying their Countrey, lost all they had, leaving a great Estate, and when the Goths were driven out, it seems made their Application to Justinian to be restored to their Lands and Possessions. Now it was a Rule in Law, that a Prescription of thirty years was a sufficient Bar against any pretender, let the Estate be come by how it would, and this it feems was pleaded by fuch as had got into possession. But the Emperour taking the case into consideration, granted a Rescript of Privilege to the said Titiones, which broke the Prescription; and this Rescript, being the onely Monument of that OMP 14 dark time, Cujacius hath communicated to us, who received it as he tells us, c.12. from the most Learned and acute P. Galefius a Spaniard. It being a Rarity in several respects, we shall not conceal it from the Reader. To Narjes it is directed

37. 'Flavius Justinian, Cæsar, Imp. Alanicus, Goticus, Wandalicus, Africanus, ever ' Augustus to Narses the Patritian in Italy. With great anguish of mind we perceive, 'that our City of Rome having been in former times much emptied, hath continu-'ed long desert, and in a manner desolate, and that from it almost an infinite 'Number of Illustrious Families, have betaken themselves to divers Climates of the 'World, to shun the direfull Cruelty and savage madness of the Goths and Wandals, 'amongst which the most Eminent and most Noble Family of the Triones, leaving the City in which it had happily flourished before for many Ages, in the glo-

with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Theodatus. CHAP. I.

ous Equestrian Order, was forced to fly to foreign Nations. Namely out of that Sect. 'Family, above an hundred and twenty Perlons passed over to the Vindelici and 'Retii, chusing rather valiantly to undergoe hard Exile, than enjoying at home with the Enemy of the Roman Empire their own goods, to live in filthy and dilhonest flavery. Now we being defirous to obviate such Calamities and Miseries dispatched 'away the most glorious Belisarius the Patritian into Italy against the Goths, that by 'him we might free the City, and Italy it felf, from fo great Slavery, Captivity and 'Slaughter. And so it fell out, that in that Ingagement which Belisarius had with 'Vitigis King of the Goths, and wherein he remained Victor, the King being taken 'Priloner, the Strenuous, Valiant and Noble L. Galbinzs Titio, valiantly discharging 'the Duty of a Tribune of Soldiers, died gloriously fighting, leaving three Sons, ' Aulus Anduatius, C. Tubero, and L. Reucardus, who all under thy Command in · Italy, fought for us and the Roman Empire with the greatest Fidelity against our 'Enemies. Wherefore feeing that in a Prince there can be nothing more Clement, 'nothing more Decent, nothing more glorious to be wished for, than to have a 'respect for, and confer just and gratefull Favours on such, whose Parents, by figh-'ting manfully for the Empire and their Countrey, most religiously died; and 'whereas those Brothers and their Progenitours were spoiled of their large Estate, by the wicked Enemies of the Roman Empire, which they enjoyed in the City, A Reseire of amongst the Cemonani, especially the Insubres, Vercellenses, Taurini and Lugures, ' for long spaces of time, We will, Command and require, as thou esteemest our granted to the for long spaces of time, for our Honour, that having made a diligent fearch, 'thou put them again into possession of their Estates, and goods of their Ancestours, ' having no regard at all to those by whom they are seized, and restore these Brothers ' to the City, their Honours and Dignities; and especially the Equestrian, in which they have flourished with great Commendation from their Great and Great great 'Grandfathers, and to place them again in their Houses, removing any that may detain them. For all those who from the beginning take Possession by force, and thereby lay unjust Foundations, do not acquire just Possession by the use of time, neither they who derive action from them; and we will not that such Occupiers be affilted by any Prescription, although of the longest time, from which we derogoate, and by our fulness of Power will have Derogation made, that the faid Brothers may serve us with the same Fidelity and Valour, which they have derived from their Parents. We will have therefore this our Pleasure, or rather 'just and deserved Restitution, inviolably observed under Penalty of an hundred pounds of Gold, and have commanded it to be strengthned by our Imperial

'Seal. From the City of Constantinople on the Ides of February, in the fix and thirtieth Year of our Reign, in the Year of our Lord DLXV, figned Juliuian, and underneath, Procopius. This is very remarkable, and little or nothing is there

farther of Italian matters, till the coming of the Lombards into Italy; of the occa-

'fion thereof, and their progress till their setling therein a Kingdom, we have al-

ready discoursed amongst matters relating to the Constantinopolitan Empire.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, from the Expiring of the Command of Duces, and the Promotion of Authari to be King, to the End of this Kingdom.

The Space of 206 Tears.

HE Lombards having fetled their Domination in Italy, were ten Years, as we have faid in the History of the Empire, without a King and under Duces or Captains. But these ten Years expired, into the Dignity and Title of Authori made King they advanced Authori the Son of Clepho formerly mentioned, whom they firnamed Flavius, for the more grace of the matter, as Paul their Historian tells us, or to mollify the found of his barbarous Name, with a sirname familiar and easie, as others conjecture; for this of Flavius became afterward common to all their Kings. Now all the Great Men contributed half they had to the maintenance of his Port and Dignity. And this is to be admired in the Government of the Lombards, that there was no fuch thing amongst them as Violence and Oppression. No Treachery, no Compulsion was practifed. No Man was deprived of what he had by Thests or Robberies, but every one went about his business securely, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. So Paul writes; but we remember that he himself was a Lombard, and speaks possibly in favour of his own Nation, so he doth when he commends and applauds, for their Valour and Deportment, the Party which fought under Narfes, whereas Procopius tells us, that they were fent back in difgrace for their unruliness. And however he conceals their Faults, and commends them for ther great Justice and Moderation, it appears from Ecclesiaftical Persons, that after they were become Masters of Italy, they did many horrid Acts; and upon this account Gregory the Great calleth them a most wicked Nation. But possibly the truth lies betwixt both Extremes. 2. Mauritius the Emperour, not being in a Condition himself, hired Childebert

King of the Franks for fifty thousand Solidi, to disposses them. The King with a against the vast Army breaks into Italy, but rams satis, that we are the promised Lambard, he by Messengers, and perswaded him to take Money and be gone. He promised Lambard, he by Messengers, and perswaded him to take Money and be gone. He promised Lambard, he has been also as a League, but valt Army breaks into Iraly, but Paul faith, that the Lombards dealt with him hath Money on both fides. to return the Solidi to Childebert, with whom the Lombards made a League, but had work enough cut out for them by Droctulf, who being a Suebian or Alleman Druck-ulf fby Birth, for his Goodliness of his Stature had got the Honour of a Duke; but to Druck 8 to revenge his Captivity had lately revolted to the Emperour, and carried over Trud. Travare to his Party a considerable Number of their Men. Lying now at Broxillus a fider, Tracking Town fituate upon the Poe, thither Authori removed with his Army, and strait-occurring ly befieged him. The fiege continued long, and he held them to it; but at last he vo reflaments was compelled to quit his Quarters and betake himself to Ravenna; which having me. Anglofdone, Authori took Eroxillus and difmantled it, and made truce with Smaragdus xonibumthe Patritian the then Exarch of Ravenna, for three Years. This notwithstanding, finis Dictional Mauritius fent the fecond Time his Ambassadours to Childebert, and perswa- Suedis kgi Another fruit- ded him to break the League and fall upon the Lombards. He invaded Italy, but no Drawner leis expedition of Childe as they were on their march toward him, the Alemans that were in his Army fides et and fell out with the Franks, and the Diffention grew fo great, that they parted and the different standards. returned back without having any thing done.

3. At this time happened fuch fundations in feveral Parts of *Italy*, as the *pnab*, Dreadfull Inbefides other living Creatures, were destroyed. The River Athefis flowed lines between as the Windows of St. Zemo's Church near Verona, part of the Wall of which Trainform City was also broken down; and after two Months it perished almost all by tolf Throat Fire. The River Tiber was so overcharged, that it rose higher than the very Walls Truto. of Rome, defaced ancient Buildings, and overturned the Granaries belonging to the Church, wherein great Quantities of Wheat were loft. A Multitude of SerCHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Authori.

pents together with a Dragon of a vaft Bignefs, fwom down the River ( Paulus Sect. 4 Diaconus faith through the City ) into the Sea, where killed with the Saltwater, they were calt upon the shore. This happened in the Month of November, and in January following a dreadfull Plague called Peltis Inguinaria, from the Privy parts which it invaded, fell upon Italy, especially Rome, and destroyed an infinite Number of People, on whom Arrows were feen to be darted from Heaven, if credit may be given to no less a Man than Pope Gregory. This was the Plague, as some would have it, wherewith Men being seized sell into great sits of fneezing, and fo fuddenly died, whence the Cultome proceeded of praying, as still we do, for fuch as fneeze. But that this was in use long before amongst the Pagans, who invocated their Gods upon the fame occasion, is attested by Pliny, Nat. Hist. 1.28.

not to speak of more ancient Writers, and therefore it could not take its rife from Vide Bar.

the Mortality whereof we now fpeak.

4. Much about this time Authari King of the Lombards, fent Euin the Duke of Trent to waste Histria, whence he brought very rich Plunder. Others of his subjects were then employed in besleging Francio, one of Narses his Captains, in the Island Amacina, where he had continued twenty Years, but after a siege of fix Months, was forced to yield it up, and to depart with his Wife and Baggage to Ravenna. Authori as fivell as his People being much inriched began to look high, and asked the Sifter of Childebert King of the Franks to be given him in Marriage. Childebert receiving his Presents, promised he would send her, but sailed of his word being sued to by the Gothick King of Spain, to bestow her on him; and fenfible it feems of the Injury, and how good Cause he had given Authari to be angry with him, he fent to the Emperour, and promifed now he would doe his utmost for removing the Lombards out of Italy. And he sent an Army to make good his promife, but the Lombards, concerned now more than ordinary to shew their Valour, made greater flaughter of them, than ever was heard to have befaln that Nation, and very few returned home. Flavius Authari now incouraged by this

Success fends his Ambassadours into Baioaria, to ask in Marriage Theudelinda the Theude-linds. Daughter of King Garibald, who readily granted their fuit, and after their return Populis mollis. Authari himself makes a Journey thither Incognito to see her. Not long after his return, troubles arising betwixt Garibald and the Franks, Theudelinda with

Ambari Mar- her Brother Gundoald retired into Italy, where Authari met her with Royal Pomp, Gunduald Beand confummated his Marriage at a Place called Sardis above Verona, on the nevolentia po-

5. At this time, for what Cause is uncertain, Auful the King's Kinsman was slain Anschold, Graat Verona, and not long after Childebert, to gratify the Emperour Mauricius, sent dischildent another Army of twenty thousand Men to subdue the Lombards. Of these Men Anduald, Olo and Cedinus were the chief Captains, whereof Olo laying fiege to the Castle of Bilitio, was shot with an Arrow under his Pap and died, many of his Countreymen in their Excursions being met with and slain. Anduald with fix inferiour Officers came before Milan, where he met with the Emperour's Ambassadours, who promifed him relief after three days; but three and three they expected them to no purpose. Cedinus going the way toward the left hand took five Castles from the Inhabitants of which he exacted an Oath. They pierced by Placentia as far as Verona, and many Towns they demolished contrary to Articles, leading away the Townsmen Prisoners. But the Summer now grew very hot, and the Franks not accustomed to the Italian Air, were much afflicted with the Dyfentery whereof many of them died, and having been three Months in the Coun-Another fruit- trey to little purpose, the Lombards securing themselves in their strong holds, and their King particularly in Pavia, they were necessitated to return home, which they did with fo great Difficulty, that they were first constrained to sell their Cloaths off from their backs, and then their Arms to purchase Victuals in their passage. About this time it is that Paul thinks the famed Conquests of King Authat i happened, as that through Spoletum he proceeded as far as Beneventum, and TheConquetts having made himself Master of all that Country, kept on his Progress as far as of Ambari. Rhevium, the last Civy of Halu and passed to the St. Rhegium, the last City of Italy, and nearest to the Sicilian Island. There, as the story went, stood a certain Pillar within the water, to which he rode so near as to touch it with the Point of his Lance, and faid, Thus far shall extend the Borders of

the Lombards. The Pillar was reported to be standing in the days of the Histo-

rian, and to be known by the Name of Authari his Column. 6. The first Duke of the Lombards which setled in Beneventum, was Zotto, who Zotto, Suavis held the Government for twenty years. Authori fent to make a League with Gun-ficvocane Angl. tram King of the Franks, who referring them to Childebert his Nephew, e'er they a Sott mutara

Agilulf.

4, could finish their Negotiation, Authori dies at Pavia, by poyson as was re-fications. ported, on the Nones of September, after he had reigned fix Years. Aftoon as matrix September after he had reigned fix Years. ambari dies. he expired, notice was fent away to Childebert, and a Peace defired of him, in prifers who at length yeilded unto the request of the Lombards in this matter. They significant who at length yelided unto the request of the Lorentz and the state of the land for much Kindness for Theudelinda their Queen, that they permitted her to glos. Sear 4. retain her Royal Port and Dignity, and to chuse out of their own Nation a fit-pud Belga. ting Man to be her Husband, and their King; whereupon after good advice had with the wifest of them, she made choice of Agilulf Duke of Taurinum, the Kinfman of Authari, a very valiant Man, and in every respect fit for Government, who was married to Theudelinda and her Kingdom in the Month November, and Agel-huli, Li. afterward publickly crowned at Milan, in a full Affembly in May following, berdustilas-Agilulf, or Ago, as he was called for shortness, being confirmed in his Power, te Ago, Fig. fent Agnollus Bishop of Trent into France, to redeem such as had been taken hie manner, Prisoners in the Territories lying about that City, and some he brought back, Paulus Distriction of the Territories lying about that City, and some he brought back, Comm. liberto. whom Brambildis the Queen of the Franks, had ranfomed with her own Money. Euin also, the Duke of Trent, he sent Ambassadour to make an Alliance and Confederacy with that Court, which he effected. The same Year happened a

great Drought from January to September, which was followed by as great a Famine, and a great fwarm of Locusts covered the Countrey about Trent, of a greater bigness than usual, but sed onely upon the Grass, doing little prejudice to

the standing Corn.

7. Agilulf in the mean time puts to death Minulf, Duke of the Island St. Julian, Minus Aprile 1. Against his 7. Against in the mean time puts to ocatin arising, but a wind had re- are Alba. Successagainst for having revolted formerly to the Franks, and reduces Gaidust, who had re- are Alba. Greenal Dukes, belied and fortified himself in his City of Pergamus. Though he gave Caution Hams, many head for the Garage and now that he would be quiet, yet he fecured himself again in the Illand Comaci-quel Angle, whither the King pursued him, and beating out his Men got into his Hands badie drain. a Treasure, which had been there laid by the Romans. But Gaidulf escaping him in phurshi Men, amigain returned to Pergamus, where after some opposition he again made his peace, and erat Maranam. was received into favour by Agilulf, who was also so fortunate about this time, Inde Meras to reduce into order Olfari, another Duke or Captain who had revolted. The faminate are fame Year the Plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and other rix, from the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again broke out at Ravenna and the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again again broke out at Ravenna and the plague called Pestis Inguinaria, again aga places, killing as many Men as it had formerly done. Agilulf makes peace with the Avares, and a Winter follows so excessively cold, as the like had not been farminens known. Moreover in the Countrey of the Brioni, bloud instead of water drop-amore rangi, id ped from the Clouds, and Rivers feemed to flow with it as prefages of those Mi- cnim Grand ped from the Clouds, and revers received to now with it as presages of those life moments preferies, which were shortly again to fall upon *Italy*, the Peace being broken. For priet and not long after Romanus the Patritian and Exarch of Ravenna goes and vilits Rome, quitte figuite. and in his return takes in feveral Cities, that had belonged to the Lombards. Agilulf Cat. inraged hereat, marches speedily from Pavia, with a strong Power of Men, and jugit Auxilia lays fiege to Perufum, wherein lay Maurifio a Duke of his own Nation who had dir. The revolted to the Romans. Him he took and put to death, possibly because he had his Dominus; betrayed the Towns lately mentioned into the Hands of the Exarch; and he cast Welf-hari, them at Rome into a very great fright, particularly Gregory the Bishop, from minute of Williams in the Company of the Bishop from minute of Williams in the Company of the Bishop from minute of the Bishop from minute of the Bishop from minute of the Bishop from the Bishop from minute of the Bishop from whose Writings it appears, that the Army of the Lombards invaded also the Ter- Maurifel, Niritories of that City, and did great Mischief, though Paul the Historian passes all ger. by, and tells us he fetled his matters, and returned after the taking of Perusium unto Pavia. Gregory was constrained to break off his Custome of preaching, and betake himself to the Law of the City, the Liberty and Safety whereof he was forced to purchase with Money, and through the Intervention of Theudelinda the Queen, made a firm Peace for his Romans.

8. From an Epistle of this Bishop to Constantina the Empress, it appears that Lib. 4 Epis the Miseries which the Emperour's Subjects in these Parts endured under his cruel Indici. 13 Officers, were as great as any of them almost suffered from the Barbarous Lom-

The Empe-bards. The Burthen of the Taxes and Impositions were so heavy upon those of rour's Officers of the their years of the rours Omeers Corfica, that they were forced to fell their very Children to make Money, and jects to revolt, all little enough to fatisfie the Ravenous Collectours, which not able to bear, they fled to the Lambards in Italy, and in a manner left the Island desolate. In that of Sicily one Stephen the Chartulary of the Sea Coasts committed such Rapines, as the Bilhop affirms all his particular Acts of Violence and Injustice could not be contained in one Volume; and defires her to be a means to the Emperour, that those things might be redressed for the preventing of Judgments otherwise like to fall upon himself, and his Sons, and that Italy might rather want supplies of money, than that they should be raised in that sinfull manner. From Gregory his Writings it is farther evident, that the Emperour's Ministers who being at a great

distance from their Master, promised themselves impunity in their evil courses, opposed him in his endeavours for making peace with the Lombards, who, whatever Paul the Deacon hath written, for two years and more wasted the Roman territories with fire and fword, and did great mischief in Campania, where many Captains being taken, he took care for the redeeming of fuch as were too poor to pay their Ransome, several Prelates of this time contributing to so good a work. In the third year, having often attempted to make a Peace, at length he obtained a Truce, with hope that the King would at length fign the whole Treaty; but not willing to be cheated with good words and iair promises, he orders all his fire of the principle of Rome in the order of the order with the Lam-the name of a Peace, which was to endure but for two years, and yet the Bishop ftill extant gives the King thanks that he had heard his petition. That this Peace he fo much rejoyced in was in effect almost as good as none appears from this; after the figning of the Treaty he still complains of his being pressed with the fword of the Barbarians, befides the pains of the Gout and other loads of Cares Lib. 7. Ep. 30. that lay heavy upon him. The reason was this: though Agilulf the King had India 2. from positively, yet Arnulf the Duke of Spoletum would not swear but with re-qued Arnulf the functions, and upon conditions, which cast the good Bishop into great fears again. Homen days as appears by his Letter written to Theodorus the Curator of Ravenna, wherein he liator. In voc. also expresseth the Jealousie of King Agilulf that he favoured too much the Cause Alem. Arolf.

and Party of the Exarch being indeed Mediatour betwixt them. 9. About this time a blazing Star was feen for a month together, at morning India. 2.

and evening. Not long after, Euin Duke of Trent died, and was succeeded by Gaidoald a very good and religious man. The Baioarii in those days fell upon Gaide-wald. the Sclave with two thousand men, but were all met with and put to the Sword by conjugi Impe-Cacanus; and now first of all, faith our Authour, were wild Beasts resembling Tune primium Horses and Oxen, brought first into Italy, and gazed on as wonders by the people. Caballi silva-Not long after Cacanus King of the Hunnes sent and made a League with Agilulf vici & Bufals Not long after Cacanus rang of the Frances lent and made a League with English in Italian deat Milan, and Romanus the Patritian dying, Gallicinus succeeded him as Exarch, lati Italia poand made peace also with this King, as also did Theuderick, King of the Franks. puln miracula Agilust had the more reason to embrace the amity of his Neighbours, because his Flate at home. For Zangrust Duke of Verona re-zangrust, belled, whom he over-powered and put to death, as also Gaidust Duke of Perga-from Auximus, whom having twice spared, he now took in the same sault again; as also Warnecaut, whom that he might by this severity give some stop to this grow-Warne-gaut, ing mischies, he commanded to be executed at Pavia. Much about this time a- custou Auri. nother great Plague feized Ravenna and other maritime places, and the following year a great mortality to the people that lived near Verona: Spears, as it were, of bloud were feen in the Air, and the Nights were as light as Day. The year following Ariulf, who had succeeded Faroald in the Dukedom of Spoletum died, and Far wald, fa-Faroald's two Sons contending who, should possess his Father's place, Theudelap Faro idem obtained the Victory and It together. Zotto the Duke of Beneventum in like man-contracté. ner dying, King Agilulf fent one Arigis to succeed him, a Kinsman of Gifulf Duke Theudstolap, of Forum Julii, whose Sons he had brought up. Shortly after, the Daughter of accurrent. Agilulf was together with Godescalck her Husband, of the City of Parma, taken Argis, Honore prisoner by some of the Exarch's men and carried to Ravenna, her Father busying forms. himself in gathering together Ship-Carpenters, which he sent to Cacanus, King of mitum Adjuthe Avares, to make him fome Vessels, wherewith he transported men, and made tor. himself Master of a certain Island in Thrace.

10. In the mean time Theudelinda the Queen diverts her felf with magnificent Nam Deum Buildings. At Modicia twelve miles from Milan, she caused to be erected a non aliter beautifull Church, which she dedicated to St. John Baptist, and richly endowed nominare mos it, in the same place where formerly Theodorich King of the Goths had built a eratGermanis Palace, it being near the Alpes, and cool and temperate in the heat of Summer. vus in novo In the same Town she also made a Palace for her self, wherein she caused to be fadere sape. painted the Atchievements of the Lombards, which paintings plainly shewed that Hinc Marat this time they cut their Hair, and shaved all up from the Neck to the upper lia. part of their Head, their Locks hanging down upon their Faces to their Mouths, which they parted and laid on each fide their Foreheads. Their Cloaths, faith Paul, were loofe and for the most part of Linen, such as the Angli-Saxons wear, ha-

The Habit of ving large Seams and interwoven with various Colours. Their Shoes were open the Lombards, almost to the end of their Toes, and buttoned or laced together. Afterward they

Sect. 4. began to wear Hole, over which when they rode they drew a fort of Breeches called Poleaton Tubrugi birrei, but this fashion they received from the Romans. Hitherto the City missing the control of the city missing the city m of Padua had valiantly flood out against them, but now it was all burnt, and by country of Padua had variantly flood out against them, but how it was an outlet spenge in padua demo-order of King Agilulf, levelled with the ground, the Garrison Souldiers being per-mining in the control of King Agilulf, levelled with the ground, the Garrison Souldiers being per-mining in the control of the cont lithed bythem, mitted to goe to Ravenna. Agilulf his Ambassadours returning from Cacanus brought 146.2 the ratification of a perpetual Peace and Amity made with the Avares, who lent theirs also to the Kings of the Franks, requiring them in the League made betwixt the two Nations, to comprize also the Lombards. Now did the Lombards, Avares and Sclavi invade Hiffria, which they wasted with fire and sword, at what time Theudelinda bare a Son to Agilulf, whom being born in the Palace of Modicia, they named Adaloald. After this the Lombards took the Caille of Mount Adaload. Silex, and much about the fame time Gallicinus being beaten from Ravenna, Sma- mbilinary ragdus returned, who had formerly been Patritian, as Paul calls him, or Exarch Idem Comment of that City for the Emperour.

11. That fort of Peace which we find was made betwixt Agilulf, Gregory the Paulus aid. Roman Bishop, and the Exarch, was openly broken by the latter, who took Parma, and therein Godescalck and his Wife, the Son-in-law and Daughter of the King; at which time also he sent some Troops and seized on Brexillum, which had been forfaken of the Lombards. Agilulf, as he had reason, was very much concern'd, and resolved to set upon the Romans with greater fury than ever, and take from them those Towns which the Arms of fierce Alboin had left unconquered. From Milan then in the month of July he fet forward and laid fiege to Cremona, being affilted by the Sclavi, which Cacanus King of the Avares had fent him, and took it on the nineteenth of August. He levelled it with the ground as he had done Padua be-Manua defa- fore, and then turned upon Mantua, the Walls of which he fo long battered also, Panha Dian that he took it about the middle of September, fack'd it and defac't it in a lamen und Contact that he took it about the middle of September, fack'd it and defac't it in a lamen und Contact that he can be added to the capability of the contact that he can be added to the capability of the capability up, and those that had seized on Brexillum set fire to it and departed. Matters thus proceeding, the King's Daughter was fet at liberty by Smaragdus the Exarch, who by command of Mauricius the Emperour, had succeeded Callinicus, together with her Husband, and all that belonged to her; and a Truce was made from the month

to Parma, and falling into Travail, thereof died, to the no small discontentment as well of her Father as her Husband.

A Truce be- of September till the April following. The King's Daughter from Ravenna went

12. So great were the Troubles in Italy betwixt the Exarchs of the Emperour and the Lombards, that the people were miserably harassed betwixt them, and little or no rest could they have by virtue of any Treaty or Truce that could be made. Gregory the Bishop of Rome having a deep sense of these miseries, and having often in vain expected aid from Constantinople, when he heard of the death of Mauricius rejoyced, and fent away speedily a Messenger with Letters to claw Phoc.15 the Murtherer and his Wife, that he might obtain some effectual means for reducing the Lembards into order, and quieting the Countrey; and on the twenty fourth of April the Images of Phocas and his Wife were folemnly brought to Rome, Example Care and after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their prosperity with fit. Phetetaand after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their prosperity with property gilled Linguistics, the Billiop caused them to be placed in the Palace, in the Oratory of the Age that St. Cafarius the Martyr. About this time Theodelind bare a Son to Agilulf, whom Add mill, he called by the name of Adaluald, being Christened upon Easter-day. Now the Police, icm Truce was at an end, and an heavy war feemed to threaten the Exarchate of Ra-courakit ab venna, when yet Agilulf confidering how hard the enterprise of taking that City in month Part would be, still gave his consent that the Truce should be renewed. And there was he great need of it both in respect of the present season, and the state and condition to which Italy had been before that reduced. The Summer was so excessive hot and dry that all the Corn was burnt up and spoil'd, and such a dreadfull cold Winter followed, as in a manner destroyed all their Vines.

The Truce

before, that this might feem to give the last blow to it already in a dying Condition. So Gregory the Roman Bilhop, who died this very year, in his Expolition of the Prophecy of Ezekiel, describes it to us. "We every where see nothing "but mourning, hear nothing but grones, Cities are destroyed, Castles demolished; "the Countrey depopulated; the whole Land reduced into a Defart. In the fields Vide Borne "there are no Husbandmen, in the Cities no Inhabitant, and yet the fmall Re-" mainders of Mankind, are even now struck at without Intermission; some led "into Captivity, some maimed, and othersslain. And in what plight Rome is, "though once the Mistress of the World, we see, even spent with great and mani-

13. But such had been the lamentable Estate of poor Italy for several Years

" fold mischiefs, by loss of Citizens, Incursion of Enemies and frequency of Threats. " All potent Persons are taken away from her. Where is now the Senate? Where "is the People ? All order of Dignity in her is extinct, and yet as that remains "every day the Sword, daily innumerable Tribulations do press her, and after "that men fail the very Walls do fall. So dreadfull a face of things was in Italy, the effect of the late Conquest, for when the Victory is obtained, and the Countrey won, the miferies of the conquered People are not then ended but begun, more grievous are the courses which Conquerours take to preserve, than those whereby they first obtained. But now Agilulf by means and perswasion of his Wife especially, seems to be well inclined for peace, and applies himself to other Methods, tending to fettle and fecure that in his Family by love, which hitherto had been kept by terrour.

14. He began to think of his own Mortality, and how he might provide for the fecurity of his young Son Aldonald, which at length he concluded would be best effected, by fetting the Crown upon his Head in his own life time. For this purpose he assembled the Estates together at Milan, where in the open Cirque the Infant was faluted King by the People, in the Presence of the Ambassadours of Theodebert King of the Franks, and invested with Royal Ornaments. With the Franks the Peace was renewed, and a perpetual League sworn on both sides, a more joyfull day was never feen in Italy, fo bright and pleasant a Sun-shine, after fo great and terrible a Tempest. But though a League, as we faid, was made with the Franks, it was upon very uneven Terms. For the Lombards paid to the Tribute to the Franks, and so had long done a yearly Tribute, which Agilulf disdaining, as much below him who had made himself famous by so many Victories, sent three Ambassadours with abundance of money into Gall, wherewith the Principal Courtiers were fo bribed, that Clothair the King was perswaded for thirty thousand Solidi to fell it, and release the Nation for the time to come. There was much about this time fome Action betwixt the King's and the Exarch's Forces, for the Lombards as foon as the Truce was out, fuddenly furprized Orbitum and Balneoregium belon- Paulo Balneging to the Romans. But Smaragdus the Exarch got them reflor'd, and for twelve um Regis & Urbs within thousand Solidi, the Truce to be renewed for another year. Being now secure and at Paulus nbi his ease he began a worthy work, for whereas hitherto Ferrara had been but an fupra, c. 33. inconfiderable Village, but very conveniently feated upon the River Padus, or Poe,

Agilulf enlar- he compassed it about with walls, and brought it into such Reputation, that it daily increased as well in bigness as same, and afterward became the seat of most potent Princes, and fo hath a long time continued. This fame year, which was the fix hundred and fixth of our Lord, died Boniface the Third, Bithop of Rome ( the

Successour of Sabinian, as he of Gregory the Great ) and Boniface the Fourth of

the Exarch r

three years longer. 15. For two years following though Italy rested from war, yet was it forely afflicted by Famine and Sickness; the Effects of too excessive moisture by reason of abundance of Rain. In that following, a Peace and Confederacy was made betwixt Agilulf and the Emperour Phocas, which continued for about two years, so long as the Tyrant lived. He being flain by Heraclius, John Lenugius a Patritian, was fent to fucceed Smaragdus at Kavenna, who being a Man of a peaceable disposition, and finding Italy in quiet, laboured carneftly so to keep it, by the same means his Predecessour had done, constantly renewing the Truce with the Lombards, as there was occasion. By this means Italy continued in good repose for four or five years more, till it was diffurbed again upon a foreign Account, after this manner. Cacanus the young King of the Hunnes, impatient of rest and greedy of booty, with a felect Party of Soldiers, came out of Pannonia, and fell on a fudden into the The Duke of Dukedom of Forum Julii. The news thereof being brought to Gilulf the Duke, Gifel-ulf, Co-

that Name succeeded him. He was consecrated in the Month of August, and in

November following the Truce betwixt the King and the Exarch was renewed for

he was not at all wanting to himself, but gathering an Army, as he could, met the mitum adju-Hunnes, and adventur d to give them battel, wherein his Fortune answered not his Courage, for being incompassed by the Multitude of the Enemy, he was slain in the Place with almost all his Men. This being known, Romilda the Duke's Wife with his Sons, and the choice of the Nobility thut up themselves in Forum Julii, and the other Towns were reinforced by others, that fled cut of the Countrey. The Hunnes having wasted all at their pleasure, at last came before Forum Julii, Vide Paulion luand laid fiege to it. Here it happened that Romilda the Dutchess getting a fight of jus Ecclesie Cacanus from the Walls, was so taken with the beauty of the young man, that qui rem fute Cacamits from the wans, was to taken with the beauty of the young man, that  $\frac{1}{1000}$  talling desperately in love with him, she offered to him by a Mcflenger in case he  $\frac{1}{0.38}$ .

would

Sect. 4. would marry her, to deliver the Town into his hands. He promited her Marriage, and accordingly got into the Town, but then breaking his word he plundred age, and accordingly got into the Lombards prisoners, and giving her the satisfaction and burnt the place, made the Lombards prisoners, and giving her the satisfaction. Remids the Ornjoving him for one Night, then delivered her up to twelve Humnes to be fate Harmes to be

her tole hanged upon a Gibbet. Her Daughters fared better for their Chastity, dignam of being spared by the Hunnes, who thought they stunk, because out of design they bere

had bound putrified Chickens betwixt their Breafts.

16. The Sons of the Duke, Tato, Caco, Rodoald and Grimoald, when they per- Tato, Tafo, & ceived the King's treachery privately withdrew themselves and resolved to fiy. Tago apadra. Grimoald the Child being notable, as they concluded, to fit his Horle, one of them concretion. was about to kill him left he should alive fall into the Enemies hands. But he Care course. crying out, and promifing to ride as fast as the best of them, he set him upon his gamhaut min Horfe without any Saddle and bade him follow. But he could not ride to tail, but woo dlienter, the rest escaping he was overtaken by an Hunne, and being by him carried back aucakanham, toward the Camp did a thing which one would not have expected from a Man, of dulce. much less from him. For as the Trooper went before him with the Child's Horse in his hand, he gave him with his Sword fuch a blow on the Head that he left him for dead upon the spot, and turning his Horse he put him to his full speed, and so at length reached his Brothers. The Hunnes departing out of the Dutchy, led away Captives many Men, Women and Children, promiting to bellow them in convenient places in Pannonia, but when they came upon the Borders, perfidiously put all the Men of ripe age to death, and led away the Women and Children. After their Retreat, the Sons of Gifulf returned, and Tato and Caco the eldest ordered the matters relating to Government. While this difaster happened to the Lombards they at Ravenna were not in quiet, where John the Exarch bearing himfelf very haugh ily, and laying on the people heavier burthens than formerly they underwent, was by the Multitude killed in the Palace with fuch Judges as he had called together for deciding Causes. Neither were the Affairs of Campania more fertled, where John Confinius the Duke of Naples, contrary to his Faith formerly given to the Emperour, feized that City, and with a strong Garrison held it out against him. The News hereof being carried to Constantinople, Heraclius sent as Exarchinto Italy, one Eleutherius a Patritian, and his Chamberlain, a man of great wisedom and vertue. This same year was too remarkable for several other accidents. In August there was a great Earthquake, and this was followed by as great a Plague, a kind of Scal called Elepha tia, which to disfigured the Faces of the difeased, that they could not be known from dead Bodies. Three eminent persons also died, the Bishop of Trent, Duke Gundoald the Brother of Theodelind, Gunduald, Gundu and King Agilulf himself, after he had reigned twenty five years: a person iamous tens.

Agilulf dies. and King Agituif nimen, after he had reigned wently live years, a perior lamous remains for his Wars, and as acceptable upon the account of his Orthodox Religion. This Populis mellic

was the DCXV. year of our Lord.

Adaluald his

The Exarch

Eleutherius

17. Agilulf (or Ago) being dead, the Kingdom was confirmed to Adaluald his Agilulfu Rex Son King after Son, who reigned under the Government of Theodelind his Mother. No Wars appellation. now are heard of, the as became her sex applying her felf more to the works of Paulin Dias. Religion than those of Mars, for which the is deservedly celebrated by Church-men. lib. 4-6-43-But her Neighbours could not be quiet. There was one Gregory a Patritian who governed those parts for the Emperour which lay near the Durchy of Forum Julii. He pretended great kindness to Tato the Son of the deceased Gifulf, made him be-A bale Act of lieve he would adopt him for his Son, and enticed him to Optigerium, the place where he lay to perform the Ceremony by cutting his Beard according to the Lombard custome. But having got the poor young man into the Town, with Caco his Brother and others of their followers, he caused the Gates to be shut, and then fent Souldiers to fall upon them, whom they repulsed and so long defended themselves, till being pursu'd from Street to Street they killed many they had to doe with, and at last were themselves slain; which great atchievement being performed, Gregory sent for Tato his Head, and then cut off his Beard to perform his godly promile. The report of this villany being fpread abroad, Grafulf their Grande days Uncle haited and feized on the Dutchy, Rodoald and Grimoald being yet to young him R as not to be fit for the management of matters, who within a while, for that their maild, Quiti Uncle was, or they so thought or pretended, very severe to them, fled to Arichis Grim-mall, the Duke of Bineventum, with whom they had been brought up in their Infancy, Ira puters, who kindly entertained them. The same year, which was next to the death of draft, Hearth agilulf, Eleutherius the Exarch came to Ravenna, where he made inquisition after the reputit. death of John, and punished with death such as were found guilty of the Murther.

CHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Adaluald

Thence by the way of Rome, where he was honourably received, he went to Scct. Naples, where not being received, he belieged the other John Confinius in the City, which being at last constrained to surrender, he was put to death, and pardon was granted to the Citizens, who were forced to receive a new Gover-

Eleutherius thinks to

18. With this Success Eleutherius was so pussed up as to forget that Vertue and Moderation once supposed to be prevalent in him, and to approve that Vice in his own Person, which he had so declaimed against, and punished in other Men. Having opportunity, the great Corrupter of Mankind, by reason of the great distance betwixt these Countries and the Emperour, he resolved to make for the Sovereignty of Italy, and knowing he must have the Soldiers at his beck to aime at this, he paid them their full wages, a thing they had not been much used to, and by all other means possible endeavoured to oblige them. While he muzed and contrived how to accomplish this great Design, the death of Deuldedit the Bishop, presented him as he thought with a fit occasion to begin the Work. In the interval, before the Election of another he refolved to feize on that City, and led his Men thitherward to get him possession, but in the way met with the News of Boniface the Fifth his Promotion, which made him alter his Councils, and make a flattering Speech to the Army, by which and great promifes for this time he inveigled them, and assumed the Title of King, which to have farther confirmed, by invelling himself with Royal Ensigns of Majesty, he would go on to Rome, the fittest place he said of all others to receive them. But when they were better thoughts deteiling the Treachery fell into a Mutiny, which grew to that height, that they flew him as a Traitour on the twenty fourth of December, and

Is flam by his come as far as Luceoli, the Soldiers had better confidered of the matter, and upon returning to Ravenna, fent his Head to the Emperour. The Emperour Heraclius, named Ijaacius a Patritian, his Exarch in his Room for the Government of Italy; and now being resolved of a War with Persia, made peace with Cacanus the Hunnish King. Some four years after, one Eusebius came or pretended to come Ambassadour from the Emperour, about some weighty affairs to King Adalustd. He getting intimacy with him one day when the King came out of the Bath, either following the Directions of Heraclius, or on his own Head gave him fomething to drink, which drove him into a Melancholy or Dotage. Perceiving this Plot to have taken, he made use of his Youth and Madness, and feeding his Extravagant fancy, perswaded him to kill all his Nobles for his own security. He followed his Advice, and twelve he procured to be flain, which gave fuch an Alarm, that the Lombards fearing the mischief would increase, accused him as one that acted the part not of a King but of a Tyrant, and the year following growing more tumul-Adduald de tuous, removed him and his Mother from the Government; which done they poted, and A tudous, removed min and his resonance from the Government; which done they rised made put into his place Arioald the Duke of Taurinum, who had married Gundeberg Arioals, Holling the Sifter of Adaluald, A.D. DCXXIIII.

Thence

the Sister of Adaluald. A.D. DCXXIIII. 19. This Revolution cast the whole Kingdom of the Lombards into very great Troubles, all that were concerned not conurring with those that did the Fact. The Bishops beyond the Poe were earnest for Arioald, and laboured to draw the rest to their side. But Honorius the Bishop of Rome, and Isaacius the Exarch, either by his procurement, or the Infinuations of Theodelind were for reftoring Adaluald, and the rather induced, because the New King was of the Arian perswasion. Isaacius with an Army endeavoured his Restitution, and Honorius wrote to him, that as foon as he had done his work he should fend the Dissenting Bishops to anfwer their Rebellion at Rome. But Isaacius failed of his Design, and Arioald kept his possession, governing himself with that prudence and temper, that notwithstanding the Attempts of the Exarch, yet he was so true to the Interest of his Kingdom, as not to break the Peace with the Romans. The ill Success cast Theodelind into so great a Fit of Melancholy, that, not able to bear up against it, it brought her into a Consumption of Spirits, and this to her Grave the year fol- A. D. 627. lowing. She was much lamented by all good Men, for her Excellent qualifications both of body and mind, and above all the great respect she bare to all things Sacred. Several years did Aricald Reign with great Peace both at home and abroad, till fomething happened in his own Court, which gave him and his Family great diffurbance. One Adalulf a Nobleman folicited his Queen Gundeberga for unlaw-Gundiberga, full pleasures, and was with much Scorn and Indignation rejected. He fearing Benevola by the would accuse him, to prevent her, got to the King, and tells him a formal flory, how Tato the Duke of Etruria, had conspired to take away his Life, and marry the Queen. Arioald, burning with rage and jealousie, shut up his Wife

Sect. 4. close prisoner in the Cassle of Amellum, where she continued three years, till she was released and restored to her former reputation. For Cletair King of the Franks taking pity of her, fent and expostulated with her Husband for condemning a Lady defeended of the Royal Bloud of the Franks, and despoiling her of her dignity without any cause or crime committed. Arioald answered it was not without An study and without An study and answered it was not without An study and without An study and answered it was not without an answered and an analysis and an analy cause, to whom Anloald one of the Ambassadours replied, that they would agree the fideline with him if he would but permit one of her Friends to try it with her Accuser in a tingle Combat. The cultome of the Lombards was, as indeed of all these Northern Nations, to decide Controverfies concerning Accusations in that manner; therefore he not being able to refuse the offer, Aripert her Kinsman produced one Ar-prets, by Fitto, Paulus Diaconus calls him Carell, as her Champion, who got the better of novis confus Advialf, and fo the Queen's innocency being clear'd, the was reflored to her former Effate and Honour. And this added to her Fame, that she out-lived her Husband, who died fome four years after, and had the honour to make another

20. For Aricald dying without Iffue, the Estates assembled about an Election,

choice both for her felf and the Kingdom.

Arieald dies.

Wrefts the

and giving her the same respect as they had done to Theodelind of chusing her self an Husband, and the same a King for them, she pitch'd upon one Rothari, fit every way for fo great an Employment, but tainted also with the Arian Herefie. There lay at this time within Italy and some Territories of the Lombards two Provinces, as yet subject to the Emperour; viz. the Alpes Cottiæ and Opitergium, with all the Towns adjoyning as far as Tarinfium. Rotharis or Rothari, as Paul Res-hai, eathe Hiltorian calls him, with a great Army invaded the Alpes Cottia, and wrest-chi domina ed this rich patrimony out of the Emperour's hands, whence bending his Forces into I'enetis he took Opitergium, and the other Towns by furrender. The Exarch being surprized, and not able so soon to get his Troops together as to doe any thing effectual for prefervation of these places, yet thought himself in honour obliged to fall with all violence he could upon the Dominions of the Lombards. Rothar was fufficiently aware thereof, and having taken Perufia, with greater numbers of Men hafted to Emilia, and fo homeward to give him battel, and found Gives a grie. him out upon the borders at the River Scultamna. Here they engaged in Battel vous defeat to with this success that eight thousand of the Romans were slain and all the rest fled: a Defeat of such consequence that it put an end to all Wars betwixt the Kings of the Lombards and the Exarchs, till the time of Luitprand. The chief Inhabitants

about Opitergium having loft their Dwellings and Estates, imitated the ancient Ve-

Ifacing the Town also which they named Egnilium. About this time Isacius the Exarch, having happily suppressed a Sedition raised at Rome by one Mauritius a Chartulary against him, died suddenly. The year following, his Death being known at Conflastinople, Constans the Nephew of Heraclius, who having driven away Heracle-Tiscolorin Cal. onas, was owned Emperour by the Senate, fent Theodorus Calliopa his Exarch in-

neti and betook themselves to the Ashuaris of the Sea, and at the mouth of the Ri-

ver Plans built them a City, which after the Emperour's name they called Hera-

clia. Certain Countrey-men with their Cattel followed them, and because they

could not all be contained within the Walls of the new City, built themselves a

liogain his to Italy.

21. Now arrived the seventy fixth year from the Entrance of the Lombards into Italy, who all this while being more intent upon matters relating to War than Peace, and so concerned in securing their publick Estate from their Neighbours without, that they fearcely had time to contend amongst themselves about private Interests, had never been governed by any written Laws but onely by Custome and such Rules as were kept in memory and descended by Tradition. But now having Peace abroad, as it ever happens, they became the more contentious at home, and ease and plenty made them quarrel and begat fo many Suits that the former Customary Laws seeming insufficient, Rothar applied himself to collect them in Writing, and adding to them many other Decrees to answer such Cases as they could not reach, he published them under the name of an Edict at Pavia, in The Edict of the fix hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface. "Here begins Ame Della Ediction the fix hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface."

"the Edict which I have renewed with my principal Judges, I in the name of God, Dexuit "King Rotharis, the most Excellent Man, the Seventeenth King of the Nation of "the Lombards, by the goodness of God, in the Eighth year of my Reign, and "the thirty eighth of mine Age, the second Indiction, and after the coming of "the Lombards into the Province of Italy, fince Albom King at that time by Di-"vine Clemency came, the feventy fixth, happily, given at Pavia in the Palace. "How great our care and anxiety is and hath been for our Subjects, that hitherto

CHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Aribert.

"annexed doth declare. Then he tells how he was moved to make these Laws Sect "by the daily oppressions of the poor, and the insolence of those that had power "to afflict their Neighbours, that every one might live in peace and keep what "was his own without intrenching upon others. He concludes with a Sanction " that these Laws and no others should be in force, always saved and reserved a " power to himself to add thereto such as by himself, or by ancient Men could "be called to mind. He commands that fuch Caufes as were already ended "fhould not be called again in question; but such as were not yet decided, or "from that prefent twenty fecond day of November should take their rife, should " be ordered and determined according to this Edict. And this he commands in " general, that no advantage be taken by reason of any fault of the Writer, and to prevent all inconveniences of that nature, credit should not be given to any o-

"ther Copies but fuch as should be written, approved or revised by Anfuald his "Notary, who had fufficient licence and authority in that behalf.

22. Some five years after the publication of this Edict died Arichis the Duke of Beneventum, after he had held the Dukedom fifty years, who left a Son, Aio by name, but he being a Man of a crazy Brain (Paul tells us by reason of a Potion Lib 4.0 45 given him by the Romans at Pavia) he commended to his Lombards, Radoald and Grimoald the Sons of the Duke of Forum Julii, who, as we faid, had fled to him, and now were in the flower of their Age, affirming it were better for them that they governed than Aio. Yet Aio succeeded his Father in the Government of the Ay, infulante,

Samnites, as Paul calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their ab cvi simili-The Saracens elder Brother and their Lord. The following year the Saracens and the Sclavi in-tudine. See invade Italy. vaded Italy. The Saracens came from Africk, who having much harafled the Grains. Est vaded Italy. The Saracens came from Africk, who having much naraned the anom of AIsland of Sicily led away multitudes of Captives. The Sclavi from Dalmatia, on qua Saxonici, which they had feized, passed over to Sypontus and wasted Apulia, where they en- argue listely camped themselves; and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered themselves and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered to the standard and the standard a over with light Earth as if it had been firm Ground. Aio hearing of their Invali- Ex Franci on, with a party of Men, but without the knowledge of Radoald or Grimoald his cum Eau. c. 46. Governours went out against them, and thinking to fall upon their Camp, he fell into one of the Ditches, and therein was overpowered and flain, after he had been Duke a year and five months. Radoald within a little time, hearing what had happened, gathers together a fufficient power, and coming upon them more warily than the other had done, kills of them a great number, revenges the Death of Aio, and drives the rest out of all the Dominions of the Dukedom, of which now he took the Title and the Protection. But he did not long enjoy the Honour, dying within less than two years, and left his Brother Grimoald his Successour. The fame year Olympius the Exarch having beaten the Saracens out of Sicily died of fickness he had contracted by too much pains he had taken; which Constans the Emperour having understood, sent for Theodorus Calliopa and ordered him once more to go Exarch into Italy. This was the fame year that the Saracens took

of we have already spoken: The fix hundred and fifty first year of our Lord. Ring Rethari
dies, and Renour both for the Wars he had managed, and the Laws he had made; and leir
diald his Son Rodoaldus his Son his Successour, a Man of a peaceable disposition, making no Red mald,qui-Wars, but some religious Contests with the Orthodox Bishops, being tainted, as ein compass his Father had been, with the Arian Herefie. There is little or nothing memorable of him, but that after he had been King five years and seven days he was killed

Rhodes, and cast down the famous Colosse which was dedicated to the Sun, where-

by a Lombard whose Wife he had debauched. He having left no Children, though Paul tells us he married Gundiberg the Daughter of Agilulf and Theudelind, the And Aribert Estates met about a new Election, and the choice fell upon Aribert (or Aripert) the Son of Gunduald, who was Brother to Theudelind. Neither is there any thing Ar-preht, head

memorable of him, but that he built at Pavia the Oratory of St. Saviour, and died Poular Diagrams of St. Saviour, and died Diagrams of St. Savio after he had reigned nine years, faith Paul, although Sigonius allows him not a complex factor, bove five at most. He most imprudently divided his Kingdom Letwixt his Sons, Brebrards. In two young Men, Bertarid (or Pertharit) and Godebert, or Gundebert, which Berd Brekd.

gave occasion to very great Commotions. Bertarid was to reign at Milan, and Breed & no-Godebert at Pavia. But the latter not content with the Part allotted him quar-from Event relled with his Brother, and as in all fuch ambitious practices is common from frequential lefs to come to more, and at length nothing would fatisfic him but the whole King- in Legibor. dom; which though he himself by plain itrength could not compass, yet by the Gradente moore of Friends has been supported by the Company of the Company of Friends has been supported by the Company of F means of Friends he doubted not but at length to be possessed of the whole. He does fent Garibald the Duke of Taurinum to Grimoald the Duke of Beneventum to defire Conditions,

Sect. 4. hishelp, and in case he would give him his utmost affistence, to offer him hisown Sifter to Wife. But the Ambassadour acted quite besides his Instructions, advising Grimoald to come himself, and to decide the Controversie betwixt the two Brothers, by making himself Monarch of the Lombards, being as to Age more ripe, as to Counsel more prudent, and as to Strength, of greater Interest than either

24. Grimoald being a man of an active and ambitious temper could not but liften to him, and at length his ambition quite conquered other passions, so that he became a Competitour for the Kingdom, and to make himself a Title, with a very powerfull Army marched toward Pavia, having appointed his Son Romoald to be Rom-bald sel powerfull Army marched toward I wan, he came to Placentia he fent Garibald be Rum-wald, Duke of Beneventum in his stead. When he came to Placentia he fent Garibald be Rum-wald, Duke of Beneventum in his stead. fore to declare his coming to Godebert, who confulting with Garibald about a fit place wherein to lodge Grimoald, he answered none was so sit as his own Palace for him, to whom he had promifed his Sifter. Accordingly Grimoald came and was received into the Court, but Garibald that was the evil Instrument betwixt them, perswaded the King that he should not admit him to his presence without having put on privy Armour, and then Grimoald he told on the other fide, that except he came well prepared Godebert had a defign and would kill him, wearing privy Armour for that purpose. Accordingly the next day when they came to Grimoald kills meet, Grimoald found the King armed, and thinking it was upon defign, as he had been informed, drew his Sword and slew him in the place, which done he made himself Master of his whole Dominion and all his Treasures, though he left a

young Son named Reginbert, whom his faithfull Friends concealed and referved, Regin-bula if it might be, to another time, Grimoald making no great inquilition after him vel Revinbecause an Infant. Bertarid the other Brother, hearing how matters went, de-tis copielar

spaired of withstanding such an Adversary as Grimoald, and ran away from Milan Rayus Reto Cacamas the King of the Avares, leaving his Wife Rodelind and Canibert his gin iden and young Son behind him, whom Grimoald banished to Beneventum. As for Gariball Rein pum. Garibald de- the Authour of all these mischiess such an end he had as he deserved. For there Gervedly flain. Was one of the Family of Godebert, little in stature but a Man of extraordinary courage and resolution, who living in Taurinum, and hearing that he would come to Church on Easter Day, placed himself near the Font with a naked Sword under his Clothes, and as he came near the place, with all his might laid at him and flew him. He himself by the followers of Garibald was incompassed quickly and

flain; but so he revenged the Death of Godebert his Lord. And with their two Lives Paul the Deacon concludes his fourth Book of the Gests or Actions of the Lombards, to whom, as his Countreymen, he bears no small affection.

25. Grimoald having killed the one Brother, and driven the other with his Wife and Son into banishment married their Sifter, and with great applause of the Lombards declared himself King; which done, he sent back his fortunate Army to Beneventum, retaining onely the principal Officers to doe them honour. He did not doubt now to secure his Estate if he could but destroy Bertharid (or Pertharit) the other Brother, for which purpose he sent to Cacanus, or the King of Paulus Disc. the Hunnes, requiring him upon pein of his displeasure, and an absolute rupture Lib. 5.c.2. betwixt the two Kingdoms, to banish him his Dominions. Cacanus not thinking fit to be at difference at this time with his Neighbour, commanded the poor Prince to quit his Territories, which he perceiving he must out of necessity doe, and that he could not promise himself whereever he should go any constant maintenance or effectual affiltence, thought it most fit to goe to him who had the most reason of all to supply him, and sent before him one Unulf his Friend to give him notice of his coming. Grimoald was very joyfull to hear of it, and commanded an House to be furnished at Pavia every way fit for his Reception. But his Friends were too friendly, flocking in great numbers to him night and day and shewing fo much kindness as cast the Usurper into a very great sit of jealousie, which wrought fo far that he appointed him a Guard, and the next night intended to make an end of him. Now it wonderfully happened that Bertarid had notice of the Defign, and such a sagacious Wit as that of Unulf to affift him, by whose advice he changed his Cloaths, and passing by the Sentinels, got over the River, and so taking in the Pastures such Horses as he could come by, with such Companions as Unulf had provided him, escaped to Hasta, thence to Taurinum, and at Jast into France: where when Grimoald heard that he was arrived, he fretted much, as at a thing which had happened quite contrary to his expectations. Yet was he so generous and incomparably mercifull withall, that he did not onely not blame or quarrel them that with Unulf, but commended him highly for his constant fidelity to his Master, and 6.3, 4

CHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Grimoald.

him and another of his Servants leave, either to stay or go to him as he should Sect. think convenient. The King of the Franks, to whom Bertarid made his application, was so touched with a sense of his affliction, that the Year following he fent a strong Army, to replace him in his former condition. Grimoald buckled himself to refistence, but perceiving he was too weak to graple with such a Power, when strength would not doe, he used Crast, and thereby became Superiour to his Enemies. He himself made as if he fled out of fear, but left his Camp well Cap. s. furnished with all Necessaries, especially Wine in great Quantity, by which bait he hoped to catch the inconfiderate Franks. And so he did, for they coming and finding no body there but fo good chear ready for them, instead of pursuing the Enemy fell on it, and when their Bellies and Heads were full, betook themselves to their rest. Grimoald having notice hereof, after the second Watch, when they were in a dead fleep, came upon them and made fo great a flaughter, that he left very few of them alive, to carry home the News of the defeat.

26. The year following, Constans the Emperour came into Italy, upon what account Opinions are various. Some, as we have already faid, thought him by terrible Dreams and a frightfull Conscience, about his Brother whom he had murthered, driven from Constantinople to seek Diversion. Others believed he departed from that City out of hatred to the Inhabitants, who bore him no good will upon the account of Religion. And some, as Anastasius and Paul, were of opinion, that he came to drive the Lombards out of Italy. With a Fleet exceedingly well furnished he arrived at Tarentum, and thence led his Army to Beneventum, taking Luceria and several other Towns belonging to the Lombards in his way, and sate

down before it, refolving to use all force and art imaginable, for storming of it. Romoald the Son of Grimoald the King was now Duke thereof, who affoon as the Emperour approached, sent away to his Father Sefuald who had been his Governour, Jesualdus Sito let him know the great danger he was in; and now refusing to venture for dus autem the main chance, diverted the Benegers, as he could, by frequent Sallies, and ob- Paulo. Sittviating their Strategems and Deligns. Grimoald receiving the News with all speed mald, Sedum he could got an Army together, and with as much hafte marched toward Bene- nius cum effer ventum, iending the Messenger back with News of his coming, who being near Lingua Teur. his Journeys end, fell into the Hands of the Romans, who brought him to the route igna-Emperour's presence. Constans demanding what he was and whence he came, he pris nominiwithout concealing his business told him he was fent by the King to give his bus sape cr-Son notice of his coming, which cast the Emperour into a mighty tear, and caufed him to treat about Peace with Romoald, that before his Father's coming, he might get fafe to Naples, for performing the conditions of which he received, Idem. c. 8. Gifa the Sifter of Romoald as an Hostage. But to deceive him he commanded Gifa contrac-Sefuald to goe to the walls, and tell him nothing of his Father's approach, but tum ex Gifeton the contrary to affirm that he could not possibly give him any relief. He Gilbert copromised he would doe so, but coming to the walls and asking for Romoald, he minm copiobad him be of good comfort, for his Father would shortly be with him, being fus. that Night to encamp at the River Sangius, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, for these perfidious People would not suffer him to live. Accordingly the Emperour commanded his Head to be cut off, and with an Engine to be cast into the Town, where Romoald caused it to be brought to him, and, having with Tears and Lamentations killed it, to be decently buried.

27. Constans having done this great feat, for fear of Grimoald his coming Paulus, lib. 1. departed for Naples, and in his way received some loss by Transemund the Count Transemundus of Capua, his falling on his Men, and taking them in a difadvantageous Pofture. Significant Whether to be revenged for this or for other reasons, Saburrus one of his Nobility his auton can defired he might have but twenty thousand Men, ingaging with them to defeat lam Capua-Grimoald, of which the whole Court had so great apprehension. Grimoald being num Comitem, come to Beneventum, and having notice of this his undertaking, though he dicite; cum thought at first to have gone against him in Person, yet at his earnest desire sent Caloris slumi-Romoald his Son, who met him at Formia, and gave him battel. For a long time nis in loco qui the Success was doubtfull, till one Amelingus a Lombard, that carried the King's ad funm usquadiem Pugna Spear, struck down a certain Greek from his Horse, and afterward taking him up wocabatur ve-His men de- on the Point of his Spear, held him aloft over his Head to the great Admi- bementer exration of all the Beholders, and the Consternation of the Greeks, who presently framis autibegan to run, and left an undoubted Victory to Romoald. Constant perceiving it wills. labour in vain to meddle any more with the Lombards, that he might not feem them, bid. to have come into Italy for nothing, resolved to goe and visit Rome. Both the Ameling, Bishop and all the Citizens were glad to hear the News, it having been a long time calo orus.

fince Cap. 11.

Sect. 4. fince an Emperour had therein fet his foot, and they resolved to receive him with Extraordinary Honour. Vitalianus the Bishop with all his Clergy, and the Roman People met him at five Miles distance from the City, on the third day before the Nones of July in the fixth Indiction, and the fix hundred and fixty third d. D. (c. year of Our Lord. Having done his Devotions at the Churches, and visited all the

He is facrile- places worthy of his Notice, after twelve days flay in the City; he departed and gious at Rome, carried along with him all the brass he could find, defacing many great Monuments of Antiquity, and the Majesty of Rome, and not abitaining from the very Coverings of Churches. From Rome by Land he went to Naples, and thence by Panlar yar. Sea passed into Sicily. Grimoald to reward the service done by Trasemund the Copy 16. Duke of Capua, gave him his Daughter to Wife, and Zotho the Duke of Spoletum Traffic Land dying, that Dukedom as a Portion, which done he returned back to his House at Confidence,

Pavia. 28. During his Absence Lupus the Duke of Forum Julii, had plaid many pranks Lupulant of which were not to be passed over in silence. Into the Territories of the Veneti, quiet, East all the Church of dauliei, with Lagriches. he marched with a Party of Horfe, and plundered the Church of Aquileia, with military the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by Grimould in Pavia, he call discuss the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by Grimould in Pavia, he call discuss the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by Grimould in Pavia, he call discuss the wealth of t committed there many outragious Enormities, verily believing that the King Cap. 17.

would never return alive from the Expedition. But hearing that he returned with Lupus revolts, a kind of triumph, he durst not abide his coming, but flying to Forum Julii, Cap. 18.

there he revolted and renounced his Allegiance to Grimoald, who being highly incensed against him resolved to reduce by force, and punish him, but unwilling in the least to bring his Lombards acquainted with Civil wars, he hired Cacanus the Hunn to come upon him, who accordingly the following year with an infinite Multitude invaded his Territories, and wasted all far and wide with an hostile Courage. Lupus was not yet backward to defend his People, but with fuch Forces as he could make opposed himself, and that with such strange Success, that fighting four days together, Cacanus at first received more loss, than he brought damage to the Lombards. But at this incenfed, as at the greatest Infamy, with all Violence and Letter Conduct he fet upon them again, and not onely defeated them, but killed Lupus in the Battel. Accounting now all his own he overran the Cap. 20. Countrey, and wasted all parts of it at his pleasure, till Grimoald being made to understand it sent to him, and putting him in mind of their former Covenant, admonished him, his work being now done, to draw his Forces out of the Dutchy of Forum Julii: Cacanus answered plainly, that he would not so quit a Countrey, which he had obtained by Arms, and with fo much bloud of his followers, with which answer Grimoald was highly offended, and got together as good an Army as he could, but nothing to be compared for Numbers to that of his Adversary.

Being therefore fo inferiour in Numbers, he invented a way how to have his Forces represented to the Hunnish King far more numerous than they were. The Ambassadours of Cacanus, being present when he mustered his Souldiers, he caused Paulin Disc. them the next day to change their Cloaths, and so he did twice or thrice, which has a made the Ambasiadours fully believe they were thrice as many as indeed they egfer Past. were, and they reporting it to their Master out of fear, he retreated into his own Cap. 22. Kingdom. Lupus being flain, Warnefrid his Son by the affiftence of the Sclavi, Paulo Reserved fought to obtain the Possession of his Fathers Dukedom, but by the procurement rudh, Treath of Grimoald was overpowered and flain. He then made one Weclari Duke of Fo- rada, Popular rum Julii, and married Theodorata the Daughter of Lupus to his Son Romoald. 29. Grimoald being now at his ease, thought it time to animadvert upon those Ca26,27,53.

who in Expectation of a Change, had forfaken him in his march against the Emerge 39, perour Constants. A Town called Forum Popilis belonging to the Romans, he de- \*6.65...\*\* perour *Constants*. A Town caned *Forum Topica* belonging to the *Tomans*, during populated because the Inhabitants had been very troublesome to his Men, during carrings. the War in their passing, and repassing to Beneventum. Pretending an Expedition bernas program another way in the time of Lent he passed over the Hill Bardo into Trescia, and on position, said a fudden, when none expected it from the Apennine, fell down upon it on Eafler vision. Eve; at fuch time as they were busic in baptizing Children, and filled the City mental feet of with such saughter, that the very Deacons, that ministred at the Sacrament, were policy not spared. After this remembring how his two Brothers Tato and Caco had been Cakhana circumvented and basely killed at Opitergium, he destroyed it also for Company. Costalian Two Years after Alxeco the Duke of the Balgari came with many Followers, but Discharge peaceably into Italy. and defined of Grimoald forme grounds to inhabit multiple and defined of Grimoald forme grounds to inhabit multiple and defined of the grounds to inhabit multiple and the grounds the grounds to inhabit multiple and the grounds the grounds the grounds to inhabit multiple and the grounds the grounds the grounds the grounds the grounds the grounds the groun peaceably into Italy, and defired of Grimoald some grounds to inhabit, which request the King granted, affigning them the Towns Sepia, Bonianum and Afernia, En market

ing Grimoald kept himself at home, and applied his mind to the fitting of Laws Sect. to the wants and temper of the People, to which purpose he revised the Edict of Rothari formerly mentioned, repealing some things, and adding many, which quanquan & his Judges suggested to him to be both wanting, and necessary for the Administra- Latine loguarition of Justice. The Year that followed was Constantine the Emperour slain in tinslingue 1.1 tion of Junice. The Year that ionoved was conjuming the Emperor had men proprie the Month of July, and Confiantine his Son continued his Reign as he had begun ufum minimized. Grimoald lived some three years after him, and then died after this manner. He anteferunt. Grimosta lived some three years after min, and then da bow to shoot at a Pigeon, Sie Paulus. had been let bloud, and nine days after going to bend a bow to shoot at a Pigeon, Mense fulio, Mense fulio,

CHAP. I.

three Veins in his Arm broke, and, as was reported, his Physicians applied some poy non begin for forms Plaster to the Sore, and so made an end of him; after he had reigned nine Indiations 11. vears, as Paul the Deacon writes, but Sigonius begins his Reign in the fix hundred A.D. 663. and fixty first Year of Our Lord, and ends it not till the seventy second. He cap. 33. was a Man of very strong Constitution of Body, and had an Head as well fur-

30. He left a Son by the Daughter of Aribert, named Garibald, who was very young. At the fame time Bertarid was making a Journey from France into Britain, to visit the Saxon Kings. He had scarcely put off to Sea, when a Voice was heard from Land which asked for him, and advised him to return home, for Grimoald had been dead three days. Returning with speed to the shore, the Person that spake it could not be found; he therefore interpreted it as a Voice from Heaven, and presently put himself upon his Journey. And his Expectation deceived him not, for when he came to the Alpes, he found there the Guards, and all the Officers of the Court ready to receive him, whither he hafted with a chearfull mind, and deposing the Boy Garibald, in the third Month after the death of his Father, with the great Joy and Expectation of the Lombards, he reassumed his

Benaridreco- Royal Estate, and called back his Wife Rodelinde, and his Son Cunipert from Bene- Rode-linde, wentum, where they lay in Exile. Having reigned above feven Years, in his quiella. eighth he made Cunipert his Partner in the Kingdom, and with him reigned ten Cumbreet, Amore, if Paul our Historian be in the right. Many years they lived in great tran-nini doing quillity, and the State prospered; till at length their Quiet was interrupted by Ala-in. chis the Duke of Tridentum or Trent, who having overmastered the Count of the Cun amen &

Baioarii, was fo puffed up with his Succefs, that depoling the King he fortified his and moustant.

City all manner of ways against him.

Bertarid hereupon, with what forces he Inde Cumning. could get together, befieged him in Trent, but he made so violent a fally out against adea in Cumbret interpre him, as obliged him to break up his fiege, and after great loss of Men to fly a- tari pollit Sciway for his Life. Notwithstanding this yet Cunipert, having had great Friend- entia abunthip and Familiarity with him from his youth, perfwaded his Father to pardon dans. and receive him into favour, and fo true was he to the facred Rights of Friendship, effet in Trithat when Bertarid feveral times contrived his Ruine, yet still he diverted the dentina civi-Execution, nay hoping still he would at last be faithfull, and with intention to mire Baicarioconquer him by kindness, he perswaded him to make him Duke of Brixia; rum,quem illi though the old King bid him full take heed what he did, and rold him held not formuch by these good Offices oblige to him a Friend, as strengthen an Enemy same to his own destruction, for he would by the fresh help and affittence of the Brix-liqua collells.

ians (who made a powerfull Interest among the Lombards) at length push for flixit, climans the Kingdom it felf. About this time one John was fent to fucceed Theodore in the mirified fige-Exarchate of Revenua, and some three years after Bertarid, the old King of the Paulus DisButtail diet. Lombards, died, a Prince to be commended for his Piety towards God, his Justice comments, 5, 5. toward his Subjects, and his Charity to the Poor.

Cunibert his 31. Cunibert his Son then continued his Reign, having married Hermelinda a Lady of the Stock of the Anglo-faxons. No fooner almost was his Father dead, but he found how true a Prophet he had been in the Case of Alachis, who in return to all his kindness, and more than Brotherly-love, plotted how to deprive him of his Kingdom, and get the Crown upon his own Head. Having drawn

Allachis rebels. into the Confipracy two Brothers Aldo and Granfo, the most considerable Citizens Paulus Distof Brixia, and feveral other Lombards, he watched his time when the King was conus, lib. 5, c. absent, and contrary to his Oath of Fidelity seized on his Palace in Pavia, which done he took upon him the Royal Title. Cunibert having notice of this Treason, and altogether unprovided, as having never expected any fuch thing, went and fortified himself as well as he could in the Island Comacina, in the Lake Larium. In the mean time the Tyrant carries himself as he had begun, and hurried by his own Inclinations, never confidered how it behoved him by a fair demeanour, to keep what he had already obtained. To the Churchmen he carried himself with great pride and feverity, and could not conceal his Tyrannical and Ingratefull

which at this time were not inhabited in the Dutchy of Beneventum, and comman, die in the ded his Son to admit him as \* Galland on the Court of the ded his Son to admit him as \* Gastald, or the Count of them. The year follow- kalinaman

Sect. 4. Humour, toward those that had been the Authours of his Advancement. On a Identifial. time as he was telling Money in his Palace, the Son of Aldo happened to bethere. 39 and a piece falling down upon the Table, took it up and officiously gave it to him. He imagining the Child could not understand his meaning, said tohim, thy Father hath many fuch as this, which if it please God, he shall e'er long give to me. But the Boy at his Return home told this, and other passages to his Father, from which Aldo concluded he had been grofly mistaken in his measures, and that if he did not by some speedy Act prevent it, death and the Ruine of his Family should be the Reward of all his Services to the Tyrant. Having communicated his thoughts with Granso his Brother, and others of his Friends, they thought fit to perswade Alachis to go out to hunt, and take his pleasure in the Forest, promising they would keep the City of Pavia for him, and moreover at his Return, present him with the Head of Cunibert that drunken Sot.

32. He was perfwaded, and out he went to recreate himself in the Forest, which while he did, Aldo and his Brother repaired to Cunibert in the Island. Falling at his Feet they bewailed their Crime and Misfortune together, and begging his pardon, agreed on a day whereon to put Pavia again into his Hands. This they performed to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Clergy especially, and to the as great diffatisfaction of Alachis, who after he had spent the heat of his Rage against Aldo, went into Istria to raise Forces. Several Cities, some by periwafions, and others by force, he brought to join with him and the Army of Forum Julii, which was marching to the Affiftence of Cunibert, by a strange wile he diverted from their purpose, for, standing at a Bridge they were to pass, lying over the River Liquentia, as they marched stragling one from another, he forced them to fwear Ficielity to him, and then kept every one from returning to his Companions to tell them the cheats, and give them notice of whom to beware. Not long after having got together a considerable Power, he moved against Cuni- Cap. 40. bert, and they incamped the one against the other in the Fields of Coronata, where Cunibert sent and challenged Alichis to a single Combat, to save the Lives of so many which else of necessity must be destroyed. But Alachis remembring his Strength and Courage, when they were young together refused the offer, though he was also solicited to it by one of his followers, who upon his refusal disclaining to serve such a Master, forsook him, and went over to his Enemy. The two Armies then being to decide the Controversie, when Cunibert was about to charge, Zeno a Deacon of the Church at Pavia, bearing him great affection, and afraid he should miscarry, came to him, told him all their Safety consisted in his, and that if he perished in the Battel, the Tyrant would by divers ways of Torment put them to death, therefore he prayed him to give him leave to put on his Armour to counterfeit his Person, and to goe for him: if so be he perished the loss would not be great, and if he lived the thing would redound unto his Honour, having by his Servant obtained the Victory.

33. The King very earneflly refused, but overcome by the Prayers and Tears of feveral of the By-standers, at length yielded, and Zeno being much of his height and shape, when he had put on his Armour, he could not be known from Cunibert himself. The Battel was fought with great Animosity on both sides, and Alachis bending all his malice, and the utmost force he could make toward the Wing, where, as he imagined, Cunibert stood, came up with and ingaged his difguifed Adversary, whom but little skilled in such affairs he slew, and in great jollity and triumph commanded his Head to be cut off, and fet upon the Point of a Spear, that the Soldiers on both fides might perceive it. But when he came to take off his Head, the Head of a Clerk not that of a King appeared, whereat he was much amazed, and from his amazement fell into a great passion against all Churchmen vowing in case he got the Victory, he would fill a Pit with their Testicles. In the mean time Cunibert, perceiving his Men much dejected at the Re-Cap nat port of his death, and that they began to fly, shewed himself to them, and revived their Spirits to such a measure, that they were ready and chearfull for a fecond ingagement; when Cunibert again fent to Alachis, and to avoid the Effusion of Bloud, once more offered to decide the Quarrel by a Duel. But he refused, joyned battel the fecond time, and therein was flain, and with him most of his followers; fuch of them as escaped, being swallowed up by the flouds of the River Adua. The Army of the Dutchy of Forum Julii, was not at the Battel, for having fworn to Alachis, and yet it being against their Consciences to fight for him, they neither affifted the one nor the other, but when they came to ingage, departed home. Alachis being thus flain, King Cunibert in triumph returned to Pavia, and

having made a fumptuous Funeral for Zeno the Deacon, reigned with all Profie- Sect. 4. rity, Justice and Moderation. In the Field of Coronata where the Battel was fought,

built to St, he built a Monastery to St. George.

34. About two years after Romoald the Duke of Beneventum, for what cause is uncertain, invaded Calabria belonging to the Emperour, and being without any confiderable Fortification or Defence he took Tarentum, Brundusum and the whole Countrey round about, and not long after died, when he had Governed fixteen years, and left his Dukedom much inlarged to his Son Grimaald, who held it for three years longer, having married Wigilinda the Sister of Cunibert, and Daughter of King Bertarid. After the Death of Grimoald, Gafulf his Brother was Duke, and held the place seventeen years, whose Wife was Winiberta the Mother of Romoald his Son. But much about the same time that Romoald invaded the Territories of the Emperour great stirs happened in the Dukedom of Forum Julij; where Rodoald had fucceeded Landar, as he did Weclari, who was made Duke by King Grimoald as we faid before. In the absence of Rodoald from the City one Ansfrid, Gra-Ansfrid, from a certain Castle called Reunia, seized on the Government and Title vel Ansfrid, of Duke without any Warrant or Authority from the King. Rodoald in much tistin Novo trouble at the Report, departed into Iffria, and thence Sailing to Ravenna, he for Dictionario. came to Pavia to Cunibert, who shortly had Intelligence that Ansfrid intended to be his Rival also for the Kingdom; but as he was making preparations for so great an Enterprize, he was taken at Verona, and being brought before the King, was deprived of his fight, and fo banished. Then was Aldo the Brother of Rodoald Foro Julianomade Duke of Forum Julij, and held it feven years, as Sigonius gathers from some rum autent duother circumstances, though Paul the Historian writes that he Governed by the Adofrater Ro-Name of Preservator or Protector of the place but for one year and seven months. doaldi loci ser-Such prosperity had Cunibert during his Life, which lasted twelve years after that "exteris nominated the per annum Comibere dies. of his Father. He was a man very eminent for his neatness and goodness, and no less & menses sepremarkable for his courage and dexterity in War.

35. His Successour he appointed his Son Liatbert, and because he was young, 4. D. 703. left one Asprand a man of great Nobility and Wisdom to be his Governour, who Luit-breht vel held the place and managed it with great fincerity for the space of eight months. Subditis copi-Then did Godebert's Son, Ragunbert by Name, whom when Grimoald Hew him he ofus non Luitleft young, and who now was Duke of Taurinum, thinking he had good opportu
per m apad
signium.

nity prefented by the Infancy of Limbert, set up for himself, and defeating AfLimbert is the property of the limbert is the property of th prand and his Affociates in battel, obtained the Sovereignty. During his admini- to comparents, stration of affairs, Gifulf the Duke of Beneventum with a strong Army invaded urrumque An-Campania; which wasting with Fire and Sword, he took thence great numbers cam both of Cattel and Captives, and proceeded fo far that John the Bilhop of Rome Cap. 18.

Aribere his

was forely frighted, and knowing the City was not ilrong enough to make any relistence, betook himself to intreaties, and he and his Clergy going out to meet him, prevailed with him to return back and dismiss his Prisoners. Ragunbert died Cap. 19. within the year, and was fucceeded by his Son Aribert, who more effectually profecuted his Interest, than did his Father. He renewed the War with Liutbert, who had by this time got a very strong Party, for not onely Afprand but Otto, Tazo, Faro, and Rotharit Duke of Bergomum joyned with him. But all these he Rotharit, quidefeated in one battel at Pavia, Liutbert he took Prisoner, Asprand and Rotharit etc pollen fled, the one to the Island Comacina, and the other to his City of Bergamum, Cap. 20. whither Aribert pursued him, and having taken Landis a Town in the Territories, laid Siege to the City, and using all violent courses, at last took it by storm, and therein Rotharit, who by this time had affumed the Title of King. Having caused his Head and Beard to be shaven, he sent him away to Taurinum, where not long after he was killed by the King's command, who also presently after caused Liutbert his young Competitour to be stifled in a Bath. Then fent he his Army to Cap. 21. Comacina against Asprand, who having timely notice, got him thence to Ravenna, and escaped to Theudebert the Duke of the Baioarij, with whom he continued nine years. But the Army of Aribert took the Island, and Asprand being escaped he raged cruelly against his Relations; he pulled out the Eyes of his Son Lib 6, c. 22. Sigibrand. His Wife Theuderada by name, who in her womanish tattle had given Sige-brand, tiout she should one day be a Queen, he disfigur'd by cutting off her Note and her Au-runa, Cam-Ears, and dealt with Aurona her Daughter in like manner. Onely Luitprand his peftrisfamina. youngest Son, because he was a child, he spared and suffered him to go to his Fa- unde Fridether, Providence, as Paul the Historian observes, preserving him for great things in run in vocatime to come.

Is flain.

### 54. The Kingdom of the I ombards in Italy, Contemporary PART IV.

36. Aldo being dead, who, as we were told by Faul, was Prafervator of the Ald, semip! place of Forum Julij, Ferdulf obtained to be Duke, a man proud and inconstant, Paulin like. designing to get renown by some notable action against the Sclavi, he ruined him- feed-uif, Lonfelf and almost the whole Dukedom. He hired some of that Nation underhand ge auxilium to Lring an Army of their Countrey-men into his Province. But before this was four. Lreught about, fome of the Sclavi came on pilfring into the Territories of Forum En kels. Julij, and made prey of some sheep and the Shepherds that kept them. The Governour of that place, Argaid by name, but by reason of his Office in their Lanvernour of that place, Argaid by name, but by reaton of his Office in their Language called Schuld-bais, a man of Noble Extract, and otherwise very eminent, Schuld-Hais, particled after them, but to no purpose. In his return he was met by Ferduls, fedunqui may had demanding what was become of the Thieves, upon his answer that they do caping he were fleel, replied: How cann't thou doe any thing gallantly, who bearest the Name discussions were fleel, replied: How cann't thou doe any thing gallantly, who bearest the Name discussions when the capital states and being the capital states. of Argaid, which is derived from Arga? The other exceedingly vexed, and being hance diem no a man of great courage, hereupon pray'd that they might live so long till the world rupuum Scolby fome eminent token might fee which of the two was most Arga. Not long theire Scallet after came an Army of Sclavi, procured as we faid by Ferdulf, which incamped fine, Scular, after came an Army of Sciaou, procured as we had by Ferauly, which incaning the individual on the top of an high mountain, most difficult of access on all fides. Feraulf are summer with his Army and compassed the Hill, confidering on what place he might be able to the high the base. most conveniently attack them; to whom Argaid then spake and bade him re drassemmenter how he had called him a lazy and unprofitable man, and by the vulgar members word of Arga; but now faith he, let God's curfe fall on him who last of us two comes

defeats them up to the Sclavi; with that he turns his horse and up he rides, where it was most of Forum Julii. fleep and craggy, toward the Enemies Camp; and Ferdulf for very shame followed him, which his Army perceiving, up also it marches, esteeming it an heinous thing not to follow their Captain whitherfoever he led them. The Sclavi feeing them climb up fuch steep and almost impassible places, wondring at their refolution, prepare to receive them with Stows and Axes, rather than any thing elfe, and thus they struck them off from their Horses, and slew them all in a manner, getting a Victory, not by their Valour, but such a strange Adventure. There fell Ferdulf, Argaid his Adversary, and all the Nobility of Forum Julij, and so many valiant men besides, upon the occasion of their foolish Emulation, as under fafer Conduct would have put to the rout many thousands. Onely one Lombard of note, Munichis by Name, the Father of Peter, afterward Duke of Forum Julij, and of Ursus the Duke of Cenetum escaped home. For though he was struck from his Horse, and one of the Sclavi had seized on him and tied his hands, yet bound as he was, he fnatched a Lance from the man's right hand, and therewith fleiking him down, got away through the precipitous places with his hands still tied together.

37. Ferdulf being thus dead, one Corvulus was made Duke, but continued fo Idem, ibid. but a fhort space; for having offended the King, his eyes were pulled out, and he 6 25 lived afterwards in difgrace. Then was one Pemmo preferr'd to the place, to can 26. which being an ingenious man he was very ferviceable. He was born at Bellu he in conduction num, whence for raifing a Sedition he was driven away, and coming to Forum land Allie. Juli, there peaceably lived. He had a Wife named Ratherga, whole face being from nothing comely, the often defired him that he would diffusif her and many form nothing comely, the often defired him that he would difmis her, and marry some eminent, bear other that might be a Wife fit for fo great a Duke. But he being a wife man, an-ne, series, fixed that her good qualities, her humility and modesty more pleased him than nut Japiner in nutri Japiner in any external bounty of the Body. By her he had three Sons, Ratchis, Ratchis, Aspan entropy and Abiffulf, men of renown, the Nativity of whom, as Paul expredieth it, advan - c. like, likely, and Abiffulf, men of renown, the Nativity of whom, as Paul expredieth it, advan - c. like, likely, and a specific of the Sons lightly likely. ced their Mothers humility unto glory. This Duke Pemmo feeking for the Sons Rathergaper. of all the Nobility that had been flain, educated them with, and not otherwise cilicatinin of all the Nobility that had been his own Children. As for Aribert though he was cruel at seed allow than as if they had been his own Children. As for Aribert though he was cruel at seed allow. first, yet afterward he is said to have governed with much Prudence and Justice, befides his Liberality to Churches, the Roman especially, to which he restored, as Paulat, it'd a their Writers tell us, many Lands, and particularly the Patrimony of the Alpes 28. Cottiæ, taken from them formerly by Rothari, the instrument of which donation he fent written with golden letters. But however he carried it now to Churchmen, Asprand could not be reconciled to him, who still lying in Exile, longed to return to his own Countrey, which to effect, the Duke of Baioaria, with whom Cat. 35 he fojourned, offered him a competent force to be revenged on his Enemy. With this Army he went into Italy and engaged with Aribert in fo bloudy and tedious a Battel that Night onely parted them; yet Asprand and his Baioarians had clearly the worst of it, Aribert his loss not being comparable to that of theirs. However, Aribert would not keep the Field, but would needs remove to Pavia,

which as a fign of fear, as ufually it is of weakness, ministred matter of despair Sect. 4. to his own men and confidence to his Enemies. Perceiving his errour, he then refolved to fly into France, there to hire a new supply, and for that purpose took good store of gold out of the Palace, with which he would needs fwim over the River, and attempting so to doe was drowned, as those about him had concluded. The day following, his Body was found and buried in the Church of St. Saviour, founded by Aribert the First. He was wont to go out disguised in the night and hear himself what his People said of him, and how his Officers ministred Juftice. To Ambailadours of Foreigners he always gave Audience in bad Clothes, and never would entertain them with delicate Wines, or other coftly things, that he might not bait them by fuch Allurements to invade Italy. He Reigned with his Father and by himself about eleven years, as Paul informs us. And yet Sigonius begins his Reign in the feven hundred and fifth year of our Lord, and ends it but in the seven hundred and twelth. His Brother Guntbert fled into France, and there continued till his death, whose eldest Son Raginbert in the days of Paul, Governed the City of Orleance for the King.

38. Aribert being dead, Ansprand succeeded him without opposition, but reign-gratis fer. ed onely three months; a man of as great accomplishments as one can imagine vent. The Lombards perceiving him desperately ill, made King his Son Liutprand (who Liutprand, mm atter three months as we faid by permission of Aribert went to him into Boioaria) to the great con-fubditos achis so List tentment of his Father, and after his death confirmed their choice. Much about condens, the Great in the Control of the Control o the same time died Transimund the Duke of Spoletum, into whose place succeeded Cap. 30. the same time died transmuna the Duke of Spotetum, into whole place increased any same far wald, far Faroald his Son, and Governed joyntly with his Brother Wachilap. Liutprand Far wald, far faroald his Son, and Governed joyntly with his Brother Wachilap. coming to Govern, shewed himself a man of Ability in matters relating both to Faro idem Peace and War. He had a difficulty to struggle with at the beginning of his countable Wa-Reign, which he conquered much to his reputation: He had a Kiniman called Ro-carlor. Which thari, who invited him to a Feast at his House in Pavia, but had men there ready nob. H. w. L.ap. concealed to kill him when they should have the word. But before he went he less, Live had the good fortune to be informed of the Treason, and sent for Rotharit to his apad Belgar) own Palace, whom according to his intelligence he found privily armed. Find-Lopen antiing himself discovered, he leaped back and drew his Sword to kill the King, who quites era therewith drew also, and his Guard coming in they dispatched the Traytor. Liut- Cap. 38. prand was a man of very great courage, which farther fometimes transported him, than was convenient for his own fafety and the concernments of the Kingdom. On a time two of his Attendants agreed when a fitting opportunity thould present it self, to kill him, which he also understanding, went with them two alone into a thick Wood, and drawing his Sword upbraided them with their treachery, bidding them begin and make a tryal upon him. They were so struck with 16 fudden a thing and his generofity, that falling down at his feet they told him the whole truth, and as well they as others, to whom he demeaned himself in the like fort, obtained his Pardon.

39. Having conquered his Enemies at home by his valour and kindness, and married out of gratitude as well as to strengthen himself from abroad, the Daughter of the Duke of Baioaria, who had received him and his Father in Air tanen their diffress, he set himself to reform the Laws of the Kingdom. All the Judges His imitio He publishes he fummoned to Court to give in their opinions concerning a new model, which Reg ni fini Boia new model being done, it was published the last day of February, in the eleventh Indiction in arism pluof Laws. the first year of his Reign, as he himself testisses in the Presace to this purpose, viz. cepit. "Remember how our most Mighty Predecessour, and most Eminent King Rothar, as

"he himself speaks in his Writings, renewed and ordained an Edict for the Lom-" bards, wherein he prudently caused to be inserted this Passage; that any Prince of "the Lombards his Successiour, if he found therein any thing superfluous, might "wifely take it away, and what he found wanting he might add by the affifience "of God. After him the most glorious King Grimoald, accordingly added and abo-" lithed what to him feemed fit, whose example we following, as we hope, inspired "by God, in like manner fuch things as according to God's Law have appeared "to us convenient to be done we have decreed to be added and omitted, according to what we have commanded to be written in this prefent Volume. There-" fore in the Name of the Omnipotent God, I Liutprand the most Excellent, the "Christian and Catholick King of the Nation of the Lombards, beloved of God,

" in the first year of my Reign, through God's goodness, the day before the Ca-" lends of March, in the eleventh Indiction, together with all the Judges from the "Parts of Austria and Neustria, and the borders of Tuscia, with others of my

" faithfull Lombards, and all the People affifting those according to the fear

" and love of God have appeared good to us, and therewith we are pleafed. The Style is so difficult that hardly can it be brought to correspond with the English Idiome; but the Reader may take notice that this was the third Edition of the Laws of the Lombards, whereof we must speak more anon; he may observe also the Titles these Kings took, and that even in Italy, there was Austria and Neufiria, as well as in France and in Pannonia, Parts of the Kingdom fo called in reference to their Situation. For the word Onfrick, which in Latin they barbarously, as I may say, turned into Austria and Austrasia, to those Teutonick People fignified the Eastern Kingdom or Dominion. So was the Kingdom of the Mediomatices called by the Franks, and Pannonia by the Germans, part of which still. and that alone, retains the Name of Austria. In like manner Westriick or Westreick, they changed into Neustria, it fignifying the Western Dominion in opposition to the Eastern. From their Situation some were called Astij, East with us, and those that so called them being the same with what others pronounced Oost. The Nortmauni, Northendi, Alpes Norica, and Norici the People, from their Northern Situation had their Names.

40. For the space of about three years we hear little more concerning Liutprand, whom we may conclude intent upon the Laws, and fuch farther Reformations as tended to the well being of his Subjects. But in the fifth year of his Reign, noise enough was made in Campania by the Duke of Beneventum, who by a Wile got Cumæ into his hands. Those of Rome were highly concerned at it, and the Bishop dealt with him both by fair words and money to restore it, and when that would not doe, thundred against him by excommunication. But this also he despis'd, whereupon the Bishop was forc't to betake himself to the Secular hand, procuring John the Duke of Naples to fet upon it by might, which he Stirs amongst did, and surprising it, killed therein three hundred Lombards with their Gastald,

the Lombards, and took Prisoners more than five hundred which he led away to Naples, and fold the Town to the Bishop for seventy Pounds of Gold, as had been agreed. The A. D. 718. year that followed Faroald the Duke of Spoletum took Narnia by cunning from Paulus Discs. the Romans, and pretending a Journey to the King surprized Classis, another Town nus, this, can belonging to Ravenna; but he was commanded by Liutprand to restore them both. Though the King did not, his own Son Trafemund punished him for his Troft-Mont, temerity, depoing him flortly after, and compelling him to take Orders that he conjugated in higher has place. About the fame time the Sclavi made another Irruption Facilities. into the Territories of Forum Julij, called Lauria, where Pemmo the Duke fet man & Territories upon them, and with loss but of one old man, Siguald by name, who in a former fan Fight betwixt them and Ferdulf had lost two Sons. Once and again he had done Thering, that great Execution upon them, and now the third time, though his Captain and other Lombards forbade him, yet would he not be kept from speaking openly to the Sclavi: Now I have Sufficiently revenged the Death of my Sons, if Death should come I should chearfully undergo it. And accordingly it came to pass; for he was the onely man that died in the Fight; Pemmo having flain many Enemies, and unwilling to loofe any more of his own men, made Peace with the Sclavi in the fame place. And from this time forward they began more to stand in awe of the Arms of Forum Julij.

41. Now for many years had the Kings and Kingdom of the Lombards been in peace, except some petty broils betwixt them and their nearest Neighbours, or that they contended one with another. The Exarchs and they had fince the time of Rotbari, maintained a very good correspondence together, the Romans and Lomkordi, though Neighbours, perfectly agreeing. But now was this Kingdom at the highest pitch alotted for it, and upon the brink of prosperity, which never continues but changes most commonly to the other extreme. Wealth and Ease had made the King and the Subject both confident and overweening, those ever thinking they have the greatest strength, who never made any tryal of it; yet did they think their present condition mean in comparison of what they were in capacity to attain, and therefore they must up and be doing, and involved themfelves in fuch a War as descending to their Successours, at length procured the ruine of their Name and Dominion. Liutprand having prepared all things be-Lintperand in forehand for fo great an enterprize, Invades the Exarchate on a fudden, and lays vades the Ex- Siege to Ravenna the feat of the Governour. Paul who at present by favour of Leo the Emperour held that place, we are told by Sigonius, was very much furprized, as from the highest prosperity being on a sudden cast into the greatest difficulty. But there was no fuch cause of his being surprized, if we consider but what the same Authour had related but a little before, he tells us in many words

that Les the Emperour being at odds with Gregory the Roman Bilhop, upon the Scot. account of Images took feveral Courses to make him away, and for that purpose fent Paul, as Exarch into Italy, who having once attempted it, but to no purpofe, Vide Sigon. de the Emperour the following year fent him a Message, that if he could not kill, yet Regno Italia. he should remove him from his Office and put another in his Room. Paul thus & 100. importuned by his Master, and bearing himself hatred to Gregory, because he had forbidden the Tribute to be paid which he had laid upon the Churches, fent one Maricius the Spatharius of Lez, and whom he had made Duke of Rome, to that City with order to lay hold on the Bishop, and commit him to Custody. But matters were not so privately carried but that the Bishop, whose Power and Interest now began to be mighty in *Italy*, had notice of it. Therefore he hires the Lombards out of the Dukedoms of Spoletum and Tuscia for great Rewards, to stop the paffage of the Exarch's Army. They with much Alacrity marching to the City policied themselves of the Bridges Salarius and Milvius, and oppoling themfelves to the Forces of Ravenna, not onely hindred them from returning to Rome, but contrained them and their Leader to return back to their own City.

42. This happened but the year before the Siege of Ravenna, and therefore

whether the Exarch had reason to be surprized, or rather ought not to have expected some such matter, and whether the Bishop of Rome, who had already joyned the Lombards with him, was not concerned, we leave the Reader to judge. However Paul, whether aware or not of Hostility from the Lombards, most gallantly demeaned himself in the keeping of Ravenna, shewing himself ready to undergoe any thing rather than to yield up the place; infomuch that Liutprand despairing to doe any good, broke up his siege and departed to Classes, which being but slenderly provided he easily took, and having plundred it, laid it level with the Earth. But upon the Report of what had happened to Classis, the Citizens of Ravenna began to be very fearfull and dejected as if their turn was not far of; which being understood by Liutprand, their fear became his confidence, and he drew back his Army to the City, which having had some taste of the fruits of Conquest, he thought now would fall upon it with more Alacrity. And so it proved, for they tired out by their frequent Assaults both the Garrison Souldiers and the Townsmen, which when Paul perceived, and despaired of receiving any Succours Takes Raven- from abroad, he left the Town to the Difcretion of the Inhabitants. The Befiegers having notice of his flight, knew it a fit time to renew their Violence, and with little more trouble carried the Place, which Liutprand permitted his Souldiers to plunder. And here they got plunder enough, wealth sufficient to glut their minds, and take off their edge from any farther adventures, contrary to the true Policy of a Captain, who ought to use his Men in this case as Huntimen deal with their Hounds, to give them such a taste of the Prey as to stir up their Appetites, and make them more eager after the game, but not to fill them and make them lazie. This City being the leat of the Exarch, of Kings, Emperours and great Prelates, abounded with all Riches imaginable. Liutprand spoiled it of many rare Monuments of Antiquity, amongst which the most remarkable was a brasen Statue of an Emperour on Horseback, a Piece of admirable Contrivance and Workmanship, which he caused to be translated to Pavia, where it remains, and by its rareness fomething comforts the Citizens, for the decay of the Glory of that Place.

The Evar.

and from an Exarchate it was changed into a Dutchy, over which was let Hil- Hilderrand in debrand the King's Nephew, who because he was young, Peredeus a Duke was made in vocab. A his Governour. Paul the Exarch thus outed of Ravenna, betook himself to the lemanico Hill-Venetians at Heraclia, where he implored the Affiftence of Vrsus the Duke. All mie fervens. this while Gregory, the Roman Bishop, was a Looker on, after he had set the Lombards and Paul together by the Ears about his business. He had a design to chastise the Exarch, but not to encrease the Power and Dominion of the Lombards; his spleen excited him against the Emperour, and his Interest caused him to wish that both fides were more weakened and humbled, that his own Authority already in a fair way, might make the greater progress in Italy. Liutprand had made such a progrels in the war as made him tremble, and he perceived it was high time to put a The Bilhop of Itop to the Carreire of his good Fortunes. He writes his Letters to Orfus, the Duke Extant litera Rims, ixilons of the Venetians, exhorting him to give aid to the faid Paul, and now quite alters apud Signiof the grow. of this ftyle, making those be black who formerly were white, and him white whom im quo

43. Ravenna being taken, most of the Cities of the Exarchate presently yielded,

before he could not enough tax and load with opprobrious Language. He tells him that by reason of fin the City of Ravenna, which was the Head of many Churches, was taken by the wicked Nation of the Lombards, and his worthy Son the

44. The Venctians had good reason to be concerned also at the growth of so potent a Neighbour, and therefore the better to balance him, refolved to give their utmost atlistence to Paul, rigging up a Fleet under pretence of fighting against the Saracens, at the Instance of the Emperour. Paul having sped at Venice according to his Wishes; yet, as having been repulsed, gathered together some Forces. and made as if he would beliege Imola, and under this pretence increasing his Army as much as he possibly could, removed on a certain day appointed betwixt him and the Venetians, and laid fiege to Ravenna by Land, the Venetian Fleet doeing the same by Sea almost at the same instant. Hildebrand and Peredeus though exceedingly furprized, yet forced all that were able to bear Arms to the walls, where they behaved themselves with much resolution; but while they fought soutly on the Land-side against Paul, the Venetians broke open the Water-gate and got into Revenuareco- the City. The Defendants having notice made flour opposition here also, and vered by the a terrible Fight followed; till Paul coming about to the Affiltence of his Friends decided the Controversie, and took the Town. Peredeus was slain, and Hilde-Parelea, last

brand fell alive into the Hands of the Venetians, who having thus gallantly demeaned themselves, departed home, before such time as Lutprand, having received Intelligence, could move from Pavia. Not long after this, Leo the Emperour, and Gregory the Bishop of Rome falling out about the Worship of Images, the Bishop excommunicated the Prince, absolved all his Subjects of Italy from their Allegiance, and commanded them neither to pay him Tribute nor any oexcommunicates the Em. ther Teltimony of Duty or Allegiance. Hereupon the Romans, Campanians, and those of Ravenna and Pentapolis revolted, and rifing in great Tumults laid violent hands Paul is killed. upon their Governours. Paul the Exarch was killed at Ravenna, Peter the Duke of Rome had his Eyes put out, and in Campania the Duke Exhilaratus was with his Son Hadrian slain by the Romans, who were sent thither for that purpose.

45. The year following Liutprand, taking advantage of these Tumults, made 4.0 75 war upon some places of Amilia, betwixt Imola and Mutina, which hitherto had been untouched by the Lombards. He easily made himself Master of Monsbellus Ferionianum, Buxetum and Perficetum, and at length of Bononia also, a Town built by the Etrusci when they possessed the Region on this side the Apennines, afterward the Seat of the Galli Boii, and then made a Latine Colony by the Romans, from whom it was taken by the Goths, then recovered, and now at length conquered by the Lombards. Thus far Liutprand having prospered as he could desire, passed by the Dominion of Ravenna and fell upon Pentapolis, which he overran from Ariminum, as far as Auximum without any refistence; and at length made a stop at Vicus Pileus for fetling the Government of it, whither the Cities appointed their feveral Deputies to repair, but as they were on their way, a Party of Roman Souldiers light upon them, and cut them off every man. The Rumour of the Revolt in Italy coming to the Emperour's Ears, was received with fuitable regret, and he ordered Eutychius a Patritian, to go thither as his Exarch, with Instructions how to punish the chief Authours and Contrivers of it; which going about, he was also Euriching the firucken with the Thunder-bolt of Excommunication by Gregory. This did the more incense him, for that having easily reduced Ravenna to the Emperour's obedience, he drew the Lombards to his Party, who the Year following took Sutrium by some Arts from the Church, for so we must call it now, Gregory having procured the Romans to renounce their Obedience to their Sovereign, and swear Obedience to him and his Successours; whereby Rome and the Roman Dukedom became transferred upon the Roman Prelates; of which more, in a more proper place. Gre-

gory again got Sutrium out of their hands, but Eutychius made a stronger League

with Leutprand, from whom Trasemund the Duke of Spoletum having revolted,

they covenanted, as well to suppress him as Gregory, and reduce the Rebels to their

prand, to whom he used many flattering words, telling him he did this for his sake,

upon the account of his Eminent Piety, whereas had Leo's Army alone befreged the

former duty owing to their feveral Lords. Falling first upon Trasemund he suband the Loon mitted himfelf, knowing he was not able to bear up against the Shock, so that the berds join and whole work now was with Rome, which they closly belieged. Gregory found himbeliege Rome. felf in the same condition as to refishence, and therefore resolv'd to take the same course to rid himself of the danger impending. He went out of the City to List-

with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Liutprand. 59 CHAP. I.

The flage ral- City, he would not have flirred one foot out of it. He spake vehemently against Sect. 4. the Emperour, and propounded to the King the Example of Attila a furious Barbarian, who by the defires of a Roman Bishop, was diverted from Rome. He spake fo effectually, that he not onely procured Liutprand to break up the Siege, but made

a seeming agreement and friendship betwixt him and the Exarch.

Limprand.

46. About this time Charles Martell the Major of the Palace in France, conceiving the Friendship of the Lombards to be very convenient for strengthening of the interest of his Family, fent his Son Pipin to Liutprand, that by the cutting off his hair, as the custome was, he might adopt him for his Son. And such were the fruits of this Friendship, that the Saracens invading Gall the year following, Liutprand at his request affifted him in Person with a considerable Army, and contributed no finall matter to the Victory obtained over the Infidels. At his return he found new work made for him by the Exarch, who taking the advantage of his absence, resolv'dif possible, to re-take Pentapolis and Amilia. He himself invading Pentapolis, defeated the Army of the Lombards, and reduced the Cities. But Agatho the Duke of Perusium, whom he sent into Amilia, had the quite contrary success, being forced with great lofs from Bononia, which he had befieged. The five or fix years that followed, were famous for little but the Death and Succession of Great

Death of great Men. Romuald the Duke of Beneventum died after fix and twenty years Government, leaving a young Son named Gifulf, whom some went about to make away, but the People always faithfull to their Governours preserv'd his life, and put to death them that had conspired against it. Liutprand coming to the City took the Boy away with him, being too young for Government, and placed in his room Gregory another of his Nephews. Some time after, Rachis the Duke of Forum Julii invaded Carniola, which Paul our Historian calls the Countrey of the Sclavi, where he flew a great multitude of them, and wasted it far and wide. On a time they made a fudden Affault upon him, and his Armourbearer had his Lance, but he killed the first of them that gave the Onset with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, and therewith so afrighted them that they retreated. From this time he became every day more celebrated for his Valour.

47. At the same time broke out into Rebellion, Trasemund the Duke of Spoletum, and made a strict League with Gregory the Third the Roman Bishop, and Successour to him who had assumed the Dominion of Rome, and the places to it belonging. As a Condition of this Alliance he gave up to the Bishop the Castle of the Gallienses, upon the Account of which he had formerly had much trouble from the Dukes of Rome. Trusting to this Alliance, he refused to obey the Orders of the King, who conceiving that fuch a Revolt touched the very Inwards of his Concernments, speedily raised an Army and led it against him. But the Rebel Ad Ponsificen durst not abide his Coming, but getting out of the City fled to the Bishop, who novo principanow glistered with his new Principality; desiring him to undertake his Patronage, confugit, arq; who had protected his Predecessour from the Violence of the Exarch, and had en-eum, Sc. tred into a most sacred League and Alliance with himself. The Bishop asking ad. Significant tred into a most sacred League and Alliance with himself. vice of Duke Stephen, with the Confent of the Roman Souldiers (who doubtless lib. 3, p. 110. could not but defire Action ) undertook his Protection; when in the mean time Liutprand seized on his Dukedom, and bestowed it on his Nephew Hilderick; which having done, he fent his Ambassadours to Gregory, requiring him to give up the Traitour into his Hands, or to expect him with an Army to fetch him. The Bishop thought it below him, and no way consistent with good Nature to give him up, and returned fuch an answer to the King, who when Winter was over, removed his Forces from the Dukedom of Spoletum into that of Rome, where ha-

Limprand be. Ving taken Ameria, Orta, Polimartium and Bleda, he laid siege to the City it self, Exercitum ex

and incamping in Nero's Fields, drew many of the Nobility to him, the Hair of Ducatu Spolewhom he cut after the Lombard fashion. Gregory being put to fore straits, first tanoin Romabetook himself to the Artifice of his Predecessour, thinking by good words and intreaties to remove the Enemy from the Walls; but this device failing him, he had recourse to a more severe remedy; sending to Charles Martell, the Major of the Palace in France, the Keys of the Holy Sepulchre and other things of great request; befeeching him to fend relief to him and the distressed Church, and free the City from the fiege of the Lombards. Charles readily embraced the offer, as wanon of Charles Mar. tending to the Advancement of his Reputation in the World, and fent a Meflage tell traileth the lo acceptable to Liutprand, that he arose from before Rome, and keeping onely in his Hands four Towns which he had feized, departed to Pavia in the Month of August, and the seventh Indiction. A. D. DCCXXXIX.

48. Trasemund, when the Siege was raised, resolved to make again for his Sect. Dukedom, being readily affifted by the Bishop, who by this means hoped to recover his four Towns, and by Godescale, lately advanced to the Dukedom of Beneventum, by the People against the King's mind, in the room of Gregory deceafed, who thought hereby to weaken the King, and strengthen his own illegal Title. At his first Invasion of the Countrey, he easily recovered several Places. and at length in December, and the Eighth Indiction, took Spoletum by furprize, and therein killed Hilderick the young Duke. He had a great Advantage for managing his Affairs prefented by the Sickn of Liutprand, which was fo grieyous, that the Lombards despairing of his Recovery took Hildeprand his Nephew. and carrying him to our Ladies Church without the Walls, inaugurated him King, But an odd Accident happened at the Ceremony; for having a Spear delivered into his Hands, according to the Custome, a Cuckow came and fate thereon, which by Wisemen was looked on as prodigious, and betokening a mean Reign to their young King. Liutprand when he was recovered and had notice what was done, took it ill, but because the solemnity was past, made Hildeprand King together with himself. The following year was eminent for the Ends of three mighty Men in Death of three the World, Leo the Emperour, Charles Martel lately mentioned, and Gregory the A.D. and

great Persons. Roman Patriarch: to whom succeeded one Zachary a Greek by birth. This Zachary was fearcely fetled in his Chair when he fent to Liutprand, and demanded the four Towns to be redelivered, to which Message he answered, that when he should come to the Places, he would give him abundant fatisfaction. Liutprand in the mean time resolved, not to suffer Trasemund so to carry the Dukedom of Spoletum: but the Year that followed made war upon him by the Affiftence especially of Rachis the Duke of Forum Julii. Trafemund aware of their coming, went to meet them at the Place he thought they would land their Men, and when there he missed of his opportunity followed them to Forum Sempronii, and reached them in the middle of the Forest. Rachis and his Brother Aistulf, with their Forojulians brought up the Rere, and being first ingaged, though the Commanders omitted nothing of their Duty, many of them were flain. Rachis by one Berto of Spoletum, was challenged to a fingle Combat, wherein he difmounted his Enemy,

and fuffered him to creep away on his Hands and Knees into the Wood. Aiffulf was by two fet upon on a Bridge, both whom he tumbled down into the River, and escaped. Trasemund found himself concerned to retreat to Spoletum, where he was belieged, and at length being forced to yield, was compelled to enter into Orders. Then did the King bestow the Title, and Office of Duke upon Afprand

another of his Nephews. 49. In the mean time Liutprand restored not the Places before mentioned to the

Bishop, who wondering thereat, resolved to doe as Gregory, the second his Predeceffour had done before him; to go himself in Person and speak with him, then lying at Interanna, in the Territories of Spoletum. Liutprand hearing of his coming fent Grimoald with a Complement and order to bring him on his way as far as Narnia, where he was to be received by the Army. He himself when he drew nigh to Interanna, went out to meet him, and after some friendly discourse dismissed him to his Lodgings. The next day coming again together, the Bilhop clawed him with good words. "He related how for his Predecessours sake he had raised his "Siege from before Rome, and commending him for his Justice and holy demea-" nour towards all men, put him in mind what a blot it would be upon his Memory " as well as a wound upon his Conscience, to break his word given to St. Peter, and " to rob him and the Church, to which he had pretended to bear so good affection: "In fumm he defired he would give up the four Towns he had fo long held in his " hands, and farther make a League with the Church, which if he did, he might " be fure to have everlasting Salvation after death, and eternal Renown with all Po-"fterity. We are told the Device fo took, that Zachary obtained whatfoever he de- Anofinfat fired, not only the four Towns, but a League with the Church for twenty years; and moreover some Lands in Sabinum, which thirty years before had been taken away with others in Narnia, Ancona, Auximum and Humum, which they called Limprand perswaded to Patrimonies, and the Valley known by the Name of the Great, in the Territories of be kind to the Sutrium. The next day having lovingly dined together, the Bishop departed to receive the Towns from the Kings Commissioners, who were Hildebrand his Nephew Duke of Clusium, Tacpert, Raning, and Grimoald, Gastalds of Etruria. First he

recieved Ameria, then Orta, afterward Polimartium, and at length through the

Borders of Tuscia belonging to the Lombards and the Sabini they came to Bleda.

Thence returned he to Rome, where, as well he might, for joy be made a Solemn Pro-

CHAP. I. with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

cession. And these things were thus transacted in the Tenth Indiction, if we believe Sect. 4 Anastasius who was Library keeper to some of his Successours. 50. Liutprand all this while did not forget Godescalck, who both had seized on Godeschalch,

the Dutchy of Beneventum without his leave, and had affifted Trasemend also in Dei Servus. his Rebellion. Having rid his hands of Trasemund, he led an Army against him, non aliter but he durst not abide his coming, but resolved to fly into Greece, which as he at-quam bonian tempted, and had put his Wife and Houshold-fluff into the Ship, when he himself nominare most erar Germanis. was to go aboard he was killed by those Citizens of Beneventum, that bore good Schale servas will to Gifulf, and his Wife escaped safe to Constantinople with all the had. Lint- in Novo Testaprand coming to the City restored Gifulf his Nephew to the Title and Office of mento seperate from Mari-Duke, whom he had formerly removed for his Youth and Inability to govern : chalck @ alia. The following year and the eleventh Indiction, as Anaftafius affures us, either impa-Paulus Diacotient of rest, or out of an ambitious desire of farther Conquest, he again invaded Cc. 57, 58. the Exarchate, and having taken Cæsena, openly shewed that he intended once

Invades again more to be Master of Ravenna. Eutychius the Exarch, as well as John the Arch-bithe Exarchate. Shop, with the Citizens and the Cities of Pentapolis and Emilia knowing themfelves too weak to make relistence, betook themselves to Zachary, whose authority they knew to be so facred and inviolable with the King, that he would deny him nothing. He fent a Message to him to restore Cæsena, and to leave the Exarchate in repose, and it being rejected, he himself made a Journey first to Ravenna and thence to Pavia, where he caused the King to conquer his Inclinations, to restore Casena, and promise not any more to offer violence to the Exarchate. The Bishop shortly after his Return (of which, as also his Journey, Paul the Deacon makes no mention, though by reason of the Age he liv'd in he could not be ignorant of so notable a matter) had News brought him of the fudden death of Liutprand, who left this life after he had reigned one and thirty Years and feven Months. A man of great worth, if his extreme thirst after Conquest and Domination be excepted, though Paul to other great Commendations adds this, That he was a lover of Peace, which must be restrain'd to what he coucludes his Book with, that with the greatest care he preserved Peace with the Franks and Avares. For together with his Life

TheHistory of Paul shuts up his History of the Acts of the Lombards. He was Deacon of the Church of Forum Julii, in the Territories of which Leuphis his Great Grandfather's Ling-gis, A-Father feated himself, when with the Lombards his Country-men he came into Ling, Amar, Italy. He dying there, left five Sons who were all taken away into Captivity by Anglis Love. the Avares at that time, that Romilda the Wife of Gifulf betrayed Forum Julii in Histogram to the hands of their King. Of thee five only Lupicic returned into the place of Galiain version Netwitter (of the Avares Circumptures of the Research Control of the Control of the Atlanta Circumptures of the Research Control of the Atlanta Circumptures of the Research Control of the Contr his Nativity (of the strange Circumstances of his Return, let the Reader if he list Leupichis confult the Authour himself) where he married and begat a Son named Arichis, idem quod Li-This Arichis had a Son named Warnefrid who by Theudelinda his Wife had our Hi-Lib4, e39. storian, (besides another Son called Arichis) whom we can easily believe to have Warnefrid, been a Lombard by descent, though he had not told us. For formandes, the Historian of the Goths, and he, by the manner of their writing, sufficiently discover that Natural affection which men bear to the Stocks from whence they 51. Liutprand being dead Hildeprand or Hildebrand his Nephew (i. e. his Vide Sigo-

Hildebrandhis 51. Linguing teeting treat returned in the Government, whom being formerly chosen by the People he had confirmed, as we formerly shewed. But his former Election and Confirmation were not of such moment with the Lombards, Deposed, and but that rejecting him of whom they themselves had made the choice, after seven months they deposed him, and made King in his room Rachis the Duke of Forum Julij, a man much admired for his Virtues. Rachis with univerfal applause having ascended the Throne, shewed that though he was sit for War, yet he desired Peace; and became the great Patron of Churches. And in the second year of his Reign finding the Laws notwithstanding the several Alterations made by his Predecessions to be defective, he summoned all the Judges of the Lombards, both out of Austria. and Neustria, and according to their Judgment and Approbation, amended and added what was faulty or defective. The year which followed this, being the fecond of his Reign, on the first of March, and the fourteenth Indiction he published his Amendments with a Proeme, wherein he takes notice how Rothair, Grimoald and Liutprand his Predecessours had taken the same care before him; but he having feriously considered of what they had published, found some things good, and other things fit to be purged and corrected. Some five years he spent in the Studies of Peace and Laws, and then a fit of War took him, being no longer able to fublist without some Martial Diversions. He invaded Pentapolis, where having at

Sect. 4. the first onset taken most of the Towns, he passed thence into the Dukedom of Rome, and the Territories belonging to the Bishop, and laid close Siege to Perusia. Mikes War on The Emperour was far off, and feemed not much to regard how matters went in the Biden of Haly. The Exarch had Will enough, but wanted Might to protect the Borders of Rank Town. his own Jurisdiction; much more to give assistence to his Neighbours at a distance. Zachary therefore faw it was incumbent upon him, feeing he could not doe it by terce, to try if he could drive the danger farther from himself by his Authority,

and undertake another Journey, his former having been to fuccefsfull. 52. He came to Rachis as he lay incamped before Perufia, and there forely laid the Law unto him, urging how unbecoming, not to fay wicked, a thing it was for a Catholick Prince, and one who had been so eminent a Law-maker to invade that to which he had no right, to injure other Christians, who had never by any Miklemeanour provoked him, and especially violate the Goods and Possessions of St. Peter. He is faid to have made to copious and convincing an Oration concerning Justice and Oppression, and the Rewards and Punishments of another World, that Rachis not onely raifed the Siege from before Perufia, but restored the Periwated by places he had taken in Tentapolis : Nay, the Prefence and Authority of the Biftop had the Billop he fuch incredible influence upon him, that taking his Wife and Daughter along with

him, he must needs the following year go to visit him at Rome, where he took Orders from the hands of Zachary, and became a Monk in the Monastery of St. Benedict at Cassinum; his Wife and Daughter bestowing themselves in a Nunnery not far off, of their own founding. Thus Zachary made Monks of Kings much at the same time, one at his own defire, and another fore against his will, at the Suggestion and Importunity of others; one by his own Relignation, and another at the ambitious folicitation of other persons: For this very year, as Sigonius A.D.750. reckons, did he by his Authority declare Chilperick King of the Franks, to be no King, and Pipin the Major of the Palace to enjoy the Title, as well as the Power; after which Chilperick was deposed, and thrust into a Monastery. But Rachis having thus outed himself after he had reigned about fix years, the Lombards meet-His Brother ing together choic Aiffulf his Brother to fucceed him, a man as fit for the place Aighaif made as any, both in respect of his Wisedom and Courage. Yet in the beginning of his Reign he followed the footsleps of his Brother, preferring Peace before Martial Actions, and was perswaded by Stephenthe Bishop of Rome, to enter into a League with his Church for forty years: No fooner had he taken upon him a Royal Crown, but Anselme the Duke of Forum Julii, whose Sister Giseltrade he had married, renounced his Ducal Coronet, and entred into a Monastery; into whose place Pe-

ter the Son of Munichis was preferred. 53. But Aiffulf having fetled well his matters, in the space of two years, had

then as restless a fit upon him as Liutprand or Rachis his Predecessours, and as violent a passion for inlarging his Dominion. After the example of Liutprand he refolved to fet first upon the Exarchate, because he thought Constantine the Emperour did not much concern himself with the Affairs of Europe, and if he should, he could leaft doe it at this time when he was engaged in another War, and all Greece and Asia were miserably wasted by a raging Pestilence. With greater preparations than ever formerly had been made he marched to Ravenna, and with all the strength the Lombard Kingdom could afford, set upon it. Eutychius who was fill Exarch there made all the refistence he possibly could, arming the Townsmen, oppoling force to force, and strategem to strategem, till seeing the Town exhaulted and no hope of any fuccours from abroad, he refolved to yield, and without any hope of recovering the place as formerly, withdrew himfelf into Which being Greece. The Head of the Exarchate or Metropolis being thus taken, all the inferiour Members easily were reduced to the same condition, together with Pentap lis. So here ends this Government of the Exarchs, or Lieutenants of the Emperours which had preferved, in an eminent height of lustre and dignity, a shew and representation of the ancient Roman Empire, for near two hundred years, from the time that Narfes left his Employment. And here doth the constant Do-

mination or Empire of Revenua receive its period, which began at fuch time as 4.0.753 Honorius removed his Seat from Rome to this City.

54. Now did the Kingdom of the Lombards comprehend all Italy, Rome onely, and the Roman or Pontuficial Dominions excepted. Aiffulf being Mafter of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, notwithstanding the League made with Stephen, grudged that so good a share of the Countrey should be kept from him, and easily made hamfelt beleive he had a Title to it, feeing the Exarch formerly had Authority as well over the Romans as others, and how they came to be absolved from their obedience to the Emperour, whose Successour by right of War he was, he Scot. 4. could not well fee; notwithstanding the Heresie that had been laid to the charge of Les, and the pretended power challenged by Gregory and his Successours of dispoing of other mens Estates. In the fourth month therefore after the making of the League he entred with an Army the Territories of Narnia, which Town he prefently took, and thence fent to the Bishop to let him know that he would by Arms reduce their Countrey and City to his absolute obedience, except they would yelld to pay him a yearly tribute of a golden Solidus for every Head. The Bishop being extremely startled at the Message, sent two Abbats of good Report back to him, to put him in mind of the League he had lately made, and by all Arguments and Perswasions to move him not to commit so persidicus, and otherwife wicked an act as he was about; and befides they went not empty handed: but the King rejected both the Mellengers and their Presents. Stephen upon the first Irruption made by Aistust into the Exarchate had dispatched away his Letters to Constantine to let him know what the Lombard deligned, and to remonstrate

to him how pernicious it would be to his Empire, and how great a blot would lye upon his memory to all posterity if he suffered these Dominions in Italy to be loft. The year after came John a Silentiary with Letters from the Emperour, written both to the King and the Bilhop, whom Stephen fent away with his own Brother Paul to Aistust, who then wintred at Ravenna, joyning with Constantine in this request, that he would restore such Places as he had already taken, and re-

move the danger from those which had reason to apprehend an impending mis-55. To this he onely faid, that he would return answer to the Emperour by an Ambassadour of his own, which the Bishop understanding, sent to Constantine

the fecond time, to let him know that Intreaties would doe nothing, and that

therefore he was obliged in honour, by virtue of the Dignity which he bore, with Arms and Force to reduce the proud Lombard into order. No fooner were the Messengers dispatched, but Aistus was in the Bowels of the Roman Territovades the Re-ries, which he wasted with Fire and Sword, took their Towns, led away the Inhabitants into Captivity, and now at length removed to the City it felf, where he denounced Ruine and Servitude, both to the Romans and their Prelates, except they would yeild up both their Cities and their own Persons into his Power. The Bishop in so great a strait, after his Prayers made, bethought himself of Foreign Aid, forasmuch as there was none could be hoped for out of Italy. He remembred the obligations which Zachary his Predecessour had put upon Pipin the new King of the Franks, by procuring him no less than the Kingdom, at least it was believed that it came by his means. He chose out a trusty Servant, who in the habit of a stranger escaped by the Lombards and got to Pipin, with this Errand, "That the Bishop would gladly meet him in some safe and convenient " place, but feeing he was Befieged and could not come at him, he defired he "would fend his Ambassadours to procure him liberty to come to his presence. Fipin was very willing to pleasure him, not so much out of gratitude to his See, for what Zachary had done (by whose authority and reputation the deposition of Chilperick, a thing not to be believed had been made just and lawfull, though he had nothing committed which deserved so great a censure, and the fault was not his that was objected against him ) as in forecast to serve himself of this prefent Pope in the behalf of his two Sons, Charles and Carloman, to fettle the Succession upon them. Glad of such an occasion, he sent a Duke and an Abbat on the Embassy, who met with John the Silentiary, returned back with the Bishops Messengers from Constantinople, and joyning with him obtained leave for Stephen to come forth of the City. On the twenty second of Ollober, the seventh Indiction he came forth, and with the Ambassadours took the way for Pavia, to which when he approached, Aiffulf fent a Message to him, requiring that he should not ask of him Ravenna, or the Exarchate, or any thing which had been taken by the Lombards, "yet not affrighted he ceased not to importune him to "restore what he had unjustly got from other men, and particularly Ravenna the "Seat of the Empire in Italy; which the very Barbarous Alboin and Authair had spared, left he should be branded by Posterity, with more odious Epithetes "than those of Heathen and Heretick. The Ambassadours of Constantine made the same demand, but Aisfulf was deaf to all their charmes, and very unwilling-The Bishop of A On the formatted the Bishop to goe for France.

56. On the fourteenth of November he fet forward toward the Alpes, and coming to Pipin, eafily prevailed with him to undertake a War with the Lom-

Falls upon

The Exar-

Sect. 4. bard for the Church, and the Redemption of the Exarchate; and because one good turn requires another he was prevailed with to flay till Winter was overand the Army could be ready to march, and in the mean time to anoint Kings of France, Charles and Carloman, the more effectually to recommend them to the People. Aiffulf all this while as a Man unconcerned about War, applied himself vigorously to the Affairs of Peace, making another Amendment of the Edict or Body of Laws formerly published, and so oft amended by his Predecessours. "In "the Preface he fignifieth, that having ferioufly weighed what had been done by "them; he found some things wanting, which defect was the Original of great "Errours. Therefore in the fifth Year of his most happy Reign, in the Name " of God, on the first day of March, the seventh Indiction; having called toge-"ther his Judges from the several Parts of his Kingdom, he caused to be affixed to "the Leaves of the Edict, what feemed just to his Excellency, and agreeable to the "mind of the Lord. The Bilhop of Rome, being all this while in France, fell fick, Que Pratel. and therefore the Expedition was put off till the Month of Angult, wherein he decided an anointed Pipin, his Wife and both their Sons. Then in Order to his Return, fin minimiping. ding these Kings, and their Subjects sufficiently propense to gratifie him, whereas companyarian. at his first coming he had so worded it, that Pipin understood the Exarchate was to be restored to the Commonwealth or Empire, now making use of his time he Proxima afta. to be relicited to the Collimonwealth of Empley, now manufacture of Restitutional his Tale, and though he had so much preached the Doctrine of Restitution of the Collimon structure of the Collimon str tion to the right Owners, unto Aiffulf; he contended that neither the Exarchate trajetism, nor Pentapolis was to be reflored to the Emperour, for this reason, because Confian & Aiffulf; time was unworthy to have any thing to doe in Italy, who had forsaken it, and promise exercised open Emmity with the Church. If so be Pipin would discharge the contends as Duty of a gratefull Man, or confult his Souls Health, or give any reward to the term health Bilhop for the danger he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the good retendamm. of Italy and the Church, he should grant both the Countries to St. Peter. He Sign & Rg. fo prevailed upon Pipin, that he openly promised, that in case it pleased God to P. 156. make him victorious over the Lombards, to obtain the Remission of his Sins, he No ea reddewould take away the Exarchate, and Pentapolis from the Commonwealth of returning con-Rome, and deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successiours, to be possessed by them for Constantian ever. This he caused the Clerk to record, and confirmed it farther by his own proper defer

Oath, and the Oaths of his two Sons, Charles and Carloman then prefent. 57. During the Preparations for War, we are told that Aiffulf was once and a- inimicitiat gain importuned, and with great gifts allured to furrender the Cities; but when come in the continuous property of the continuous Armies to begin their march through the Territories of Vienna. Now again it offs, qui roum pleased the Bishop out of his Abhorrence of the Effusion of Bloud, and hope that in this again that the return. Qualif he might by the report of fo great an Army be frighted into a Compliance, to Figure at fend once more to Aiffulf, to invite him to doe by fair means, what elfe he should grant humini be compelled. By the Ambassadours of Pipin he sent his Letters, wherein by the fare, aut. &c. Holy Mysteries, and the dreadfull day of Judgment it self, he belought him that p. 127. peaceably and without bloud, he would restore what he had taken to the Holy Church, and the Commonwealth of the Romans. This he obstinately again refused to doe, adding Threats both against Stephen, Pipin, and his Followers. Pipin then proceeding towards Italy, ient a Party to the Alpes, to seize on the Straits, and fecure his Passage, which Aissaff understanding, and despi-sing the Franks for their Number, with a Multitude of his Lombards he hasted thither, and very confidently fell upon them; but the Franks having the Advantage of the Ground, and being a Party of choice Men picked out, To warmly received him, that they made great flaughter of his Men, which he not enduring is faid to have ran away to Pavia, there to abide the Storm that was coming upon him. Pipin finding the Passage clear, marched on without any Molestation. and with the Accidents usually accompanying such Invasions, came and sate down before Pavia, whence perceiving that the King would not stir, he harassed the Countrey round about, and made his fiege as strait as could be. Aiftulf seeing what advantage the other had against him, within a short space thought it best

Pipin at his

and Expectation to his See.

departed into France. Fulrade going with the Commissioners of Aistulf, received all the Cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis from their Hands, except Ferraria, Faventia and Caballum, and having from every one of them Hostages, he took along with him to Rome the Principal Inhabitants, and he laid up the Keys of the several Cities together with the Instruments of the Donation in the Confession of St. Peter. Now to understand these matters more clearly, the Reader The Cities of may know, that in the Exarchate were comprised these Cities: Ravenna, Bonothe Exarchate. nia, Imola, Faventia, Forum Popilii, Forum Livii, Cæsena, Bobium, Ferraria, Co-Of Pentapolis, machim, Adria, Ficola and Gabellum. Pentapolis contained these: Ariminum, Pifauram, Concha, Fanum, Senogallia, Ancona, Auximum, Humana, Afium, Forum Sempronii, Mons Feretri, Orbinum, the Balnenfian Territory, Calles, Luceoli and Eugubium, with the Forts and Territories to these Cities belonging, all which had afterward the Name of the Marquifate of Ancona. But thus the Bishop of Rome became possessed of other Mens Goods, the Reader sees how, and for what Reafons the Emperour the Right owner was deprived, by what Arts and Devices is also manifest. Stephen committed the Government of Ravenna to the Arch-bishop, to come to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, that by a corporal Oath he should and the Tribunes of the City, whereupon the Archbishop afterward wrote himself ingage to restore the Exarchate with Pentapolis, and whatsoever other Places he Exarch. As for Aistulf who was but justly compelled to surrender, having had as had taken, and for farther Confirmation hereof, give up forty Hostages which little right to these Estates as he who now possessed them; we are told that the were to be fent into France. This done, Pipin, though in the middle of Winter, following year he spent in Consultations how to break the Agreement, and toreturned back into his own Countrey, and Stephen the Bishop with great Joy ward the end of it, being in hunting either thrown by his Horfe, or as others wrote wounded by a wild Boar died within a few days after, whose Actions we might possibly have had related with more favourable Circumstances, had either

58. They being returned and the Tempest quite blown over, Aistulf repented Section of what he had done, and was fo far from delivering up the Places, that gathering an Army together at Ravenna, he brake into the Roman Territories, and doing therein all violence possible came before the City, having seized on Narnia, which not long before he had reftored. He thought that Pipin, having already discharged the Duty of a Friend, would no more pass over the Alpes in behalf of the Bishop; who, having quite other thoughts, sent away his Messengers by Sea, that they might have a more fafe and speedy passage, by all things facred conjuring the King, that he would make good what he had promifed to St. Peter. Pipin in great wrath denounces War afresh, and for that purpose makes new Le-Affaif spain vies, which Aifaif hearing and furprized with the News, after three Months for tar of Pi- fiere leaves Rome and burries away to defend his arms. fiege leaves Rome, and hurries away to defend his own Quarters. It was now Autumn, when Pipin being in a readiness began his march, and passing the Alpes with little Difficulty, came and belieged Aiffulf in Pavia, as formerly. It was not yet known at Rome, that he had passed the Mountains, where were arrived from the Emperour two Ambassadours, George a Protonotary and John the Silentiary, who were to deal with Pipin about restoring the Exarchate and Pentapolis to the Empire; for they had heard at Constantinople, how the Roman Bishop had been tampering about them. From Rome they streight departed for Marseilles, where being arrived, they had News of Pipiu's being in the Territories of the Lombards. Stephen had also sent his Messengers with them, whom, because they might probably hinder his business, George caused his Fellow John there by some Arts to detain, and he went before to Pavia, where having Audience of Pipin, he delivered his Message as advantageously as he could. But Pipin with the greatest Piety ( fo the Bishop's Favourers write ) answered, that by no humane Rewards he was induced to doe what he did, but inflamed with a defire of procuring the Favour of Almighty God, he had received the Church of Rome into his Protection, perfwading himself it was for the Health of his Soul, and would avail for the Remission of his Sins. In case he should recover the Exarchate and Pentapolis, he had fworn to deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successours; and by no reasons

or Arguments whatfoever would be drawn from being as good as his word, and discharging his Duty. 59. In the mean time Aiftulf was closely belieged, and so much straitned, that

greed on from Aistulf, and to put them into the Bishop's Hands; he shortly after

fearing the Effects of a Storm, he fent out to Pipin his Plenipotentiaries to make an Agreement, who offered not onely to restore the Exarchate and Pentapolis, but And gives up Comachim also to redeem his Peace. Pipin accepted of their Proposals, and the the Exarchate Agreement was ratified by Oaths, and giving up of new Hoftages; which done, and pentago. Pipin again furrendred the Exarchate and Pentapolis to St. Peter, and his Suchito the Bi. cessours to be held by them for ever, and commanded Instruments of the Denation to be drawn accordingly. Leaving Fulrade the Abbat to receive all a-

58. They

Sect. 4. Paul the Deacon continued his History fo far, or any other of his Nation written hs Life, or any indifferent Pen had transmitted these Revolutions to Posterity. But Paul living in the time of Charles the Great, the Son of Pipin, when it was a Crime to write any thing well though truth of the Lombards, (for loofers in these cases of Conquest have not leave to talk) durst not burn his singers by medling with matters of fo late concernment; and therefore wifely left off where these things began, which brought destruction to the Lombard Kingdom. His Countreymen for the same Reason were all silent. They onely were Publishers of these transactions, who were joyned both in their Assections and Interests with the Prevalent Party.

60. Now was Aiffulf dead, and none left to whom the Kingdom by right of Succession or Inheritance appertained. Therefore Defiderius, who had been his Comes Stabuli, or Masler of the Horse, as also promoted to the Dukedom of Tuscia, fet up for himself by the favour and assistence of the People of that Countrev. Rachis was still living, and so enraged at his Exaltation, that he exchanged his holy Zeal for Indignation, and purposed to leave acting the part of a Monk, and reasiume his former dress of Royalty; and he wanted not either Advisers or Allistents to such an Undertaking, the Inhabitants of Liguria, Emilia and Venetia, flocking to him. Defiderius hereat startled, as being in danger, not onely to mis of the Kingdom, but to loose his Dukedom too, took the right course to prevent both the one and the other: He betook himself to Stephen the Roman Bilhop, and bargained with him to restore Faventia, Calallum and Ferraria, which Aiftalf had ftill kept in his hands, if either by his Arms or Authority he could maintain him in his possession of the Kingdom. The Bishop having communicated the matter to Fulrade, the Abbat, refolved to attempt the thing, and fending him with his Brother Paul into Etruria, made a firm League and Alliance with Defiderius, and admonished Rachis now the Monk, to hold him to his prefent course of life, and not disturb him whom he had named King and taken for his Alley and Consederate. And if all should fail, Fulrade had got an Army of Franks and Romans together, to dispute the Controversie by dint of Sword. So Rachis gave over his Enterprize, and therewith the Lombards of his Party being discouraged, Desiderius enjoyed what he had got; and going to Pavia, where he tolemnly entred upon the Government, he reftored Faventia, Caballum and Ferraria, to the Church, according to Articles. Not long after died Stephen on the twenty fifth of April, a man ever to be had in remembrance by his Successiours, for his inriching his See with the goodly Possessions of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, to be compared (as Sigonius writes) with Gregory, sirnamed Dialogus, who procured for it the Dutchy of Rome.

61. Paul his Brother succeeded him, and renewed the League made with Desiderius, who, in the third year of his Reign, took his Son Adulgise to be his Partner in the Kingdom. Gifulf the Duke of Beneventum dying, he bestowed the Dutchy on Agarisme, who had married his Daughter Adelperga. For several years he bore himself with great respect to the Roman Church, and with a mind to devoted for Religious matters, that his own Daughter Anfilberga, he made Abbels of an Abby of his own founding, and otherwise he shewed himself a great Patron of that Profession. Thus he continued for some ten years, and then they tell us he began to shew himself another man; as if Ambition had been hereditary to these Lombard Kings. Paul the Bishop dying, he caused a Schism to be made by the illegal promotion of one Constantine, and when this Device was frustrated by the means of Christopher the Primicerius (or Assessor to the Bishop, as was the Secundicerius also, they fitting next to the Duke of the City) who to remove the Schisin caused Stephen the Third to be Canonically chosen, he himfelf went to Rome under a shew of Devotion, and there dealt with Affiarta the Duke of the City, to accuse Christopher and his Son the Secundicerius of some feigned Crime, and then having feized and made them away, to imprison or drive thence the most Eminent Citizens, and so to tame the rest, as that they should not have courage to attempt any considerable matter: At the Instance of Bertrade Wife to the late Pipin of France, he gave his Daughter to Carloman one of her Sons, or rather two of his Daughters to her two Sons, for both are affirmed to have married this way. About two years after Carloman died, whose Widow Berta finding her felf and young Sons not treated after the best fashion by Charles his Brother, they came into Italy to her Father, who was vehemently incenfed against Charles, for putting away his other Daughter; and, desirous to imbrace any occasion of revenge, purposed to get the Boys Consecrated Kings by

with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Desiderius. 67 CHAP. I.

the new Roman Bilhop. One of these things he hoped would follow: Either he Scot. 4 fhould thereby procure an ill understanding betwixt Charles and the Bishop, or fome Tumults and Stirs in France, which would present him with a fit opportu-

nity of conquering Rome and all Italy. 62. But not knowing how Adrian, at present Pope, stood affected, he would first

Adrian would come to him.

try him, whether he would renew the League. He answered, he was willing to have all Christians his Friends, and the Lombards amongst the rest, upon those terms, whereon their Predecessours had founded their Alliance; but as for Desiderius, he had learnt fo much of his falseness from Stephen, who had lately occupied that See, that he could not trust him; and when the Ambassadours promifed with Oath, that he should give him full satisfaction; he said, that he would return Answer by Messengers of his own. Desiderius judging by this Reply, that he was not to be trufted, would get by force what he could nor obtain by Intreaties; and when Adrian had not fate two full Months, he brake into the Exarchate, where he speedily took Ferraria, Comachim and Faventia; Breaks into the Exarchate, making open shew that he would attack Ravenna it self. Adrian having notice fent order to his Messengers that were on their way, as far as Perusium, to make demand of the places lately taken. The King answered, that if the Bishop would come to him he should command him; which he refusing to doe, he in great wrath invaded Pentapolis; where he wasted the Countrey belonging to Senogaltia, Estum, Monsferretri, Vrbinum, Eugubium, and other Cities, killing the principal Inhabitants of Bleda, who were gone out to reap their Corn, and carrying away much booty and Captives. Ocriculi also, within the Borders of Rome, underwent the same and worse fortune. Hereupon the Bishop sent to him the Abbat of St. Vincent, with twenty Monks of great Reputation for their Sanctity, who coming to Pavia cast themselves at his feet, and befought him with many tears, to give over those violent courses, and restore such Places as he had taken from the Church. To them he answered as before, that he would doe both if

> 63. To this purpose he sent Ambassadours of his own, who desired a meeting. Adrian made a folemn and religious Protestation, that if he would but restore the Towns of St. Peter, he would either give him a meeting at Rome, or where else he pleased, and consult with him for the quiet and Repose of Italy; and if he did not, it should be lawfull for him to re-invade the Places at his pleasure. But in case he would not restore them, he would never see his sace, and he sent two to receive the Cities; but having protested the same, they received the same Answer as before. After their return others were fent, whom he refused to see, and with great threats dismissed, that he would bring his Army before Rome. Adrian then looking for extremity, caused the City to be fortified as well as it might be, and as Stephen his Predeceffour had done, refolved to advertise Charles the King of the Franks, in what estate he was, and to desire his assistence. "He sent one Peter " by Sea to intreat him that, after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, he " would fuccour the Church now in diffress, and the City of Rome, which was "threatned with destruction. The cause of so wicked an undertaking he told him "was palpable, to compell him to anoint the Sons of Carloman, which how it "frood with his Concernments he left it to him in his wifedom to judge. To this Crimination Defiderius answered in an Edict which he sent to Grimoald the Count of Viterbium, wherein he shewed he had well deserved of Italy, \* contrary to \* Nos enis what Adrian had laid to his charge. He reckons up many places built and re-Tufeie definipaired by him, and concludes, that this is not to destroy Etruria, as Adrian accu-flores ut nos feth him, who refuseth Peace offered by him. He commands therefore Grimoald, cusar Hadriathat fo long as Peace continueth doubtfull, he order all the Souldiers of Tuscia to nus Papa, Sam be in Arms, and to furnish them with Provisions and Pay plentifully, that they in Tustiae at may not onely be ready to receive an Enemy, but prepared also to make an Inva-fundament; fion. And he requires him not to burthen the People with new Exactions.

> 64. Adrian his Messenger got safe to Charles, and easily obtained a promise to gonium, p.138. stand by his Master in all his difficulties whatsoever; for Charles remembred non est Erruwhat advantages his Ancestours had got by adhering to the Church of Rome, and riamdestruere, had no reason to hope less than any of them, considering how the World went at Hadrianus, this time. He feat to Defiderius requiring him to reftore to the Bilhop what was an paten al-belonging to him, who promifed to give him full fatisfaction; but he was refol
> to a mobile to try another course. Taking his Son Adulgife along with him, with his ti; quare tibi Daughter Berta and her Sons, in a peaceable manner he went towards Rome, un-Grimoalde der pretence of paying a Vow at the Sepulchres of the Apostles, which when he Prefeste Vi-

Bc. Vide Si-

Sect. 4 came as far as Spoletum, he caused to be signified to the Bishop. Adrian caused the Walls and Gates to be strictly guarded, forbidding he should have any entrance, and the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul without the Walls, to be fast locked and barred up; which notwithslanding, when he proceeded on his way, he fent to him as he lay at Interanna, denouncing unto him by all things facred, that without his leave he should not set his foot within the Roman Territories. He had before composed a Song of heavy Curies against him, his Family, and those that accompanied him in his Journey. But this Denunciation caused him to go back, though with an angry and revengefull mind. For now came Ambaffadours from Charles to see whether he had satisfied the Bishop, who at their return fent fome of his own back with them, and ordered them to call upon Defiderius at Pavia, where they had as cool welcome, and as resolute an Answer, as those that had been before them. Proceeding then in their Journey, they folicited Charles for help to recover the Cities, which to obtain by fair means, he is faid, once more to have fent to Defiderius, offering him fourteen thousand Solidi to satisfie the Bishops pretensions, but to no purpose; resolving therefore to force him to it for nothing, he call'd an Atiembly of his Franks, and related to them the whole matter. There was none present who did not load Defiderius with Invectives, and give his Vote for fending speedy relief to the Church. Then was the War refolved on, and Levies of Souldiers were made greater for number, and with more care and accurateness than ever formerly had been known, which clearly fignified to any intelligent Perions, that how fpecious foever their pretences were, the Franks buckled themselves to this Expedition, not so much for the relief of the Church, as to put a Period to the Kingdom of the Lom-

65. The whole Army coming to the Rendezvous at Geneva, Charles divided it into two Parties, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle Bernard, and the other he led himself another way. Desiderius having certain Intelligence of his Motions, fent some Troops with speed, to make good the Straits, then did he gather out of the Dukedoms of Forum Julij, Beneventum, Spoletum, Etruria, and his whole Kingdom, a vast Army, which he ordered to march to Augusta and Taurinum, to give Charles Battel, in case he should descend from the Mountains. Charles drawing nigh the Alpes, once more (they say) sent to him, offering him the same Sum of Money as formerly, and requiring but the Sons of his Judges, as Hostages, for delivery of the Towns, but he gave the same resolute Answer; which received, the Franks continued their March till they came to the Straits, which they Charles King found feized by the Lombards. Charles perceiving they stopt the Passage, sent of the Franks a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of Defiderius, invades half, a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of Defiderius, which Device took very well; for it put the King into fuch a fright, that by Night he left his Camp and ran away, which Charles understanding, followed him as fast as he might, and in the pursuit killed many of his followers. But here we arrive at a piece of difficulty, our Authours not agreeing amongst themfelves concerning what followed, though as we faid, being of the contrary Party, they are no ways favourable to the poor Lombards who had no Writers to discover their partiality. One faith that a great Battel was now fought in a Field lying betwixt Novaria and Papia, where Defiderius received a great Overthrow, and thence the place had the name of Mortaria. Others will have Defiderius, without giving Battel, to have fled (scarcely looking behind him all the way) to Pavia, where he shut himself up, having strongly fortified the City. His Son Adulgife, with Berta and her Children, he sent to Verona, the second place

for strength and convenience in the Kingdom. 66. Before such time as Defiderius went towards the Alpes, we are told that some of his Subjects of Spoletum, and of the Reatines, despairing of his Success, went to Rome, and put themfelves into the hands of the Bilhop, whence followed fome out of every City (like good Subjects doubtlefs) and in St. Peter's Church, profrating themfelves at his feet, fwore perpetual Fidelity and Obedience to the Roman Church, cutting their Beards and their Hair after the fashion of the place. But after it was once noised that Defiderius was beaten back from the Straits, all the rest, in a manner, fled to Rome; where binding themselves with the same Oath, they were kindly entertained. The Bilhop uting moderation, with the approbation of the Inhabitants, made Hildebrand Duke of Spoletum; and to such Lombards as would dwell at Rome, he gave a place to Inhabit, which from them received the Name of Lombard-fireet. The Example of those of Spoletum, was

the Castle of Felicity, who cut their Hair, and surrendered themselves into the Dominion of the Church. But Charles perceiving Defiderius would not fight, befieged him close in Pavia, whither he fent for his Wife and Sons; and there in the Camp spent the former part of a sharp Winter, till Christmas was over. The Solemnity being past, he committed the Siege to the care of his Uncle Verona yield- Bernard, and went himself and beleagured Verona, where Adulgise despairing of holding out, fled, and went into Greece; after whose departure the Inhabitants quickly furrendered the place, and therein Berta and her Sons, into the hands of Charles, who we are told, fent them into France, and treated them very honourably; and well he might, confidering what an Interest they had in that Countrey. Verona being gone, upon Summons the rest of the Cities beyond the Poe. yielded themselves to the Conquerour, who then returned and reinforced the Siege of Pavia. Easter now began to approach, the Feast whereof Churles had a great defire to celebrate at Rome with the Bishop. Leaving the Siege to be carried on by Bernard, with a splendid Train he took his way thither, and being honourably received in every place he passed, on Easters Eve he arrived at the

67. Adrian conceived himself obliged in the most honourable way he could. to receive a King fo great, who had done fo mighty matters for the Church. and was in a fair way to effect more. First, all the Judges went out and received him with Banners thirty Miles from the City. A Mile off all the Schools mer him, the Children bearing in their hands the Branches of Palmes and Olives, and finging out his Commendations. The Rere was brought up by many Cross-bearers, as it was the Custome of old for Exarchs and Patritians to be received. The Bishop himself early in the morning, with all the Clergy and People, went to the Vatican Church, where fitting with his Clergy upon the Steps, he received him. Charles, as foon as he faw the Croffes, alighted from his Horse, and with his Judges went the rest of the way on foot, till he came to the Steps, to every of which (you must know) giving a kiss, he mounted up to the Bishop. by whom being lovingly received, after mutual Imbraces and Congratulatory Speeches, he was brought into the Church, all the Clergy finging, and calling him the Authour of the Publick fafety and Liberty, and merrily acclaiming, Bleffed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Afterward with a Train of Bishops, Abbats, and the Followers of Charles, they came to the Confession. where proftrate on the ground, they rendred thanks to God and St. Peter for fo great a Victory; which done, the King defired he might go into the City to perform a Vow, and visit the Churches, which the Bishop permitted; each having first fworn over the Holy Body of the Apostle, that he intended no harm to the other. First, he went to our Saviour's Church in the Laterane; where seeing the Bilhop administer Baptism, after a little slay, he returned to the Vatican. The day following being Easter day, he made a folemn Entry into the City, the fecond time being received by the Judges and the Roman Souldiers, and came to the Church of St. Mary ad Præsepe, where after Service he dined with Adrian in the Laterane. On the third day in the Vatican after Prayers, the Bishop caufed folemn thanks to be given him in an Oration. Herein the kindnesses of Pipin and Martell to the Roman Church were commemorated; the great Piety, Faith and Fortitude of the Family were gloriously set forth, and therewith was joyned great Commendations of the whole Nation. It was told the Auditours that Charles (not in the least degenerating from the worth of his Ancestours) was come with a mighty Army against the Enemies of the Church; and by the help of God, had been as prosperous as he had been ready to undertake the work. And it was to be hoped, that within few days all *Italy* would have cause to congra-

68. On the fourth day Charles was present at Service in the Church of St. Paul. On the fifth the Bishop procured him to meet him in the Palace of the Vatican, where in the presence of their Judges he desired him to make good what Pipin his Father, he himself, and his Brother Carloman had ingaged to Stephen at Carifiacum. Hereupon Charles caused the Instruments of the Ingagement to be read, asterward with his Judges approved them, they containing a Grant of the Exarchate Charles makes and Pentapolis. Iterius his Secretary he commanded to add a new Grant, and a new Donast- therein to add Corfica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Territory of Sabinum, the Dukedoms of the Sec. (2011) to the Sec. (2011) the Sec. (2011)

tulate his complete Victory, as now both Italy and the Church gave him hearty

onto the See of Spoletum and Inscia, with the Revenues paid formerly for these Dukedoms

thanks for what he had already performed.

he hath to

Sect. 4 to the Lombard Kings; always excepted the Royal Prerogative and Authority, over these Dukedoms. The Instruments of this Donation being signed with his own hand, and attefted by the Bilhops, Abbats, and his Secretaries, he deposed upon the Altar of St. Feter, and in the Confession, as Monuments in time to come, binding by Oath himself and his to the observance of them; and took a Copy of them along with him. For this Donation the Testimony of Anastasius the Popes Library-keeper is produced, an Epiftle of Adrian himself to Constantine the Emperour and his Empress Irene, and the Instruments of Ludowick the Son of Charles, wherein it is more fully expressed, and whence it appears that the Lombard Dukedom of Tuscia, comprehended the Castle of Felicity, Orbitum, Balneoregium, Ferenti Castrum, Viterbium, Marchia Tuscana, Populonium, Soanæ and Rofells. These things thus appointed, when Charles had made a stay of eight days in Rome, and in this space satisfied the desires of the Church-men as well as

his own Curiofity, he returned to the Camp at Pavia.

69. Here Defiderius, in a most fortified City, resolved to hold out, knowing that all the Kingdom would be loft with it, and if it were fafe the rest might cafily be recovered. Though there was small hope of starving the place, or carrying it by any strategem, yet the reasons that made Desiderius resolved on one fide, made Charles as peremptory on the other, refolving not to raife the Siege till he ihould have fome good account of it. But that which breaks flone Walls, broke at last the resolution of Desiderius, and broke open the Gates to the Franks, not onely the Townsmen but Souldiers too, being conquered by Hunger, which being accompanied by a raging Pentilence, drew necessity upon the King, a thing too powerfull for him to withfland; fo that at last he yeilded up himself, his Desidering de-Wife and Children, and all he had into the Power of Charles. By fo doing, if evers up him we believe the flourishes of Sigonius, he was more famous, viz. by loofing his left and all we believe the flourishes of Sigonius, he was more famous, viz. by loofing his left and all we believe the flourishes of Sigonius. Kingdom, than either was Alboin for beginning it, or Agilulf for reducing it into form and order, fo much fame and favour did the greatness of the Conqerour procure unto him. But here was the period of the Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, in the two hundred and fixth year after their feizing on that Countrey, the seven hundred and seventy sourth year of our Lord. However some Bishops of Rome have bespattered the Nation, and the success of Charles both eclipsed their glory and ingaged all Pen-men on his fide and the Pope's (fo that this late Revolution is described to us with unworthy and unprobable circumstances on the Part of Desiderius ) yet were they a People very Warlike and considerable. Their Domination being barbarous and cruel at first, after they came to taste of Christian Religion grew more mild and benign: witness their good and wholefome Laws, whereby Theft, Robberies, Murthers and Adultery were feverely punished, and the Liberty and Property of private men most carefully provided for; witness the magnificent Churches, rich and spatious Monasteries, wherewith as Monuments of their Religion they adorned that part of Italy where they had most power; the sumptuous Palaces and endowments of Bishopricks, the notable Towns they either built from the ground or repaired, the many men cminent for fanctity, which they highly cherithed; and even the Bithop of Rome himself whom they greatly inriched. And though with Sigonius we conclude that Ambition, and a lust of Reigning cast them down from the Royal height of Dignity and their ancient Dominion in Italy, yet we shall conclude also that the enjoyment of other mens Rights, Success and Conquest, though they varnish over Names and Titles, to wife and fober Persons argue neither true worth, nor

70. But having lately mentioned the Laws of the Lambards, we must not difmils them without some farther reflexions upon that Subject. They had not onely written Laws purely digested and supplied by their several Princes upon occasion, but customary, whereby Lands and Possessions were held by Services. These are called Feuda or Feoda, concerning which, both as to the Etymology (Feedinahence of the word and the original of the thing, opinions are various. Some derive the feeding word from Faida (whence our Fewde) fignifying enmity, strife, war or divition, in the Tongue of the Lombards; fome from the word Fædus, a League or Alliance; fome from Fieri, and others from Fides or Fidelitas. Accordingly the word is variously written sometimes, (Feodam and Feudam) otherwhile Fuendum, and Fadum also. It properly fignifies a Salary, or Stipend, and Secondarily, or by way of Translation, the Lands or Territories, which by the good will and bounty of the Lord, the Vassal enjoys in the place or room of a Stipend or Salary. It feems therefore to be derived from the Saxon or Teutonick word, Fo, Feh, or Feoh, which the ancient Franks called Fe, and we at this Sect. 4. day Fee, for fo was and is called a Salary, Stipend, or Reward. The Saran Jerter D might well be changed into 6, or rather hade or had might be added, which in Saxon fignifies a State, Order, or Condition. So might it be called Ferdum from peohas or peohos, as that which was possessed in the quality or condition of Reward or Stipend. So our Saxon Ancestours called the Military Order, cnyght-hab, as we at this day Knight-hood, and many other things in like manner, as we now fay Father-hood, Child-hood, Man-hood, and the like.

71. Whencesoever the word had its Original, the Original of the thing hath been as much controverted; fome derive it from the Laws and Customs of the Romans, from their Patrons and Clients; it being the cultome from the time of Romulus for Plebeians to make choice of certain Patritians for their Fatrons to protect them, as we have formerly shewn out of Dionysius, they being to serve them with their lives and fortunes upon occasion. In imitation of them the Previncials, and the Affociates of the People of Rome had their Patrons in the Senate. Others will have the Stipends of the Roman Souldiers in the Civil Law called Militiae to have refembled these Feuda, and some compare the Coloni Glebe ascriptifit, to these Vassalsand Feudataries. But their opinion most refembles the truth, who in this point of the Romans, think the Feuda to have Legun under Alexander Severus, at least under Constantine the Great. For Severus, as Lampridius the Historian informeth us, to the Captains and Souldiers of the Limits, gave those grounds that had been taken from the Enemy to be possessed by their Heirs, in case they served in the Wars, wisely concluding that they would be more carefull and industrious to defend their own; which Constantine perceiving not to have been practifed without reason, ordered that these grounds should pass also to the Heir called Hares Paganus, the more to oblige his Souldiers to him. But all these Remarks conclude nothing as to the Nature of the Feuda, as they are now received amongst the several Nations, being constituted in a moveable thing, or fuch as come near thereto, the use and Title Dominium whereof, is onely Vid. Dr. Dake, or inch as come near inference, the nie and othe Dominion, necessarily remains de duth, granted to the Client, but the Propriety or direct Dominion, necessarily remains duth duth. in the Granter and his Heirs, and besides that Fidelity which the Client by oath lib. 1, cap 6. promifeth to his Patron (from which the one is called Dominus, and the other Fidelis) or Lord, is reserved a certain Jurisdiction over the Client or Vassal in case he acted or omitted any thing contrary to their Agreement, and the Nature of the Action of a Feudum, of which there is nothing to be found either in the Laws or Customs of the Romans. A Person very eminent Molinear des in his Profession writes, that he had looked over all Roman Treatises, and those Eris, n. 5. Books also which have been written of these Feuda, and from them all ( a very few onely excepted ) he pronounces that the Feuda were utterly unknown to the Roman Laws, and not the least Footsteps of them are to be found in that of Justinian, but that they rose up from the Manners and Customs of other Nations after the Roman Empire was ruined in the West.

72. But of what Nations it is farther controverted. The same learned Person is concerned for the Honour of his own, and belides him some few others contend that the Feuda were introduced by the Kings of the Franks, before the Domination of the Lombards in Italy. It appears indeed from Gregory Turonensis and others, that there were Dukes and Counts which held certain Territories, and that there were Leudes which are interpreted Vassals. But yet from the Nature Gregor Turon. of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts, can nothing certain be concluded to 1.8.c. 9. make them Feuda; fo uncertain was their Tenure and Succession therein, and some Image or Resemblance there might be of these Feudataries, but no perfect Idea of these Leudes. The general opinion of Authours is that the Feud. had their Original from the Lombard Kings in Italy, who, as the Reader may discover by what we have written, were wont to grant Cities, Towns and Territories to Dukes and Captains to use and enjoy, the direct Dominion ever reserved to themfelves. For farther Confirmation hereof, and in answer to what is objected on Equinarius the French Part, there is one who proves, that the greatest part of the Customs, benefic, lib. 1. and most of the words which the French themselves use about these Feuda, were in press ad taken from the Lombards. The words are Tentonick, and layour not onely of from Bernaud, the German Tongue, but its most ancient Dialect or the old Saxon; whence, and France Consci. because the Lombards were a Teutonick Nation, some will have the first Original of Feuda to have been in Germany it felf, and they fansie they find somewhat of Spalmanni the Condition of Vaffals in the Story of Tacitus, which he tells concerning the Goffir in voc. Comites amongst the Germans; who brought Council and Authority to the Princes

their Origi-nal from the Lombards.

Sect. 4. of the Villages, and they think this adds some force to their Conceit, that Vacfal is derived by some Etymologists from the German word Gessel, by which is ex-

prefied the Latin word Comes.

73. The truth feems to be this. There was fomething of this fort of Service and Dependence practifed by the ancient Germans, which being by all the Barbarous Teutonick Nations partly brought out of that Countrey, were mightily strengthened and confirmed by certain practices, which at that time the Necessity of Affairs put the Roman Emperours and other Princes upon. Severus and Conflantine the Great, and after them others found it highly convenient for the Safety of their Territories, to bestow part of them upon Captains, and Souldiers as Wages, or Fees, or Rewards, and placed them upon the Borders where most danger lay, that by protecting what they now looked upon as their own, by one and the fame Act they might also defend the whole Empire. Barbarous Princes taking up this custome, as highly necessary, formed it according to their own, and shaped it into a Service and Dependence suitable to their own German practices. Hence came it to pass that not onely the Lombards, but in truth the Franks had fome Services of this Nature, and this is to be observed, that these German Nations the nearer they were to the Romans, and the more subjected to Invasions, the more perfect and formal were these Vasialages and Services. Therefore do we hear little or nothing of Feuda amongst our Saxon Ancestours here in Britain, nor amongst the Goths in Spain. The Lombards, being nearest the Romans, learnt the fore-mentioned Custome from them, and being as in a Pit invironed with Adverfaries, were put upon joining it with their own, and framing them into a German or Teutonick Model. As the Emperours of old affigned Lands to their Captains by way of Fee or Stipend, and to protect the Borders, so did they. But they added a peculiar Oath of Fidelity and Homage, and not onely Grounds upon the Limits in the Mouth of Danger, but even all their Countrey they distributed to be held by Fidelity and Services, as we see by the many Dukedoms into which it was divided. And mutual at last, by practice and continuance, began the Obligations of Lord and Vaffal. At first it was in the Power of the Lord Like The L to take away what he had granted in Feudo when he pleased. Afterward it was to be certain to the Vassal for a Year, und a Year onely, and at length the Possession was extended to the Term of Life. But his Posterity being still unprovided for, it was brought down to one of his Sons, on whom the Lord would please to

confer it, and at last came to be distributed equally amongst them all. 74. Afterwards Conradus Salicus the Emperour, in the Year 1025, going to Rome to take the Crown from the Hands of John, the twentieth, his Vallals petitioned him to exact by a Law, that the Feoda might descend to Grandsons, and that a Brother or his Son might fucceed to one that died without lawfull Issue, in that which had been possessed by their Father. But in case one of the Brothers received a Fee (so now will we call it) from the Hands of a Lord; he dying without a lawfull Heir, his Brother could not fucceed in the Fee, and although it were received in general, yet could not one fucceed the other, except it was expresly by Name so provided; viz, that one dying without lawfull Heirs the other should succeed, to be sure an Heir being lest the other Brother should be ex-

cluded. Its farther to be understood, that a Fee or Beneficium collaterally went anciently no farther than Cousin-Germans, but in succeeding times came to be stretcht as far as the seventh Degree, and to Males in a descending Line in infinitum. And this is to be noted, that though Daughters as well as Sons succeed their Fathers, by the Laws yet they are prohibited to succeed in a Fee, as also their Sons except especial Provision be made for them. This little History of Fees is given us by the Compiler Gerard Niger, wherein is to be observed, that as to what he writes concerning their descending upon Males by a new Law in infinitum, that in France these inseriour Fees, as well as Dukedoms, Counties, Baronies, and the like came to be hereditary under Hugh Capet, who began his Reign eight and thirty years before the Law made by Conradus. From this time forward Noblemen ( the leffer Nobles or Gentlemen are included ) from

their Fees began to take Sirnames to themselves, and to their Names to add de fuch a place, a thing so ridiculously practifed in France to this day, that if a mean man that can write himself but Sieur, have five or fix Sons, if he have so many little Hamlets or even Cottages erected in feveral Grounds, each must be denomina-

ted from one of them. In case he be not so wealthy, if he have a Mill in his Ground, a Rock in his Field, or a Meadow belonging to his Cottage, one must be called de Moulin, another de la Roche, and anothet des Prez, whereby you would take them for Persons of Extraordinary Extract and Revenue, Persons indeed Sect. 4. that deferve, as Lords to impose Manners, Fashions and Language upon a World so

75. But by fuch Degrees came Vallals to be possessed of Fees, which they lost inconsiderate. again by many Acts of Ingratitude and Unfaithfulnels, feveral Crimes which are not here to be related at large, but onely to be touched on. As first in case after Lib. Fend. not here to be related at large, but onely to be touched on. As first in the are and the Death of the Lord or Valial, the Heir came not within a year and a day to Systman Cliffivear fealty, and defire Investiture. If three times being cited to the Lord's Court, far, in vec. to receive Investiture and swear Fealty he refused it. If he refused to perform the Felonia.

Services due, or renounced his Fee. In case he sold it without consent of his Lord; For so the Services due to the Lord should come to nothing, the Vasfal being reduced to Want or Beggary. If he infeoffed any other Person with other Conditions, than he himself held the Fee, or such a Vassal as was not in a Condition to serve it. If he took Holy Orders, or a Religious Vow upon him. If he acted contrary to what was expressed in his Oath of Fidelity. In case he committed another Felony by betraying his fellow Vastal, so as he could not appear in Court. These Crimes or Felonies respected the Fee it self, such as follow the Lord of the Fee himself. As in case he made an Assault upon his Lord's Person, or by Sword or Poison contrived his Ruine: or by Force and Arms fet upon any Castle or Town, in which his Lord or Lady resided. If in any Fight or Battel he forfook his Lord, or when it was in his Power, he freed him not from the danger of death or a Siege. If knowing any one to contrive the Affaulting, Taking, the Death or great Damage (in his Patrimony) of his Lord, he did not make him acquainted therewith, as speedily as might be. In case he turned Enemy to his Lord, or adhered to his Enemies. If he turned Accuser of his Lord, or brought him into any great danger. If he accused him, or bore witness against him. If he betrayed his Councils or Secrets. If he made him a Cuckold ( Si Dominum Cucurbitaverit ) and wantonly sported with his Wife. If he lay with his Daughter, his Son's Daughter, his Son's Wife; or the Sifter of his Lord remaining in his House. In case he would not doe him Justice. If he committed Felony against or Cuckolded one of the Lords, of whom he was the Common Vasial, he was onely to forfeit that Part. If so be the Vassal killed his own Brother, or his Brother's Son to get the Inheritance: or betrayed his Fellow Vasfal, so as he could not stand any more in Court, he should be deprived of his Benefice or Fee; but forasmuch as this Felony was not committed against the Lord, the Fee should not fall to the Lord, but to the next Kiniman by the Father's fide. If he killed the Brother of his Lord, it feemed no Felony, for he lost not his Fee. Neither indeed feems that to be Felony, properly so called, which the Lord committed against his Vasfal, although it was equally punished. Nor was Felony always punished with a perpetual loss of the Fee.

76. Besides the loosing of the Fees, to which Vassals were by these means obnoxious, they were also subjected to many, and often very heavy Services. First, they fwore a most strict Fealty and Allegiance to their Lords, whence in some Histories they are to be known by the Name of Fideles, and performed their Homage in a very humble, if not fervile manner, the forms and fashions whereof we cannot here discover. Upon Summons from the Lord they were obliged to arm themselves, to follow his Standard, and stand by him in all Dangers of the Field. Besides they were obnoxious to the payment of many Tributes, Aids or Subfidies. And when they died, their Lords were to have Custody of their Fees with the Gardianship, and Manage of their Heirs under Age. And from those that were Adult, Relief for their Consent to enter upon the Inheritance; at least in some places. The manner of Investiture into Fees, was solemn and various. The Greater by delivery of a Banner; in France by ancient Custome both Bishopricks, and all other Fees by a Ring, and a Staff, by them Rain and Bafton. Sometimes it was done by delivery of a Sword, an Instrument in Writing, a Clod of Earth, an Arrow, a Rod or other things. Fees were variously diffinguished, as some were Imperial and Regal conferred by Emperours and Kings, as, Dukedoms, Marquifates, Counties which were held in Capite, or from the Prince, whence the Possessours were called Capitanei. Others were of a middle Nature, being conferred by these Capitanei to inferiour Vasials, as Barons, Valuassours and Castellani. Another fort was Military, conferred by these Barons, Valuassours and Castellani. Yet was not this Diftinction to folemnly observed, but that the Capitanei conferred Fees, simply Military, and Princes as well one fort as another. There were feveral other forts

Sect. 4. diffinguished according to the Nature of the Fees themselves, and of those that received them, of which its not our part here to discourse.

77. It's more proper for us farther to acquaint the Reader, that these Customs being various and growing to Multitudes, Judges in the Determination of Controversies concerning Fealty and Obedience of Vassals, became confounded in their Sentiments and Judgments, as in Customs not written it ever happens. Therefore about the Year of Our Lord 1152, one Obertus Ortensius of Milan, affifted by Gerard Niger Capagiftus, under the Reign of the Emperous Francisco Barbaroffa digested these Outtons concerning the use of Fees, into two \* Books, \* Prainties Businesses affified by Gerard Niger Capagiftus, under the Reign of the Emperour Frederick Unto these Uses of Fees compiled by him, were afterwards added the Constitutions of Lotharius the First, Lotharius the Second, Henry the Fourth, Lotharius Cojacini in the Third; and Frederick the First and Second; after which the Books of Fees alion. became of fuch request in all Countries, that they equalled in Reputation the very Roman Laws of Justinian himself. From them by universal Consent, all Controversies not onely concerning meaner Fees, but Dukedoms, Marquisates, and the like were decided. And although fome there have been that contended, that the Lombards Laws of Fees have no place in France, where they will have these Fees to have been Patrimonial, and in the free Disposition and Dominion of Clients, being called Allodia, yet other very eminent Lawyers of that Nation contradict them, whoaffirm that these Laws of Fees take place in all the French Provinces, especially those which are Juris Scripti, where the Customs of the particular places do not oppose them; for in several Provinces of Italy, as that of Monsferrat, and Mantoua, the Lombardick Fees are changed into Patrimonies and Allodia, Alienations passing without the Knowledge of the Lord, Daughters succeeding, and several other things wherein the Provinces rejecting the strict Doctrine of Fees in these Points, have returned to the Directions and Practice of the Civil Law.

78. Out of France, the use of Fees was by William the Conquerour brought into England, where he distributed the conquered Countrey amongst his Souldiers; the Scots pretend to have received them about fixty Years before, in the Reign of Malerline the Second, but by Learned Men it is esteemed no more than a Pretension. That our Saxon Ancestours had some fort of Knowledge and Practice of them, being Cousin-Germans to the Lombards, may be granted, but this knowledge and practice was very small, for the Reasons we have already alledged. Concerning the Fees brought in by the Conquerour; what peculiar Rules and Practices they have acquired different from all the World befides, let our Municipal Lawyers tell if they please. It sufficeth me ( who have already said too much ) to put the Reader in mind, that the Feuda or Fees reduced into some Order came from our Lombards. The Consent of Authours, so will have it. This is strengthened by this Observation, that the Lombards were addicted to this Course, more than any other People. That Obert and Gerard were of Milan in that Countrey, and that in Italy, these Laws most flourished from the time of Otho the Great, to that of Lotharius the Third, while the Civil Law was wholly filent. But these Fees were founded as we faid upon Custome, and therefore amongst the ancient written Laws of the Lombards, we never meet with the word Feudum, and the other word Beneficium lignifying the fame, is very rarely to be found.

SECT. IV.

#### SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the Franks in Italy, from the Captivity of Desiderius, to the Promotion of Charles King of the Franks, to the Title of Emperour.

The Space 27 Tears.

r. DEfiderius being conquered and taken, and all the rest of the Lombards having after his Example yielded up themselves and their Towns, Charles the Conquerour by right of Victory, challenged to himself the Kingdom of Italy, which that he might establish to himself by a new Title, he made use of the old Decree of Gregory the Roman Bilhop, as it was accounted. At Modostia he caufed himself to be Crowned with an Iron Crown, by the hands of the Archbishop of Milan, and ordained, that the same course should be used by his Successours. Crowned King And it was performed with great Ceremony, as appeared from an ancient Ritual called Ordo Romanus, which Sigonius, as it concerned this matter, transcribed to this purpose, the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Bishops, and being conducted to the high Altar, after fome folemn Prayers the Archbishop demanded of the People, whether they would subject themselves to such a King, and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands. The People answering, Yes; with holy Oil he annointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the Joynts of his Arms; praying that both in War and in Islue he might be prosperous. Having then girt him with a Sword, put upon him Bracelets, a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre into his hand, he fet the Crown upon his Head; and having through the Quire led him to his Throne, thereon he placed him, and having given him the kiss of Peace, then celebrated Divine Service. This Ceremony was

Dignity with him of Ravenna.

2. The Ceremony of Coronation being thus over, Charles, now as Lord of Italy, thought it is duty to fettle the Frame and Polity thereof, and for this purpose Goes to Rome. resolved to go to Rome to consult with Adrian. He having notice of his Intended.

now performed to Charles by Thomas the Archbishop of Milin, and hence he

and his Successours accounted themselves so considerable, and to contend for

tions, called an hundred and fifty Bishops together, with many Abbats, and solemnly receiving him into the City, consulted with them what Honours to beflow upon him. They were unanimous in this, that a King so potent, and who
together with his Father and Grandsather, had so much deserved of the Roman
Church, was to be rewarded with some extraordinary mark of Honour. It was
univerfally then agreed and consented to by all the Nobility, that he should be a
li made PaRoman Patritian; that throughout the Provinces he should infitture Archbi-

tritim. Shops and Bishops; fo that except commanded and instituted by him, they shall power should not be Consecrated by any: That he should chuse the Bishop of Rome, to chuse the and regulate the Apostolick See. Now Sigonius tells us, that the Order and Dig-Bishop or nity of a Patritian was, since the time of Constantine the Great, most splendid splendid the A and honourable in the Roman Empire. That what we called but now Institution applicit See. Called the A and honourable in the Roman Empire. That what we called but now Institution and Pacific it found be performed by the gi-

iolloick See of Bilhops, they called Investiture, and pleased it should be performed by the giving of a Ring and a Rod. As for the choice of the Bilhop of Rome, it seems to be granted to him for preventing of Sedicions and Tumults amongst the Romans. For these differences, the ancient Discipline by little and little decaying, by reason of ambitious seeking of segreat a Place and Dignity, had quite spoiled the Meetings for Elections, to the great scandal of all good Cliristians; no Person at Rome having any Power or Authority to restrain them. But this right of chusing the Bilhop, Charles used with great moderation, and remitted to the old way of the Assemblies of Clergy and People; provided the thing was done without tumult and indirect Practices.

After

L 2

Sect. 5. He Modells

3. After the receiving of these Honours, he addressed himself to the Modell of the Kingdom. First, Apulia and Calabria he left to the Emperour as they had been after the Victory of Justinian; which afterward being seized on by the the Kingdom Normans, were reduced into another form of a Kingdom, which at length got the Name of Neapolitan. The Dukedom of Beneventum, he permitted to be held by Aragise the Son-in-Law of King Desiderius; that of Spoletum, by Hildebrand, and the other of Forum Julij by Rodgand, as Fiess from him, as formerly from the Kings of the Lombards. The Exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis, with the Dukedoms of Perusium, Rome, Tuscia and Campania, the chief Right, Principality and Sovereignty retained to himself, he yielded to the Roman Bishop: The rest he kept to himself in the ordinary way of a Kingdom. This was what-foever the Kings of the Lombards had possessed in Liguria, Emilia and Venetia, the hithermost Tuscia (as they accounted it) and the Cottian Alpes being reckoned in. That part they called Longobardia, or as afterward Lombardia, or Lombardy. The Exarchate they called by the Name of Romania, or Romaniola. Italy being thus divided, the Government thereof he ordered should be after this manner. The Dukes he would have free, bound onely by the Bond of a Royal Dukes by an Fee: with which whosoever tied themselves, were annually to take this Chih: Oath of Fide- I promise that I will be faithfull to my Lord Charles, and his Sons, as long as I shall live, without any fraud or manner of deceit: And, I swear by these Holy Gospels, that I will be faithfull to him, as a Vassal to his Lord, neither to my know-

ledge will I divulge any thing which he shall commit to me, in the Name, or by Virtue of my Allegiance. 4. If ever it so happened that they brake this Oarh, or died without Sons, the Dukedoms were conferred upon others, and this Translation, or Collation, as in Bishops and Abbats, was called Investiture; the same being observed in other Vassals or Feudataries, as Counts, Captains, and Valuasars, the Modell of the Services and Tenures of whom was afterward perfected by the Germans. He fettles the The People and Cities were after this manner to be governed. The Limits of

Government the Kingdom and the Towns, he committed to the government of Counts, affigning to them all publick and private Jurisdiction. The Limits or Borders they called Marcha, or Marches, whence the Governours of them, obtained the Titles of Counts of the Marches, and Marquesses. Some extraordinary Commissioners he sometimes sent into the Kingdom, whom having greater Authority than Counts, they called Miffi. The Grounds of the feveral Cities being confused or litigious in the Reign of the Lombards, he would have separated and limitted, bounding them for the most part with Mountains, Fenns, or Rivers. The Cities he would have take an Oath of Fidelity to him, these words being added to it, I will preserve his Life, Member, Mind, and true Honour. On the Feudatary Cities, Churches and Monasteries, he laid certain Services, called Foderum, Parata and Mansionaticum, to be paid to him, especially when he came into Italy, which by him and his Successours were afterward either much diminished, or wholly remitted. To Bishops and Abbatshe confirmed the Possession of Churches and Monasteries, formerly granted by the Lombards, and added new to fuch as deferved them. And that he might feem to have given liberty to Italy, when he came thither he was wont to affemble the Bishops; Abbats, and Noblemen together, and with them to deliberate of the great Af-Three forts of fairs of the Kingdom, after the manner of the Franks. Into Italy he brought Laws in use, also the Salick Law; so that from this time forward, three forts of Laws be-

viz. That of came of use to it; that of the Romans, the other of the Lombards, and this Sathe Romans, came of the to it; that of the the Lombards, lick. But this was the custome, that by what Law every man would live, he the Lombards, lick. But this was the custome, that by what Law every man would live, he and the Salick should profess, and then according to that, Justice should be administred to him; which Custome prevailed in Italy, till the time of the Emperour Lotharius the 5. Things being thus fetled, Charles returned to Pavia, where leaving a strong

Returns into

France. Yet did he not so well settle his Matters, but that within a year or two he was in danger to be disturbed, the Reputation he got by Arms, not being sufficient to bridle the Minds of the Lombard Dukes, who impatient, that the Kingdom should be taken from them, began to make disturbance in the Cities. The DukeRodgand chief of the Conspiracy was Rodgand Duke of Forum Julij, which Charles understanding, as he returned out of Saxony, resolved betimes to obviate the mischief, and by the terrour of severity cause those who had not yet discovered themselves, to keep themselves in their Duty. Having kept his Christman in

Garrison, he took Desiderius and his Wife along with him, and returned into

Alfatia, with a powerfull Army he passes the Alpes, and marches streight into the Sect. 5. Irdefeated and Dutchy of Forum Julis, where he gave Battel to Rodgand, who was defeated, taput to death, ken Prisoner, and put to death, as having affected the Sovereignty. Such Cities as were faulty begging pardon, easily obtained it. Going then to Tariusium to hold his Easter, he annexed the Dutchy of Forum Juliij to the Kingdom; committing the Government of the feveral Cities to Counts; and then returned into France, much about the fame time that Leo the Emperour at Constantinople made A. D. 776. Constantine his Son his Collegue and Associate. For several years after, Italy remained quiet. The fourth, the return of Charles produced two memorable 4 D. 780. things; another Progress he made into Italy, and the Death of the Emperour Leo, whole Son Constantine Porphyrogenitus governed with his Mother Irene, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and Disposition. Charles perceiving, that being diverted by other continual Wars, he could not probably keep Italy in quiet, except he fet a King over it, who by his Presence should administer Justice, and cast an awe as He makes Pi- well upon Domestick as Foreign Enemies, resolved to make Pipin his Eldest Son nemassers from King with him. Returning out of Saxony, taking with him the faid Pipin, his Indy with him. Wife Hildegardis, and Lodowick his other Son; a little before Christmas he came

6. The Holydays being over, he fummoned an Affembly of the Spiritual and Enach feveral Temporal Nobility, and made by their affent feveral Laws yet extant: and published on the first of March, concerning Bishops and Abbats, their Rights, and their Discipline; as also concerning the punishment of Murthers, Robberies. Perjuries, and for the right Administration of Justice by the Counts, and the Valli Dominici. This done, he went to Rome, to procure the Bishop to anoint his Sons, who being very ready to bestow what would cost him nothing, anointed Pipin King of Italy, and Lodowick King of Aquitain on Easter day; and to another Pipin, he himself was Godsather. At their return to Pavia, the Ceremony was there renewed by Thomas the Archbishop, who Crowned Pipin with an Iron Crown, and was Godfather to a Daughter named Gifla. Italy was generally very well pleased with the Advancement of their new King, as one who would continue with them, and confequently administer Justice as there should be occasion. and protect them from the Inrodes of the Hunnes and Saracens. And Pipin did not frustrate their Expectations in any thing they could reasonably require, bestirring himself, and doing all good Offices of a King, as he had opportunity. He incouraged all publick Works, and made fuch new Laws as were requifite; feveral of his as of his Father Charles, being still extant, made in a full Assembly of the Nobility, concerning the ordering of Churches, repairing of Monasteries. Hosbitals, Bridges and High-ways, the fecurity of fuch as travelled to Rome, the Administration of Justice by Counts and their Judges. When he was in Italy he commonly refided at Ravenna, either taken with the ancient famousness of the City, or for convenience of managing Naval matters. This great Repose and fatisfaction, was after fome five years interrupted by the ambitious Practices of Aragife of Be. Aragife the Duke of Beneventum, who being Son-in-Law to Desiderius, and puf-

neventum re- fed up with conceit of his own greatness, revolted. He was so proud, that he would be called Prince in the room of Duke, and be anointed and Crowned as King by his Bishops, subscribing his Diploma's, From our most Sacred Palace. Contemning Pipin, to inlarge his Dominion, he invaded the Roman Territories, not fearing the power of Charles, or the Catastrophe of Desiderius. Charles being inform'd of his Motions by Adrian, having dispatched his other Wars, resolved to pass into Italy and chastise his Folly. At the beginning of Winter he passed the Alpes with fuch expedition, that he kept his Christmas in Etruria at Florence, a City formerly destroyed by Totilas King of the Goths, and now said, by command of Charles, to have been re-edified.

7. From Florence he went to Rome to confult with Adrian about the chastifement of the Rebel, who now unbethinking himself, fent his Son Romuald to beg peace with great presents, and a promise to give all satisfaction to the Bishop. The King by the Bishop's advice denied his request, and led his Army into the Territories of Capua, which he compelled to furrender after he had wasted the Countrey round about. The report hereof terrified Aragife, who expecting the Storm to come upon Beneventum, quitted that place and returned to Salernum, a Sea-Town, whence if need were he might have a convenience of Escape. Now he sent another Message, offering to give up his other Son Grimoald also for an Hostage, and farther to doe whatsoever he should be commanded. This was ac-Peace, which cepted by the King, who taking an Oath of Allegiance from him, and the In-

.78

Scct. 5 habitants of Beneventum, difmissed Romuald, and kept Grimoald with him as an Hostage. After this he visited Rome again, and granting to several Church-men confirmation of their former Estates and Privileges, he returned into France. There he found that Taffile Duke of Baioaria had folicited the Hunnes to invade his Dominions, which they did with two Armies, the one whereof peirced into Forum Julii, but was repulfed with difgrace and loss. It happened about this time, that Charles having promifed to give his Daughter in Marriage to Constantine the young Emperour, afterward, its faid, denied to fend her, which fo inraged him, that having Adulgise the young Lombard King in his Court, who had been honoured with the Dignity of a Patritian, he fent him with confiderable Forces into King, invade Haly, which he expected would revolt at the fight of their former King, by Lab. Black and his former King and the fight of their former King, by

bloud, and his former Interest, allied to them.

8. Grimoald was at this time, his Father being dead, Duke of Beneventum, by the favour of King Pipin, whom in way of gratitude or consulting his present Interest, he advertised of this purposed Invasion, though he was Nephew by the Sister to the Pretender Adulgise; Pipin commanded Hildebrand the Duke of Spoletum to be in Arms, and ordered Winigise his General to march to him both with Horse and Foot, desiring Grimoald to be of good Courage, and to resist the Enemy stoutly, if he should break into his Quarters. Adulgise in the mean time landed in Calabria, with intention first to set upon the Dutchy of Beneventum, and thence to Invade the Dominions of the Church, which being understood, Winigife, Hildebrand and Grimoald hasted, and uniting their Forces, resolved to give him a stop in Calabria, before he thould proceed any farther. And in Calabria was fought a most bloudy Battel, the Greeks endeavouring to approve themfelves for valour, and the *Lambards* themselves for fidelity to those that employed them. For a great while the success remained doubtfull, but at length the *Greeks* were worsted, many slain, and more taken, amongst whom was Adulgise himself, who died in his tortures. Four years after this, Italy continued free from War, but was then disturbed by stirs raised in the Dutchy of Beneventum, by means of Grimoald the Duke, as is suspected; it seemed to be of such consequence that Charles wrote to his Son Pipin to gather an Army in Italy, and promifed to fend to him another out of France by his Brother Lodowick, who came to him by great Journeys to Ravenna, and there kept his Christmas. Then joyned they their Forces and invaded the Borders of Beneventum, where having taken one Fort, they wintred and then returned. It's probable that Grimoald was frighted into obedience, and complied with their Proposals, else would not two Kings have so soon drawn back their Armies; but of this as of many other things, the Annals of those times are filent.

Is overcome

and tortured

To Adrian

9. Some three years after died Adrian, the Bishop of Rome, and was succeeded by a Priest who had the Name of Leo the Third. Immediately after his Consecra- A. D. 796. tion he fent to give notice to Charles, fending him the Keys of the Confession, the Banner of the City, and other great Presents, to which Armonias adds, that he defired him to fend to Rome some one of his Nobles, who by Oath might confirm the Roman People in their fidelity and fubjection. Not long before this time Charles had from a Province reduced Forum Julii into a Dukedom, and removing the Courts, had placed there as Duke, Henry a Frank, it's supposed out of defign to restrain and keep the Hunnes in order. By command of King Pipin some Pipin makes years after, he Invaded Pannonia; and falling on them unexpectedly, killed Iring

War upon the with other of their Dukes, and Plundering Rhing their Palace, fent away the Treasure to Charles, which they had been a long time hoarding up, most where A.D.796. of he fent to Rome, and then passed with an Army into Saxony: The Hunnes having loft their Dukes made themselves a King, under whom they prepared themfelves with all earnestness to renew the War, which Pipin understanding, sent notice thereof to his Father, and with a choice Party of Men brake into their Territories, took and plundered again their Royal Scat, and with a great booty went to his Father then lying at Aix, from whom he returned not into Italy till the year following, wherein Irene caused the eyes of her Son Constantine to be pulled out, that She might Reign without Controll. By this time the Romans, the Fear and Awe of the Lombards being removed, began to flow with Wealth, and grew wanton with Idleness and Luxury, and not content with the present poiture of Affairs, hatched designs to shake off the Bishop, and recover their an-

10. The main Authours and Promoters of this Defign were the Kinimen of the late Adrian, Pascalis the Primicerius, and Campulus the Sacellarius, the Princes

of Adrian; and the two last because he taxed their naughty manner of Life. They first objected some crimes to him in way of accusation, and when they could make nothing of them, then entred into a Conspiracy against his Life, and A Compiracy on a time; as he was going in a folemn Procession, fell upon him with some of against Leo their Creatures they had laid in Ambush, and having indeavoured to cut out his Tongue, and pull out his Eyes, carried him into a Church, and before the Altar forely beat and wounded him. Albinus his Chamberlain found him in a Monaftery, and brought him back to the Vatican, where he recovered, which so inraged the Conspiratours that they pulled down Albinus his House. Upon the report of these Disorders in the Countrey, Winigise Duke of Spoletum, who had been substituted in the room of Hildebrand, came to Rome and carried him safe to Spoletum, whence he conveyed him into France to Charles, according to his own defire. Charles honourably received him, and granted his request to afford him his affiltence against the Enemies of the Pontifical See, for he told him he had none else to whom he could betake himself; the Emperour, whose Duty it was to protect the Church, having lately rather been against it, and no good being to be hoped for from a Woman that now held the place at Constantinople. At length by the advice of fuch Churchmen as came to Leo into France, it was refolved that he should be sent back to Rome, and there the Merits of the Cause should be searched into. At the time appointed Charles his Ambassadours held an Affembly with the Bilhops and Counts of France, in the Palace, and heard what the Conspiratours could say, who pleading nothing but what was judged vain and frivolous, they caused them to be committed, and sent them in Chains into France.

of the City. The first were inraged at Leo for endeavouring to rescind some Acts

was murthered by the Inhabitants of Tarsatica, a Town of Liburnia. 11. Charles holding an Affembly of his Estates at Wormes, propounded these Cafes to them, the first concerned Grimoald, who had lately again revolted, the second the death of Henry, and the third the violence offered to the Person of Leo, all which deferving the presence of a King, to punish them, he resolved ( and for one thing more doubtles) to goe again into Italy. Autumn now declining, with 4. D, 300 Pipin his Son he passed the Alpes and went streight into Liburnia, where he punished the Inhabitants of Tarsatica for the death of Henry. One Cadolack he made Duke of Forum Julii; which having done, he departed thence to Ravenna, where having spent seven days in preparation for the War of Beneventum, he came

The fame year, Henry Duke of Forum Julii, after many Victories over the Hunnes,

to Ancona. From Ancona, Pipin with an Army marched against Grimoald; and Charles, through the Dutchy of Spoletum, went for Rome; Leo and the Senate met him at Nomentum, twelve miles from the City, where having discoursed and feafted with him, he returned to Rome to take Order for his Reception, after this manner. The next day the Crosses and Holy Reliques, with the Banners of the City, were fent out to meet him; In certain places were placed certain Chori of Which is try- Citizens and Strangers who fang his Praifes. The Bishop himself sate upon the steps of the Vatican Church incircled by his Clergy, where he received him, and with finging conducted him into the place appointed for Prayers, and thence into the Confession. After seven days Charles called the People together, and signifying the cause of his coming, appointed a day to hear their Bishop's Cause. On the day appointed, by the advice of the Bishops, both Franks and Italians, the Accusers and Accused were cited to appear, and he himself sate as Judge with the rest. The Accusers told their Tale, but the Bishops would not suffer Leo, in respect of his Dignity, to answer formally as other Criminals were wont to doe. whereupon he faid he would use that course which the Laws allowed to purge

ones felf of a Crime objected. On another day, he mounted the Pulpit, and in

the presence of them all, his Hands laid upon the Holy Gospels, by a solemn Oath he protested that he was clear from the crimes they had slanderously laid unto his And the Bi- charge. This by the Auditours was counted enough, he was esteemed Innocent, and folemn thanks were given to Almighty God and the Saints on his be-

12. Now comes the principal Scene and the Parts which the Bishop and Charles were to Act in this Comical expedition. Leo had been freed and absolved before Charles his coming. The Inhabitants of Tarsatica were not so considerable, but that he might have eafily punished them by his Officers, and as for Grimoald, Pipia might have dealt with him as well, if his Father had been in France, as where now he remained at fuch a distance. There was another greater thing for which Charles undertook this Journey : He had made broad \* ngas in the "Quin estant vi-

Sect. 5. time of Adrian, but that Bishop either could not or would not understand him. venue Hadi. time of Adrian, but that binnop entirer could not or would not interitate initial and being as ready as able to ferve him in this affair tage time age. for about the work in this manner. He could not for shame but to bethink him-defi what way he might shew himself gratefull to him, who to free the Church am camp. fell what way he might shew himself gratefull to him, who to free the Church am camp. for or great danger and Insamy, had not grudged to take a Journey out of induger, in the Church sheet free Greaters the Second his Predecessor. had begun to retain only. France. He found that fince Gregory the Second his Predecessour, had begun to Prefer compabe Perfecuted by the Heretical Emperour, there never were wanting fome who evir: Carolin be Perfecuted by the Heretical Emperour, carnelly contended that some other Defender of the Church was to be found Rex France. out, that is some other Prince to be dignified with the Imperial Title. That with Inne Land out doubt, if any one so great an honour was to be conferred, either it was due to Bericus out doubt, it any one to great an industrial was to be charlest. He Catholick Faith, Remarking Pipin, or at leaft to Charles his Son, who in afferting the Catholick Faith, Remarking Pipin, or at leaft to Charles his Son, who in afferting the Catholick Faith, Remarking Pipin, or at leaft to Charles his Son, who in afferting the Catholick Faith Remarking the Catholi Kings, yea all Emperours whatfoever. What Adrian had omitted, and the King Manifices. himielf in his time, he knew, had affected from the tumults at Rome, he refolved tiam noting. now to take occasion to perfect, that he might oblige so powerfull a King, and to obtain a Protectour and Patron to the Roman Church. The Ceremony he resolved distillment should be on Christmas day as a greater grace to the Fact, and that it might be obliquimum, thould be on Christmas day as a greater grace to the Fact, and that it might be obliquimum. more folemn and flately. Pipin himfelf, having committed the War against Gri- Augustanie mould unto Duke Winigife, came to the City, drawing with him an infinite num-excellents ber of Mortals to behold the fight.

13. The day being come, Charles, early in the morning went to the Vatican mu, & quel Church, and thence to the Confession, where having finished his Devotions, the sensition rous and Pr-Bishop, who by former agreement was present, put on him an Imperial Robe, tuting and and fet on his Head a most pretious Crown of Gold, which had been prepared num Reniba for this purpose: At this the People three times acclaimed, To Charles Augustus, time transfer the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the Romans, Life and the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the Romans, Life and the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperous of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperous of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperous of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperous of the Romans, Life and the Crowned of God, the Mighty and Mi Villory. God and the Saints being then invoked, this Imperial Title was confirmed. Vide St. med by the People, and their Acclamation being over, the Bishop anointed both flutral the Father and the Son standing by, the one for Emperour, the other for King, p. 160. and then fet upon Celebrating of Divine Service. This ended, both Charles and Pipin offered in the Vatican Church, a Cupboard of Silver, and feveral Veffels for the Service thereof, of pure Gold: in that of Lateran, a Cross of excellent Workmanship made of Jacinths, which Lee in compliance with Charles, ordered to be carried in folemn Processions. Such was the order of the folemnity, by which it appears, as Sigonius observes, how untrue the story of those is, who wrote that all this was done by Leo, Charles neither knowing any thing before, nor confenting, as who should say often, that had he perceived any such thing, he would not that day have gone to the Vatican. But this Imperial Title having failed in the West almost three hundred years before, at the Deposition of Momyllus Augustulus, the Bishop of Rome now renewed it in Charles, that his Church might have a Patron and Defender, obliged by fuch a courtesie as we said before. This is sufficiently evidenced by the form of the Oath, which the Emperours of this Edition at their Coronations, had by these Bishops imposed on them: J. N. Emperour, in the Name of Christ, promise and ingage before God and St. Peter the Apo-Significant perour, in the Name of Christ, promise and ingage before God and St. Peter the Aspo-operation file, to be the Protectiour and Defender of this boly Roman Church, in all its concern-meninish ments, as I shall be assisted by Divine helps, to my knowledge and Power. 14. And as Leo for his own respects, and those of his Successours was ready to dictime.

give, fo Charles, to ferve his own Ambition and the Dignity of his Family, was willing to receive, though from him, this Glorious Title. For, now rejecting that of Patritian, he wrote himself Roman Emperour, and Augustus. Being placed in this high pitch of Majesty, he thought it agreeable to his Office, not onely to look after the fettlement of Italy, but all Christendom, and in that study spent the Winter following. The Accusers of Leo he condemned to death, but at the request of the Bishop, exchanged this punishment for that of Banishment. To the Edicts of the Lombards, he added such Laws as he perceived from complaints whereas he came were wanting, and by others reformed Ecclefiaflical matters. Sigonius tells us that the aforesaid Laws were in his time to be feen at Mutina, with this Title in the Preface. Charles by Divine confent ( or Order ) Crowned, Governing the Roman Empire, most Serene Augustus, to all Counts, Gasfallds, or to all that by our meekness have been appointed Officers of the Common-Wealth throughout the Province of Italy, in the year eight hundred and one, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the ninth Indiction, in the thirty third year of our Reign over France, and over Italy the twenty eighth, the fift of our Confullhip. Being now Emperour, he calls Italy not a Kingdom, but a Province,

CHAP. I.

and to make the world believe he was Emperour Indeed, a Roman Emperour, revives old Titles and Names, Styles himself Augustus, and talks of the Consulship; but he entred it seems at the same time that he commenced Emperour, and fo shews himself not to be of the true and genuine Stock, few, these excepted, who invaded the Empire, and the Titles of whom were precarious, but were Consuls before they came to be Emperours. And whether in stictness his Title was not precarious, whether he was a Legitimate Roman Emperour, or can be so called is a Moot-point, may admit of a little Disquistion.

15. If he were an Emperour (take the word as one polleding or reigning over divers kingdoms) yet could he be called by any other addition, better than that of Roman. The Roman Empire was now almost quite extinct in the West, little or nothing left except a few Islands in the Mediterranean, and perchance a few Maritime Towns lying towards Sicily. The Emperour had been beaten out of this Countrey by the Lombards, who having made a Prey at last of the Exarchate, became themselves a Prey to Victorious Charles, and the Exarchate, by what right foever was challenged as the Churches Patrimony. Grant then that the Romans had Power to name him Emperour, to confer that Title upon him or any other, a worthless empty Title must it be, signifying a Sovereignty over the City of Rome, and the small Territory of the Exarchate ( the rest was quite alienated) such a Dominion they had at the Banishment of their Kings, the Names of one of which would more have fitted him, as Servius, Tarquinius, or the like, than that of Cafar. That they could give any thing of the Eastern Empire to him or any other, we cannot believe, after that Constantinople had been by Imperial Authority made a second Rome, and all Co-equal Majesty and Privileges conferred upon it. Rome of late had lost the Imperial Title, been a Captive to Barbarians, a Member of a Kingdom, being though restored to her Liberty afterward, yet it was by the Help and Affiftence of her Daughter, had all along hitherto truckled under her, and acknowledged the Sovereignty of her Princes, and submitted to the Government of a Duke; till under thew of Religion, the became difloyal, and advanced her Bishops from the Episcopal Chair to the Princely Throne.

CHAP

### CHAP. II.

The Affairs of Britain, lately a Roman Province. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

#### SECT. I.

From the Departure of the Romans out of the Island to the Destruction of Britain, or the forcing up of the Inhabi-tants, into the Mountainous places by the Picts, Scots and Saxons.

The space of One Hundred Ninety Seven years.

HE Britains being again forfaken by their Friends the Romant, who as we faid were called into Gall, the Necessities of the Empire there and then requiring it, became speedily again a Prey to the ravenous The Piets and Picts and Scots, who no fooner was their fear and awe removed, but like Wolves they returned, and without any Pity or Compassion renewed their Slaugh-

The Character ters, and the Havock they had made of a worse than tame and sheepish Nation. of the Britains For, such Qualities as are the certain Presages of the Ruine of a People, had long in those days. e'er this manifested themselves; Luxury, Esseminateness, and all forts of vitious Habits and Practices which weaken mens Hands, and enervate their Minds, which in all Ages have destroyed Families, and overturned Governments, abounded amongst them: Never scarcely did a Kingdom, Empire or Estate miscarry, but its Period was usher'd in with Looseness and Luxury. Let the Example of Sardanapalus, of the Army and Court of Darius, of Cleopatra, and her Egyptian Train, and that of the Romans after the times of Lucullus, speak for the Allyrian, Perfian, Macedonian and Roman Empires. As for Kingdoms and States, Examples so abound, as it would be too tedious to relate them. Besides the Just Judgment of Almighty God, who in the Destruction of those that pervert Nature, and apply their Strength and Faculties to other things and ends than for which they were made, vindicates the Sovereignty and Right, which he necessarily hath over his Creatures. Luxury and vitious Habits in their own Natures, and by way of Efficiency procure what are the certain Causes of Ruine and Destruction.

2. For if things be preserved by the same means they are got or obtained, this cannot be done but by Labour and Industry. Now Luxury brings Idleness and Laziness, renders Men effeminate and impatient of Toil or Industry. This is to be noted of vitious Persons in all Ages. First, such Persons conscious to themselves, that by all Rules of Sobriety they were condemned, found themselves concerned for their Reputation (though this two at last they come oftentimes to slight) to excuse, may plead for what they were inclined to practise. Hence Sobriety was ever by them branded for Folly and foppish formality, and because they could not out-reason, they were put upon it to jeer, or as they say to droll at all things and Persons serious, and the most solid, substantial, and every way most worthy, they endeavoured to represent and render ridiculous. Learning, Discipline, honest Studies and Endeavours they scoffed at, cried up natural Parts, and flashy trisling Wits, because they could not endure to take pains themselves, being a kind of Eurhusiasts in this respect, as expecting Inspiration or Mahomer's Pidgeon, for the Infusion of such Abilities as cannot be obtained but by time and labour. Hence Sect. 1. all Seriousness being discouraged, none were preferred but vitious and superficial Parafites. When any able Persons spake their Judgments they were derided, and all their good Councils by one twitting and idrolling Speech rendred ridiculous. This caused them either to hold their Peace, or comply with the prevalent Humour, and then all good Council being discarded and rash hare-brained Opinions admitted, Reason was banished, Industry and Pains driven away and drew along with them, what are the usual Effects and Products. The wife Man knew what he faid when he affirmed, that the Scorner, as it is translated, or the Derider or Droller destroys the City, not the open Enemy, not the Traitour, for Govern-LegeComment. Droller dettroys the City, not the open enterty, not the random, by Good-Vendami in mentsufually recover themselves out of such Hazards; but when all Sobriety is scoffed at, when dissolute Persons manage Affairs, and by their drolling render so-um. Derisor ber and wholfome Councils ridiculous, then is a Kingdom or State in the ready perdit Civiand certain way to Destruction. These are the certain Symptoms of its mortal tatem.

3. Such was the State of British Affairs; their Sobriety and Prosperity, if ever they enjoyed either, affole and decayed together. But if Gildas their County treyman hath not injured them, by never much could pretend either to the one, or to the other. For the first, he tells us in General, that they neither behaved Heccre Haccoor to the other. For the first, he tens us in General, that they hether behave a secretary themselves well towards Almighty God, towards one another, nor such foreign etc. The princes as had subdued them, and their Subjects. For the other, they submitted brand of more and of the princes as had subdued them, and their Subjects. Princes as had fundified them, and received their Commands without any reliftence. Deo, interdum to the triumphant Romans, and received their Commands without any reliftence, Civilus, nona weak and an unfaithfull People, subdued not so much by Sword, Fire and Engines nunquam etof War (as were other Nations) as by Threats, Punishments and Edicts, and am transfina-They Rebell onely in outward shew pretending Obedience. Accordingly, when the Roman vinis Regibus against the Re- Souldiers were most of them departed, having lest some Governours behind to esta-ingrata conblish their Power, and not the least thinking of a Rebellion, a wily \* Lioness slew surger. these Rulers. When the Senate had notice hereof at Rome, and sent an Army Impress. Lon to be revenged, nor Fleet was there prepared to fight for their Countrey, nor dini, 1563. fquared Battallion or Right wing ( to use his words ) was there to be seen, nor Opera foam.

any other warlike Preparation on the shore; their backs were for shields toward \*Leena trucifuch as pursued them, their Necks trembling, and like Women they stretched out david dole, to their Swords, and offered their Hands to be manacled, so that it became a bys siper Lestmann, and in Derision was wont to be spoken, That the Britains were neither valifum Infailant.

ant in War, nor faithfull in Peace.

others to flavery, that the Land might not turn into a Wilderness, quitted again utitur) virilis the Countrey that wanted both Wine and Oil, and returned into Italy, leaving femina Bunua fufficient Power behind them, to be as whips for the Backs, and Yokes for the cia est intelli-Necks of the Natives, to afflict and tire them not so much with a military Hand as genda, que awith stripes, but if need were to thrust the Sword into the sides of the Nation; and Dionem Socoo, and and however to make the Name of Roman Slavery stick to the Soil, so that it Tacitum should be accounted not Britannia, but Romania, and what Brass, Silver or Gold 70000 Romait could get, should be stamped with Casfar's Image. Having received the Gospel name Nerone, in the time of Tiberius, it cannot be denied but that this Nation afforded feveral dicitur intereglorious Martyrs, but when Arianism once came to spread abroad, readily re-misse. ceived the Venome of every Herefic, being ever greedy of Novelty, and never stable in any thing. After this a vast wood of Tyrants (so he phraseth it) sprung up, and the Island retaining the Roman Name indeed, but little of the Manners or Avail Number Laws, fent into Gall Maximus, accompanied with many Souldiers, but fuch as were accompany tumultuous and over and above adorned with Imperial Enfigns which he never decently wore; not obtained legally, but as Tyrants were wont to compass them. This Man by craft rather than any Valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his Net, and by Perjury and Lies adjoined them to his wicked Dominion; stretched one of his Wings as far as Spain, and the other into Italy, and establishing the Throne of his most wicked Empire at Triers, raved with so great Madness against his Masters, that of two lawfull Emperours, the one at Rome, and the other elsewhere, he bereaved of his Religious Life. But prefently as he proceeded in fuch curfed and audacious practices, was he at Aquileia smitten on the Head (he means slain) who had cast down the honoured Heads of the whole World, from their Sovereignty.

5. But by this means became Britain bereaved of her Souldiers and Military Men, as also of her Governours (how cruel foever) and in a manner all her Youth, which following the Tyrant into Gall, never more returned home, and

4. The Romans having killed many of these persidious Men, and condemned persimberge

All things

tending to

Sect. 1. thereby growing utterly unskilfull in matters of War, first was invaded by two transmarine and cruel Nations, the Scots from the West, and the Pills from the North, Another lava- under which the groned for many years. Being harassed with their Inrodes, and the direfull Effects thereof, the fent to Rome with Tears, requiring that Succours might be hastned away to her Relief, vowing in case the Enemy were removed to remain constant in Fidelity to the Empire. A Legion unmindfull of the former Milchief was ordered her, which having passed the Seas presently ingaged the Rovers, and having made of them a great flaughter, quite drove them out of the Countrey, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel Death, or Imminent Captivity. This done, it fet them upon making a Wall overthwart the Island to defend them from these Inrodes; but it being made by the Rabble without any Instructour, and not of Stone but of Earth, for the most part did them little or no Service. This Legion being returned with great Joy and Triumph, the same Rovers like fo many greedy and ravenous Wolves came again upon their former Prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the sheep, bore down and trampled on all in their way like flanding Corn. Now again a Mellengers diffarched to Rome with their Clothes rent, and Earth upon their Heads, like as fearfull Chickens betake themselves to the Wings of their Dates, beseeching them not to suffer their afflicted Countrey absolutely to perish, nor the Roman Name ( now indeed merely a Name) to be loft, and extinguished in the Island. The Romans receiving as great an Impression from the Story of this Tragedy, as humane Nature was capable of, made asmuch haste to their Rescue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horseman on the Earth, or the most expert Mariner can do upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent falling from the Mountains, removes heaps of Sand which lye in its way, fo did they fweep and cleanse the Countrey of these greedy Rovers.

6. They now plainly tell those, for whose deliverance they came, that they mult not for the future, expect any fuch tedious and laborious Journeys from them; and that the Roman Legions, or such an Army, was not to be endangered by Sea and Land, for the driving away a fort of inconfiderable stragling Thieves. They bid them apply themselves to the study and practice of Arms, that by their own Valour and Conduct they may be able to protect their Countrey, their Wives, their Children, (and what should be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to firetch out their hands, not naked and difarmed to be pinioned by the Enemy, but furnished with Swords, Spears, and fuch like Instruments of War ready to assault and slaughter these Nations, which could not be more valiant and powerfull than themselves, except sloth and idleness made them so. They prescribed them the way how they should make another Wall, not according to the former Model, propounding couragious Exploits to a fearfull People, and a pattern to such as were not willing to write after it. Upon the Southern Shore where their own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invalions of these Barbarous People were feared, they build watch Towers at a certain distance one from another, and bid farewell to Britain, as never more to return into the Island. They were no fooner gone, but Swarms of Scots and Pitts again appeared upon the Shore, A third Inva- and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overspread the Face of the Earth; differing indeed in manners and Customs from each other, but both alike greedy to shed bloud, having their Faces more covered with Hair than their fecret Parts with Cloaths; and they confidently seized on the Northern part of the Island, as their own, from the utmost bounds thereof, as far as the Wall. Upon the Wall the Britains set a Guard, but fitter to Eat than to Fight, trembling at the fight of an Enemy, and pining away for the very thought of War. The Barbarians had certain Hooks, wherewith they would pull down to the ground, the unwary and helpless Defendant; who in so great a missortune was in this respect happy, that he lived not to see those dreadfull Calamities, which shortly after be-

7. In flort, the Guard e'er long quitted both the Wall and the Towns adjoyning, and then followed the usual Flights and Dispersions of a poor sheepish and miterable People; for, to no other than fuch a preying of Wolves and wild Beafts, can this thing be compared; the miserable Britains running away, and when easily overtaken, being flaughtered like Sheep with Complaints, but no opposition. Those that remained alive, in another manner felt the dreadfull effects of this Invalion, to severe a Famine following that havock which had been made of all A fevere Fa- things, that no food could be obtained, but what small pittance could be got by mine follow- hunting. The miferable Remnant of the British Nation in this defolate condition, having cause to apprehend another Invasion, writes to Agitius a Roman Of-

ficer after this manner. "To Agitius thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britains: Sect. 1. "then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea "then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians. Betwit these two forts of death, we drive us back upon the Barbarians. Betwit these two forts of death, we drive the conful geni-"have either our Throats cut, or are drown'd. But no fuccour or relief could tus Brit annobe obtained. In the mean time the Famine was fo violent, that many gave up rum: & post themselves to the cruel Enemy, purchasing a little bread with everlasting slavery; panet gives themselves to the cruel Enemy, purchasing a little bread with everlasting slavery; panet gives Repelothers more valiantly betook themselves to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, whence lune Barbari they made Sallies upon the Rovers: and now first of all betaking themselves to adMingapithely God, and trusting in him, had for many years success against, and land had been successed against, and land had been successed by the killed many of them as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now (faith our Au backagenera thour) the boldness of the Enemy for a little time ceased, but not the wickedness inner man of our People, it being ever, as it now is, the custome of the Nation to be weak aut merginur. to repell an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons as he expresseth it) but strong enough Hunc Agizina to fupport Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their fins; infirm to execute the Action.

fixed themselves now in the Northern part of the Island, and there continued making fome Incursions now and then. During the Truce, the Scarr of the Famine

effects of Peace and Truth, but able to practife wickedness and Lies. 8. The Ravenous Scots then return into Ireland for a short time. The Picts

was healed up, another and more virulent Soar fecretly growing. For these Hostilities ceasing, so great a Plenty and abundance of all things followed in the Island as no past Age could parallel; and this was accompanied with every way proportionable as great Luxury. So greatly did this evil root sprout up and in-

crease, that at this time it might be truly said, Absolutely such Fornication is heard of, as is not reported amongst the Gentiles. But not onely this Vice, but all others that are incident to Humane Nature, and especially (which also at this time faith he undoes all) hatred of the truth, and them that speak it, lovers of Lies with those that forge them; the taking of good for evil, veneration of evil for good. the desire of darkness instead of the Sun, and the entertainment of Satan for an Angel of Light. Kings were anointed without any respect to God, but if there were any more cruel than their Fellows: And not long after they were murthered by those that anointed them, without any examination of the matter, and more cruel ones were chosen in their rooms. If any of them had but a shew of mildness or seemed the least inclinable to truth, the harred and violence of all was upon him, as the Subverter of Britain. What was pleasing or displeasing to Almighty God, was all one and alike to them; but rather, what displeased him most pleased them: So that that Saying of the Prophet, may be well fitted to our Countrey, which was denounced against that ancient People. Children ye Isiah, 1.5. have for saken God without a Law, and provoked to anger the Holy one of Ifrael. Why should ye be smitten any more ye workers of Iniquity? All the Head is sick, and the Heart faint, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no health in it. So they acted all things contrary to health, as if the Universal Physician afforded no Medicine to the World. And these things were not onely practifed by Secular men, but by the Lord's Flock and the Shepherds thereof. who ought to be an Example unto the People. They were debauched and grown

Emulations, having no discretion to discern betwixt good and evil. 9. In the mean while it pleafing Almighty God to purge his Family, and by a Report onely of Tribulation, to cure it of fo mischievous an Insection, a swift noise pierced all mens ears of the sudden approach of the ancient Enemy, who was now refolved to destroy all the Natives, and himself to plant and inhabit the whole Countrey. Yet for all this did they not amend their manners, but like to foolish Affes biring upon the Barrier Reason, left the right Path, and hurried on the broad steep way which leads to destruction. Therefore, as Solomon says, When the Servant is not amended by words, the fool is whipped and doth not feel it; Prov. 29. 19. for a dreadfull Plague fell upon this foolish People, which in a short time, without any affiftence of the Sword, did fuch execution upon them, that the living fufficed not to bury the dead. Neither yet were they ever the better, that the Saying of If aiab the Prophet might in them also be fulfilled. And God called them to forrow Isaiab 22 12. and mourning, to baldness and the girdle of Sackcloath: but behold they fell to killing of Calves and Slaying of Rams, to eat and drink, and they said, Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die. And why? the time approached wherein their Iniquities, as in old time those of the Ammorbites should be fulfilled. For they fell into a Confultation, what might be the best and most effectual course to prevent the fo difinal and frequent Invafions of the forenamed Nations. Then were all

fortish by Drunkenness, sell one upon another, with Contentious Brawlings, and

Sect. 1, the Counfellours, together with the proud Tyrant himself, blinded, devising not a Protection, but the destruction of their Countrey; namely, that those most fierce and curfed Saxons, hatefull both to God and Man, should as Wolves into the Sheep-The Saxons fold be fent for to repulse these Northern Nations. Than which nothing was ever more pernicious, nothing more bitter. Oh the groffest darkness of underflanding! Oh the most desperate dulness and blockishness of mind! Those whom absent they dreaded more than death, these soolish Princes invited under the fame Roof, giving as'tis faid foolish Council unto Pharaoh.

The Affairs of Britain, lately a Roman Province,

PART IV

Who Land

10. Then did a Kennell of Whelps in three Vessels, called by them Cynlæ, in our Language, faith he, Long Ships, rush out of the barbarous Lionesses Den. with a prosperous gale, and lucky Omen and Auguries, whereby it was foretold by a certain Presage, That for three hundred years they should posses that Countrey, unto which they directed their course; and for an hundred and twenty, or half that space of time, often waste and depopulate the same. These having Landed, by Commandment of the unlucky Tyrant, first fixed their Claws upon the Eastern part of the Island, as with a design to protect it, but truly meaning to offer violence to it. And their forementioned Dam finding that her first Kennel prospered, sent after them a greater rabble of Dogs, which having passed over in Pinnaces, joyned with the former mif-begotten Crew. Thence it is that the Sprout of Iniquity, the Root of Bitterness, the Virulent Plantation, but suitable to our Deferts, springs up in our Soil, with their extravagant Buds and Branches. But these Barbarians being admitted into the Island as Souldiers, and such

(fo they ly'd) as were to undergo great hazards for their Entertainers, obtained what was necessary for their subsistence; which being allowed for a long time But find fault (as it's faid) stopped the Dogs mouth. Howbeit afterward, they complain hem durant that they were but flenderly provided for, feeking for colourable Pretences to the magnetic quarrel; and except their Allowances were increased, they threaten to break the entry ship. Peace, and to harafs the whole Island. Without delay they back their Threats but. Pro Est. by fuitable Actions. For the cause, viz. their wickedness still continuing the same, menia week and being nourished, the fire by the hands of these Eastern Sacrilegious men, was res Virgilia kindled from Sea to Sea, and confuming the Neighbouring Cities and the Countries allique poadjoyning, ceafed not, till having in a manner deitroyed all the Land with a man date, and on the red and terrible flame, it touched upon the Western Ocean. In this violent In 16th mass 16th vasion, comparable to that which the Assyrians made into Judah, is also fulfil- Saxo lib de led in us according to the History, what the Prophet by way of Lamentation ut- weathbullis inled in its according to the Hillory, what the Fronte by way of Lamentation the unputative tered: They have burnt thy Sanduary with fire, they have polluted in the Land the nett, i.e. Tabernacle of thy Name. And again: O God the Gentiles are come into thine He- Nidu fire ringe: they have defiled thine Holy Temple, &c. Informuch that all the Colonies behinden. by the frequent battering of Engines, and all the Inhabitants together with the Hall 17. Prelates of the Church, the Priests and People, by Swords glittering on every fide, and cracking Flames, were at once laid flat upon the ground; and which was a dreadfull Spectacle to behold, in the midst of the Streets the stone-works of Turrets and high Walls, facred Altars, and pieces of Carkasses, crusted over with a purple bloudy Dye, as in one horrible Wine-press to be seen mixed together. Neither was there any Sepulchre other than the Ruines of Houses, and the Bellies of wild Beafts and Fowls; with Reverence be it spoken to Holy Souls, if many such were then found, which were carried by Angels up into Heaven. For that Vine which was formerly good, had so degenerated into bitterness, that according to what the Prophet says, Seldom could a Cluster, or Ear, be found after the Gatherers

11. Some miserable Remains being found upon the Mountains, were butchered work of their by heaps: Others, almost spent with Fames, we up themselves to the Enemy in-Emeratines to perpetual Slavery, if they were not presently killed, which was esteemed the greatest favour imaginable. Others went into Parts beyond the Sea, instead of the Mariners Celessma (or Song at their first fetting out) howling and roaring under their spread Sails, this Ditty: Thou hast given us, O Lord, as Sheep to be de-19d 43 13 voured, and hast scattered us among the Nations. Others stayed in their own Countrey, but betook themselves to Mountains, to craggy places, and difficult of Accels, to thick Woods, and the very Rocks of the Sea, ever trembling for fear, and having their fafety in fuspicion. A little time being past, when the cruel Rovers had retired, those that were left behind being strengthened by God, to whom now they flie from all places, as Bees to an Hive upon the approach of a Tempest, most heartily befeeching him, and sending up innumerable Prayers, that they might not utterly be destroyed from the face of the Earth; under

Conduct of Ambrofius Aurelianus a modest Man, who of the Roman Nation alone Sect. I. had furvived this Calamity, having lost his Parents therein, who were clad with Purple, and whose Posterity has now degenerated from their Grandfathers goodness; under him they take Arms and Courage, provoke the Conquerours to Battel, and by the Affistence of Almighty God obtain the Victory. From this time forward, faith Gildas, now the Natives, and then their Enemies have the better, that this Nation might be tryed, as formerly Ifrael was; whether it would love the Lord or not: even to the Year wherein Mount Badon was belieged, and the last defeat given to these Rogues, the forty fourth year (viz. of the Saxons their coming into Britain) as I well know, one Month thereof being past, the same as of mine own Nativity. But even now the Cities of our Countrey are not inhabited as formerly, but lye waste and desolate, for though External Wars are ceased, yet Civil ones are not. However the remembrance of the Desperate Condition of the Island, and of the unhoped for Relief, sluck fast in the minds of those who were witnesses of both the Miracles: as in this respect Kings, publick and private Persons, Priess and Ecclesiastical Men, every one in his Order.

the condition of the time past, and had onely felt the Serenity of the present, all

Rules of Truth and Justice were so shaken and subverted, that I may not say no

12. But they being dead, and a Generation succeeding which was ignorant of

footsteps, but no marks at all of them remain in the late mentioned Orders, few, and they very few, excepted, who in respect of the loss of so great a Multitude which daily runs Headlong to Hell, their Number is fo short, that in a manner our Venerable Mother the Church, cannot of those that lye in her Bosome, perceive which are her true and onely Sons. After a few more words, he demands why that should be concealed, which not onely is known, but upbraided by the Nations round about. Britain, faith he, hath Kings but Tyrants, Judges it hath but wicked ones, often fleecing and punishing, but Innocent Persons, vindicating and patronifing, but guilty Persons and Thieves, having very many Wives, but these Whores and Adulteresses, often swearing but forswearing, vowing and then prefently breaking, waging Wars, but those Civil and upon unjust Accounts, profecuting Thieves mightily throughout the Countrey, and having some of them sitting at their own Tables, whom they not onely love but reward, bestowing Almes liberally, but on the other fide, heaping up vast Mountains of Wickedness, fitting in the Seat of Arbitratours, but feldom enquiring after any Rule of right Judgment, despising the Innocent and Humble, but asmuch as in them lies, and as opportunity ferves, extolling to the Skies all bloudy Persons, proud, guilty of paricide, unlawfull Company-keepers and Adulterers, the Enemies of God, and who with the very Name it felf were to be destroyed and blotted out; keeping

many bound in Prison, whom by their own Crast, they oppress and load with Chains, rather than for any thing, wherein they have really offended: continu-

ing with Oaths amongst Altars, which within a little time they despise as dirty

13. After this, our Authour comes to the Reprehension of particular Persons. As to particu- First he accuses Constantine (whom he terms the Whelp of the Pannonian Lio-lar Persons. mefs) of killing, notwithtlanding a corporal and most folemn Oath, somes Boys of Royal extract betwirt the Altars. Of living many years before in Adultery, finglenem having put away his own Wife contrary to Christ's Command. He affirms that argue quen he had planted in his Heart, which was like an Earth unable to bear any good adductive reference. Fruit, a flip of Unbelief and Folly taken from Sodom, which being watered by f. 25. 6. many known, though Domestick, Impieties, as fo many poysonous showres brought Quid in quoq forth to the offence of God, this impudent Crime of Paricide and Sacrilege, at Propheta that still intangled in the Nets of his former Mischiefs; by his ancient faults he Leanne to the increases his present Enormities. \* After this, saying that he reprehends him as pre-reli Canine fent whom he knows yet to be alive, by laying before him the Eternal Punish-distribution ments which were to insue, and the promises made for his Salvation, he earnest-Commun voly exhorts him to the amendment of his finfull life. Now after him he takes cant, Author Aurelius Caninus to task, whom he terms a Lion's Whelp, and demands of him num ut hic whether he be not worse than the former, swallowed up in the Filth of Paricides, quem dolli vi-Fornications and Adulteries. Whether hating the Peace of his Countrey, as a ri fequentur. Serpent or fome deadly thing, by thirsting after Civil Wars and unjust Depreda-industria ita tions, he do not shut against himself the Gates of Heavenly Peace and Refresh-nomen mutasses ment. Seeing he was left alone as a withering Tree in the middle of a Field, he existimave bids him remember the idle fancy of his Fathers and Brothers with their juvenile ingenio bujus and immature Death. And bidding him not to think to live to the Age of Me- Sairra Sairs thusalah. quadrat.

Scet. 1. thusalah, by the same Arguments, as formerly excites him to a speedy Repentance. The next he undertakes is Vortiporius, whom he compares to a spotted Leopard, for the Multiplicity of his Crimes and his gray Hairs, being from the top to the bottom, defiled with Paricide and Adulteries, the Son not of a good King, as of Hezekiah was Manasses: He accuses him for putting away his own Wife, and burthening his Conscience with defilement of an impudent Daughter, concluding with the like Exhortation to amendment. Then falls he upon Cuneglusus, whole Name in the Roman Language he faith importeth a Tellow Batcher, terming him a Bear, the Contemner or Opposer of God, who had wallowed in the Dregs of Wickedness from his very youth. He demands why he creates so much trouble to his Countreymen by his Civil diffentions, and to God Almighty by his infinite Crimes? why he had driven away his own Wife, and taken her wicked Coufin-German to his Bed, which had promifed perpetual Chaftity unto God. Then by propoling the like Terrours and Allurements, he endeavours to bring him to a better life.

14. But most pains he takes with Maglocunus the last in the Catalogue, but neither the last nor the least in Crimes, whom he calls by the Title of the Dragon of the Island, terms the Suppressour of many Tyrants, but the first in Mischief, greater than many both in Power and Malice, free in giving but more profuse in Sin, in Arms powerfull, but more valiant in fuch attempts as destroy the Soul, as one who fortifully wallows in the Lake of his old Wickedness, as drunk with Wine pressed out of the Sodomitical Grape. He demands of him, why he heaps such loads of Sins as so many high Mountains upon his Royal shoulders? and why he doth not carry himself better than others, nay why he behaves himself worse than others towards that King of all Kings, who had made him higher than all other Captains of Britain, aswell in respect of his Kingdom as in Stature, and the Lineaments of his Body? He upbraids him for having by Fire and Sword destroyed the King his Uncle with most valiant Souldiers, the Countenances of whom feemed not unlike to those of the Whelps of Lions: but especially for devoting himself to a religious Course of Life, after his Violence had succeeded, and breaking those Oaths which he had taken to that purpose; and then returning as the Dog to his Vomit, to as greedy a Profecution of vitious Courses as ever. He instances in his despiting his own Wife, and loving the Wife of his Brother's Son, and the double Paricide which thereupon followed, and at last the Murther also of her by whose Suggestions and Solicitations, his Wife and her own Husband had been made away. He farther upbraids him with being instructed by an excellent Master, Sed manife and having produced many Threatnings to him out of Scripture, he then leaves off and distribution of the Wildow of the Profession of the Wildow of the Wildo the Profecution of the Hiftory of his Times, and to deter his Countreymen, as well cum between those of the Laity as his own Profession, he proceeds in the Quotation of Scrip- pent total tures full of Threats, and applies them to his Purpole. His Latin is Barbarous, Britannie and his Style vehement, and troublesomely Luxuriant, but such as discovers great magistrame and his Style vehement, and troublesomely Luxuriant, but such as discovers great magistrame. Wit, and a mind full of Zeal both for his God, and for his Countrey.

15. His Zeal was no whit extravagant, but adequate to the mischief impen- ibi quad asding, viz. the destruction of his Countrey, and founded not onely on pious, but lumine most ding, viz. political reasons; for Vice, as we could be infinite in shewing, has been the fore Quest game runner of the Ruine, both of States, Kingdoms and Families.

But to come to our circle dentities and reasons and families. business, and to inlarge upon this Text of Gildas. The Romans having taken fames from their farewell of Britain, the Natives were, we see, utterly at a loss, not know-enemalism ing how to behave themselves, wanting both heads and hearts for the withstanding so great a Storm as fell upon them: The Countrey having been drained of all its Inhabitants, which had either Skill or Courage. Their heavy case required able and faithfull Leaders; glad they were to accept of any that would undertake their Patronage, and to purchase their Conduct and Protection at what rate foever. Hereat it feems many took occasion to fet up for themselves, and inflead of Legitimate Princes and Fathers of their Countrey, their Countrey abounded with Tyrants, with Theives and Robbers which owned the Title, but difowned the Duty of Rulers, were ravenous after the reward, but utterly careless of the work of Governours; Shepherds who spent all their time in Fleecing, never busied themselves about feeding or protecting the Flock farther than their own mere Interests carried them, to have some remaining over which they might domineer and tyrannize. That they had not one Monarch, but feveral Kings, appears infficiently both from the flory of those times whereof we now write, and of those which followed, and that this custome began near as soon as the Romans had quitted them, is very probable, when like a fick man they were glad

to shift from one side, and from one thing to another, restless, by reason of that mi- Sect. I fery which still pressed upon them. At length, harassed and tired out with the Infolencies and Cruelties of many Tyrants; fome of them they opposed, others they flew; but still finding that seldom came the better, they thought it best to have one Supreme to curb and check, if need were, the other in their Extravagancies. The Issue of this Resolution was, that one Vortigern was cho-Ferigera Extravagancies. The line of this resolution was, that the been most eminent Plures judicatholenking of fen King, whom we can grant to Polydore Virgil to have been most eminent bane id decut amongst them, for Authority and Nobility, but scarcely for Vertue; not to al-deferendam

the Britains.

felves made for ever.

ledge any thing against his Valour. age any thing against his valous.

16. Otherwise the Complaints of Gildas of the corruption of these times, must quad effer vire au-His Character, be interpreted rather too fcant and narrow; for by the greater number of credi-shoritate, none interpreted rather too feath and harrow; and yet was he well enough beloved by the People, because his victions Inclination and yet was he well enough beloved by the People, because his victions Inclination and fuited fo well with theirs. In War he was neither skilfull, nor in Council prudent, lib. but as Gildas deciphers others, Covetous and Luxurious, as infatiable in Lust, as Neo manu prone to all other Villanies; in Gluttony and Riot he wasted the publick Reverences, and no otherwise endeavoured to promise one company impendent description bonus, and no otherwise endeavoured to promise company impendent descriptions. nues, and no otherwise endeavoured to propulse common impendent dangers, and a differentiable of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, umque first of the Scots and Piels, and the dreadfull effects thereof awakened the People and Piels and Piel and the Clamours of the Multitude him, and caused him at length to summon visiorumman a great Council, to confult how fome better course might be taken, for preven
page quens subjuction of these Northern Mischies. They had had all along great thoughts of their garet avaritie, He calls a Council.

own Valour and Abilities (as all People have which are defined to a Conqueft) interest but the ftill continued fmart was fo great, which they received from fo many Malmethur. de reiterated blows, that it made them, though against their wills, feel their weak-gesti Regum ness and inability, to repell their Enemies. By general consent therefore it was anglil is resolved to call in some foreign Power to their relief, and hire an Army, which should repell these Rovers with such signal marks of their Valour, that they should not dare any more to look upon those grounds which contained the Carkasses of their fo many flain Relations. The name of the Saxons was at this time very Who agree to great, by reason of their several Exploits both at Sea and Land, their numerous require aid of Depredations and Invasions, they had made into most Countries lying toward the Sea. It was refolved to invite some of them over. They thought them poor, and wanting Habitation. They imagined they would be glad of an Em-

ployment, to take off their fuperfluous numbers, and get them a Livelyhood abroad. They concluded they would be fatisfied with reafonable pay, their neceffities were so great. At the most they believed they would take it as a mighty favour to have some share of the most barren and inconsiderable part of that Countrey to inhabit, which by their toil and the expence of their bloud, they

fhould protect. 17. Ambassadours are accordingly sent, and those of the most eminent of the Ambassadours Nation, with great Rewards. But this was but to desire their aid and assistence, over and above a strict League and Alliance with them. Though our Britains were poor-spirited enough, yet not so slavish and base minded as to offer them subjection, and the Dominion of themselves and their Countrey, can we believe, as the Saxon Authours for honour of their own Nation have recorded. One of them is so confident as to tell us the very Harangue the Ambassadours used, which was this: Worthy Saxons, the distressed Britains tired out, and overpowered by a witichind. perpetual invading Enemy, and hearing the fame of your valour, have fent us hither Gest. Saxon. to desire your aid. Their Cauntrey is both sertile and spatious, which they have or. Lib. i. dereus us to submit to your Commands. Heretosore we lived with freedom under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to the Romans we knew none more worthy than your selves, and therefore now implore your prowess for our relief. Let us not still be subject to our present Enemies. To any thing you shall think fit to impose we shall submit. Whatever the Ambassadours said or offered, the Saxons Germaniaudi. were very well pleased with the message, as being courted to that which they enter rem mil. themselves had infinitely desired, and resolving not to be guilty of any miscar- team à se ultri themietves had inninerly ceitred, and reloving not to be suit, or any an a faith riage by their own delay, first return an obliging answer to the Ambasiladours, as exposured, that the Britains might rest upon their friendship and fischty, as such who would be the supplied on the suppli stand by them no less in their adverse than prosperous Estate. The Ambassadours return very joyfull, as expecting thanks for the fuccess of their errand, and they are not deceived in their expectation, those that fent them now esteeming them-

Hengist and

the Saxons

18. It appears from what we have cited out of Gildas, that the Pagan Saxons in their way, were fo Religious as to confult their Gods about the success of this expedition, who answered, that the Land to which they directed their course, they should hold for three hundred years, and half so much time spend in contest and bickerings with that Nation. From the three several forts of People called Saxons, Angli and Jutes, in three long Ships, by them called Kynles, were Cinic, alc. fent a felect Company, not so much confiderable for number, and the courage old, making and dexterity of the Men, under conduct of two Brothers, Hengist and Horsa, of strangent and Horsa, of strangent and Horsa, of strangent and Horsa, of strangent and the stran choicest Nobility amongst them, as descended in the fourth degree from Woden, from whose Loyns most of these barbarous Nations derived the several Pedegrees of their Kings, and whom, for the renown of his Acts, they made their God, facrilegiously, as our Authour observes, dedicating to his memory the fourth day of the week, as the fixth to the worship of his Wife Frea. But they came not so willingly, but they were as joyfully received, the People running out to meet them, and offering them all acts of kindness and hospitality, and the King giving them his hearty thanks for the great pains and peril they had been pleased to undergoe for the fake of him and his Subjects. After fome small conference and And are sea- faith given and received on both sides, the Isle of Thanet is assigned them for their ted in the Ille support, they ingaging indefatigably to use their endeavours for protection of that Land, the Inhabitants whereof, as ftrictly engaged on the other fide to give them ample rewards for their labours; within a little time they have full occasion to try their Metal. The Scots make their usual Inrodes without any apprehension of more resistence than the pitifull Britains were wont to make. But

> it not fit to meddle, but retreat back to their receptacles, and are very unwilling afterwards to grapple with him.

19. The Saxons (or Angles) were as much elevated with their fuccess, as the Scots were discouraged at their unusual disappointments, and Hengist, a Man of excellent Wit, as well as Valour, perceiving with whom he had to deal, under other pretences, fends back fome of his Companions to acquaint his Countreymen with the beauty and fertility of the Island, and the cowardife and fortishness of the Inhabitants, as well King as People, inviting them to make themselves Ma-Another com- flers of fo good a fortune as now offered it felf unto them. The Messengers eapany follow. fily perswaded such a Company to follow them as filled seventeen Vessels, and together with their Countreymen already landed, would make up a formidable Army. And along with them they brought the Daughter of Hengilt ( by the Britains called Rowen ) for beauty a miracle of Nature, and by it as it feemed, as well as by her Father defigned, as a spectacle for Men to gaze on, and therewith to Cruterent is wen as by her rather dengited, as a specialte for rather of gaze on the to wait at no community be enamoured. They are invited to a Feast, and Hengist appoints her to wait at Regi dender, the Cupboard to Captivate with her looks the affections of the British King, flexisfing ge

they find a fresh Gamester ingaged, with whom, after some tryal made, they think

His device as speedily takes as executed. For Vortigern being exceedingly given nibid, Lieuway to Women by his own Inclination, was immediately wounded by the Darts which Wiele kill,

proceeded from her Eyes, and could think of nothing elfe, could no way be cured i.e. Clariffer proceeded from her eyes, and could think of nothing cite, could be Hengift partial compound but by enjoying her, infomuch, that out of hand she must be his Wife. Hengift partial compounds the his Wife. pretends an unwillingness, as loath the King should dishonour himself by so une forta faintent qual a Match, and at length feems unwillingly willing, being bought off by a Despiration git of all the Countrey of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of Kent, (formerly Governed laudably by one Goron- page by the country of the coun gus ) which munificence of Vortigern he was not able to withfland. The Bar- leil, inques barian perceiving now he had got fuch hold of him that he might be bold, fo far Rexamental & third arrive abused his Imprudence, as to perswade him to send over for Olla and Ebissa, his puellandon own and his Brothers Son ( fome fay his Brother himself) that as he took upon ham of the him the Protection of the Eaflern, io they might defend the Northern Parts from its distinguishment the violence of the Scate. By the King's leaves they with four Vocal to the Could Gaptas the violence of the Scots. By the King's leave then with forty Vessels they Coasted Manuscription about Britain, and coming to the Orcades, suppressed both the Pists and Scots, and in signal methods that part of the Illand, which afterwards was called Northumberland, feated them conficurate felves, though without any Title or Name of Regality till the time of Ida, from in Britania,

The Saxons

On Now the Saxons being numerous, and ftrong enough to accompliff what mentions they had defigned take occation to pick a quarrel. They complain they are much dien floring after in Pay, and when this occation is removed, after a little paufe, they find fault that it is too little, not at all answering the pains and perils they undergoe. They are much after the paufe, they find fault that it is too little, not at all answering the pains and perils they undergoe. fault that it is too little, not at all aniwering the pains and perils they undergoe, ciping the threatning War, and a feizure of the Land it felf, except their allowance were righted augmented. Guortimer the Son of Vortigern, a young Man of far greater Senfe Gildin, En. and Spirit than his Father, could not any longer diffemble his Indignation, to fee Nam. Miss

CHAP. II. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Vortigern.

himself and his Countreymen so imposed on , and fully resolving to attempt the Sect. I. expulsion of these Strangers, broke his design to his Father, and obtained his confent for the putting of it in execution, and high time it was to doe it. For the Saxons, as we are informed by Gildas, making a League with the Pills and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, without any considerable resistence, wasted the whole Land in a manner as far as the Western Sea, making such havock of all things, that Towns and Castles were overturned, all forts of People slain by heaps, and all places Sacred polluted and demolished. Such as escaped the Sword, either betook themselves to the Mountains, whither the same sate shortly after pursued them, or submitted to slavery worse than death it self, or fled to thick Woodsand Rocks of the Sea; or else fled over the Sea into other Countries. Guartimer as strenuously as he could opposed himself; and the Monk of Malmsbury tells us, that after the Saxons had been in Britain seven years, the League was broken, and for twenty years Holtility continued amongst them, in which space many Skirmishes, or slight Ingagements happened, but four set Battels, wherein both fides ingaged with their utmost force. The British Writers here tell us, that Vor. Nim: timer thrice straitned and besieged the Saxons in the Isle of Thanet; and when by reason of fresh supplies sent from Saxony, they broke through and escaped this danger; fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are specified by place and Circumstance. The first on the River Darwent, the second at Episford, where-Darentum and Circumitance. The first of the five Landon, with Katigern, the other Son of Vor-nonEboracofe in Horfa, the Brother of Hengift, fell together with Katigern, the other Son of Vor-nonEboracofe illud bic intigern. The third was in a Field by Stonar, called then in Latin, Lapis Tituli; where religendum, he beat them into their Ships with such Execution and Consternation, that they sed Darenton ventured no more to Land for the full space of five years. 21. This might feem altogether uncredible, but that Gildss tells us how, after five Darford

fo great havock and destruction made by them, they retired, which others inter-oppida ili

pret of returning home, notwithstanding the seeming easiness of the Conquest. In applies said this five years space they will have Guartimer to have died, who desired he wish. this five years space they will have Guortimer to have died, who defired he might

be buried in the Port of Stonar, perswaded that the secret virtue of his Bones would keep off the Saxons, from ever landing in that place, but they neglecting his Commands, buried him at Lincoln. The Saxon Annals relate these matters otherwife. As that in the first Ingagement it was a drawn Battel in a place calotherwise. As that in the first Ingagement it was a drawn patter in a piace called Eglestrip, where on one fide fell Horsa the Brother of Hengist (from whence nies Petrobur-Horste the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other side Katigis the gension R-Horste the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other side Katigis the gension R-Horste the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other side Katigis the gension R-Horste the place of his Sepulture, alim feedback to the Research of the King. In the rest, Saxons or Angles had the better, and the Bri-Selphine, tains were forced to come to Termes; Guortimer their Captain now dead, who hodie Allesford being of a different humour from his Father's eafinefs, would have excellently governed, if Almighty God had so pleased; but he being gone, the Affairs of his
cause me.

After the death of Horfa, Hengis his morte position. Brother took the Royal Title upon him in Kent, in which year Matthew of West. Saxum cerniminster writes, that thrice he fought against the Britains, but not able to resist turn monuments was valour of Vortimer, shed into Thanet, where he was daily vexed at Sea; and Carribouse to leave the School of Season of Seaso at length the Saxons left their Wives and Children behind them, and returned into outle apella-Germany. And there they staid, according to what intelligence that Authour had, till Hosfied profuch time as they heard of the death of Guortimer, who was poyfoned by procure- cul diffirm ment of Rowen his Father's Wife. With four thousand men Hengilf returned into accept nomen. Britain, and with fo great an Army fo alarmed Vortigern and his Nobles, that Terius Coust they confulted how to oppose them, which being made known to Hengist by his qui, in quidant Daughter, he sent to tell the King that he had no design against any person whatso fatalis fuit, & ever, Vortimer excepted; who being now removed out of the way, he was ready NinioEpijford ever, Vortimer excepted; who being now removed out of the way, as the thought Hemice Hunto fubmit himself and all his men to his pleasure, to keep as many as he thought tindomicoli fit, and fend back the rest into their Countrey. There are others that tell us Acilfren vel how two years after the first Fight, wherein Horsa was slain in a Battel at Cre-Effre et diganford, Hengist, and Esce his Son slew of the Britains four chief Commanders, calibus Caniil and as many thousand men; the rest being totally routed and flying to London, parisbus firm That eight years after this, he renewed the War, and in a Battel at a place called fully. (f Wippeds-fleot, flew twelve other Princes, and lost Wipped the Saxon Count, extiterit) in

from whom the place received its name. And in another Encounter (the place is quibus ad fina uncertain) he gave them fuch a Defeat, that they left Camp and Baggage, and Horfam occi-

22. So different are Writers in their Relations of what passed in these obscure Britanin motimes; but from all laid together it should appear, that for a time the Invaders builfe sin newere repulsed and forced to retreat, if not home into Germany, to some remote mi place of fhelter and fecurity; for the Battels were fought in Rost it felf, and not me mate.

beats the

with three hundred of his Nobles; some say the meeting was appointed for a Treaty, to order their Affairs. To be fure, he fo ordered his matters, that having a number of his own men, fufficient to overpower these Britains, whom he knew to be the chief of those that could perform any thing either in Council or War against the Saxon Interest; he first caused them to raise a Quarrel, and then when Companions they were warm with Wine, and more able to brawl than to defend themselves, murthered by the Watch-word was given, Nemet Coar Scanes, upon which they drew their Scimiters, and murthered all their three hundred Guests in the place. They had another kind of defign upon Vortigern, knowing he would eafily be drawn to what they would have him. He was onely bound and kept in custody, till for Effex, Suffex his Ranfome he affigned them three Provinces, which were afterward called Effex, Suffex and Middlefex. After this, some Authours tell us, that Vortigern returned fex, animoned to his folitary kind of Life in that Countrey, which from him was called Guorthigirniauri, and thence to a Castle of his own building in those parts, now called North-Wales, near to the River Tiebi; where living obscurely among his Wives, Ninn. he was, as it is storied, burnt by fire from Heaven, at whose Prayer, whether German or Aurelius Ambrofius, it's not material to enquire. For the Reader must know that, according to the fame Writers, he having committed Incest formerly print, with his own Daughter, was censured in a Synod, consisting both of Lay and Eccle fiastical Persons, and partly for that Reason, partly for sear of the Saxons, by advice of his Nobility, retired into that Countrey, now called Wales: where he built him a strong Castle (in Radnorshire) by advice of a young Prophet, by fome called Ambrofius, and by others Merlin. His Son undertook the Government, and in his Absence reigned with great success. After his Death Vortigern, either by the power of his own Faction, or by universal consent reasfumed the Government, which Hengist understanding, was incouraged to return and practise upon his Sottishness and Credulity, with that success as we have now related.

23. The Britains having lost the flower of their Nation in the Maffacre, were much startled at it to such a measure, as they began to think of their wicked Courses, and whither they were now bringing them, and began to be more sober, and to betake themselves to Divine Assistence. They were incouraged by some other Retreat of the Saxons, upon what occasion it's uncertain, and by the great hopes conceived of Aurelius Ambrosius, who being descended of Roman Ancestours, but fuch as had born Regal Dignity in the Island, and lost their lives against the Piets and Scots, had with their applause succeeded Vortigern; who, if credit may be given to some Authours, as much out of fear of him and the Romans, as of the Aurelius Am- Picts and Scots themselves, first called in the Saxons. Under Conduct of this brosius suc- durelius Ambrosius, or Ambrosius Aurelianus (as Beda calls him) they took cou-Hist. sik 1. gers in the rage, and provoking their Enemies to Battel had the better of them. He is faid 6.16. Government. (by the Monk of Molankary) to have rade. thur, and what Arthur should this be, but him whom others make the Son of Pendragon his Brother. But so various and uncertain are the Reports of our Britilb and Saxon Authours, that although much be written, yet very little of certainty have we either of the one or the other. As for Ambrofius Aurelianus, Ninius, as we lately hinted about Vortigern, will have him to have been famous, before the coming of the Saxons; according to which Assertion Sigebert begins his Reign with their coming into the Island, at the year of our Lord 446; and

talks of his Reigning and Fighting against them, for full five and forty years,

And this he accounts the feventh year after their coming into the Island. Geoffrey

of Monmouth writes, that he burnt Vortigern, who after the death of his Son

Vortimer had reassumed the Government; which Matthew Florilegus notes to

contrary to the Evidence of all Hittory. Yet do some others tell us such Stories Journellines

as yet farther cast back his Reign into the 430 year of our Lord, which Henry the splint of

of Huntingdon brings forward again to the year affigned by Sigebert, wherein put in Printing the writes, that at a place called Arilestreu, he led one Wing of the Battel against in-

the Saxons, and Gortimer and Catigern, the Sons of Vortigern, the two others: Endi Prim. And this he accounts the feventh year after their coming into the Man.

have happened in the year 496, ending the Reign of Aurelian, and his Life to-

gether, in the year 497. Hellor Boethius the Scotch Writer, begins his Reign at Hill. S. o. 498, which he writes to have continued almost feven years. But his County treyman Buchanan arrees with the Wolfe Double Land 1997. treyman Buchanan agrees with the Welch David Powel in affigning 19 years to in Retain his Government, which he will have begun in the year 481, and ended just guar Carlos in 500.

CHAP, II. with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Aurel. Ambrosius. 93

24. But concerning Ambrofius, none is more out of the way than Baronius the Sect. 1. Cardinal, who imagined, and that for many Reasons, he tells us, that he lived in Exile under Odoacer the King of the Heruli in Italy; whereas, not one tole- ad Ann. 476. rable shew of reason can be assigned, more than his very Name, of which there 477were several besides this our Britain, who (he says) took the Purple, but not the Name of Emperour upon him, which he himself first attempted, but not his Parents, as Beda hath it, who writes, that these things happened in the Reign of Zeno the Emperour. The Cardinal as to his matter was also imposed on by the false Copy of Gildas, published by Polydore Virgil, wherein the Singular num-Pro indutis ber is pen'd instead of the Plural, which fault crept also into that Copy of Be- tur. da's Chronicle, which Paulus Diaconus used; and the errour became so insective, that Onuphrius Panninius and Octavius de Strada in their Catalogues of the Roman Emperours, talk of the Emperour Cafar Ambrofius Aurelianus, Pius Falix, Auguflus, as who was faluted Emperour in Britain in the year 475, the 1227 of the City, and flain not long after. So much are we in the dark as to Ambrofius, whose Commendations yet we are told that Gildas an excellent Historian of the Britains wrote, above other Kings; nay, in an elegant flyle faithfully transmitted In Scatichrahis Acts to Pollerity. Geoffrey of Monmouth indeed writes, that he had a Book ferium, 2.1.10. which Gildas the Authour intituled, concerning the Victory of Aurelius Ambro-lib. 4. c. ult. fius. It's to be feared the Title belied Gildus, but whatever it was, from it and a British Copy brought out of Armenia, and given him by Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford, Geoffrey tells a long Story of this matter, whereof learned Usher

thus gives us the Summ. 25. Vortigern being dead, the Saxons betook themselves to the Parts beyond Libs. Co.3.4.

Overthrows

Humber, where they were no fooner arrived, but Ambrofius was at their heels. In his passage he was much affected to behold the Countries so desolate, but especially at the fight of fo many Churches laid level with the Earth, which he promifed should be rebuilt if he got the better. Hengist brought into the field against him, about two hundred thousand Armed men, at a place called Morisbeli, but ingaging in Battel was worsted, and he himself, near to the City of Conan, by the Britains called Cair-Conan and Cuningburg by the English, was taken Hodie Conif-Prisoner by Eldole the Duke of Claudiocester. The City being also afterward ta- Eboraconsi ad ken, and they coming to confider what should be done with Hengist, Eldade the Danum vet Bishop of Claudiocester, the Brother of Eldole, a man of great Prudence and Reli-Donum shavigion, harangued to this effect. Though all should agree to set him at liberty, I my self would cut him in pieces. For I would imitate the Example of the Prophet Samuel, who having in his power Agag the King of Amaleck, hewed him in pieces, faying: As thou hast made Mothers Childless, so will I make thy Mother this day Childless among Women. Doe ye in like manner to Hengist, who is another Agag: Which faid, Eldole led Hengift out of the City and flew him. This Marlen, the Flowergatherer, writes to have happened in the 489 year our Lord, adding, that to Hengist succeeded his Son Ofric in the Kingdom of Kent, being sirnamed Asc, Andfucceeded from whom all the Kings of Kent to this day are called Asc-kynges. He differs but one year in his Account from Ethelwerd and the Saxon Annalists, who ma-Kingdom of king no mention at all of the death of Hengist, neither of the many Victories which the Britains obtained over the Saxons, write that As for succeeded in the

Kingdom of Kent the year preceding. 26. Geoffrey proceeds, and tells us that Ambrose besieged Osta the Son of Hengist, who had shut up himself in Tork, and Eusa his Kinsman, who had done the like in the City Alclud or Dunbritton; and constraining them to yield themselves, granted them the Countrey lying near to Scotland. For all his Intent was, how to restore his Kingdom to its ancient condition, his study how to reform the Churches, renew the vigour and force of the Laws, establish Peace and the course of Justice. Thence therefore he went to Gwinton, to repair it as other places; which when he had performed, by the advice of Eldade the Bithop, he proceeded to the Monastery near Cair Caradoc, now called Saleberie, where lay the Consuls and Princes, whom wicked Hengist had betrayed. There in the Mount of Ambrius (the Founder in old time as is reported) was a Monastery of three hundred Friars. By others this is called the Mount of Ambrose, and said to be that place, now known by the Name of Stakenges, where the prodigious Piles of Stones were not, as Polydore affirms, raifed by Ambrose in memory of these Princes, as is vulgarly believed, but by the Britains in memory of Ambrose himself, who at this Poled Virgilia place ended his life in Battel. He tells us this Monument is to be feen in the Anglio. Hift. Diocese of Salisbury near to a Village called Amsbery, or rather Ambresbury, the 115.3.

# 95 The Affairs of Britain, lately a Rom. Province, Contemporary PART IV

Scct. 1. Name denoting the Village of Ambrofe, whose name or that of Ambrius (if any fuch there was) the famous of the Relicks of St. Melorus (or Melior) quite buried afterwards in the faid Village. But as to the British Princes slain by Hengift, that their memory might be perpetuated at the suggestion of Tremoun or Tremorin the Archbishop of Carleon, Ambrosius Aurelius, as Geoffrey tells the Story, fent for Ambrofius Merlin a Prophet, and with an Army of fifteen thousand Armed men under Conduct of his Brother Other Pendragon, fent him into Ireland, whence he brought from the Mountain Killara, notwithstanding the opposition of Gillomant King of the Island, that noble Structure of Stones, which he placed in Salisbury Plain, where at this day it is to be seen. Though this be no better than an old Wives Tale, Giraldus Cambrensis makes mention of it, as that this Structure Topograph of Stones, being called Chorea Gigantum (because Giants had brought them from the difficustive tumost Borders of Africk, and placed them in the Plain of Kildare) was by the Non-proof of the Company of of the Compa Divine Diligence of Merlin, at the defire of Aurelius Ambrofius King of the Bri- Coffin Nicola tains brought out of Ireland into this Island, and placed in the very same posture they had formerly stood in that place, where the flower of Britain, had under pretence of Peace, been wickedy butchered by the perfidious Saxons.

27. In reference to what Giraldus writes of Ireland, the late Learned Primate thereof observes, that in the Countrey of Kildare, about two Miles from the Castle he mentions, two such like Piles are to be seen, which in that Countrey, they call the Long Stones, although the Writer of the British History seems to have Killair, which is fituate in the Western Meath, where Giraldus affirms in his time to have been extant, a certain Stone called the Navel of Ireland, as feated in the middle thereof, for which yet at the King's County at Birra, another hallowed Stone is at this day shewed. But to that Pile of Stones in Salisbury Plain, none in all Ireland seems more like than what is to be seen in the County of Corke, near a Town called Cloughtekilty, from Stones lying in a woody place; where are also to be seen the Foundations of a very large House, which the Inhabitants report to have belonged to Sir John Mandeville, fo famous for his Travels of four and thirty years. But for the completing of the Fable (which thence feems to have had its rife, that in Ireland such kinds of Massy piles have been seen ) we must take notice of what Geoffrey of Monmouth writes concerning the return and Success of the British Army. Being arrived with a prosperous Gale, they began with their Stones to fet out the Sepulchres of the murthered Nobility. This being made known to Aurelius, he sends out Messengers through the several Parts of Britain, to affemble both the Clergy and People to the Mount of Ambrius, with Joy and Honour to adorn the forefaid burying Place. They being met accordingly on the day prefixed, Aurelius fets the Diadem upon his Head, and Royally celebrates the Feast of Whitfuntide, together with the three following days. Having bestowed Honours upon such of his Subjects as had deserved, and particularly bestowed the Metropolitical See of Tork upon Sampson,a Man of great fame for Religion, and that of Caer Leon upon Dabritius, he commanded Merlin to set up the Stones he had brought from Ireland. He in obedience to his Commands erected them, about the burying place just in the same manner they had formerly stood in Killair in Ireland, and plainly shewed, that wit prevaileth above strength.

28. Such is the Fable concerning Stonebeng (which though a Fable the Reader is to know) and concerning Ambrofe and his Prophet Merlin. But as there is no Law against the Improvement of Fables, Ninnius the other British Historian joins King and Prophet in the fame Person, making that Child which prophesied to Vortigern the Son of a Roman Consul, and calling him by the Name not of Merlin but Ambrofe; as that he was concealed by his Mother for fear of the King, who yet asson as he had consessed his Parentage, either to reward his Predictions or as his Right bestowed upon him all the rest of Britain, retiring himself to a solitary Life. Amongst these Incertainties of this, we may be certain from a more fure Testimony of Gildas, that whatever otherwise this Ambrose was, the Britains owed much unto his Courage and Conduct, by which a stop was for the present given to the violent proceedings of the Saxons, although their Writers conceal all things, that made against the Reputation of their Nation; recording nothing but Success and Victories on their own fide. And indeed shortly after they had sufficient occasion to doe it, notwithstanding the real Performances of Ambrose, and all the Romantick fine Tales told of his Nephew Arthur. For whatever became of Hengilt; if he was flain in the North, in the South another of his Nation ap-

Ella and his peared, Ella by Name, who made himself King of another part of the Island. In Saxons arrive the Year 477, (eleven before the death of Hengiff, as some place it ) with his in Suffex.

# CHAP. II. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Aurel. Ambrosius. 95

flore in Suffex, whereupon the Inhabitants being cast into a grievous fright flocked in vast multitudes, to the place of their landing from all Quarters. The Saxons Choriol Saxon being tall of Stature, and very stout and vigorous, received them couragiously ad Ann. D. who came hand over head upon them, and notwithstanding their great Numbers pen com put them to flight with fuch flaughter as might be expected from fo unequal an in-Alie 50 gagement, and drove them into the wood, which the Saxon Chronology calls Andre- Bpe 2en des Leage. The Saxons seized upon the Maritime parts of Sussex, and still inlarged loss 7 har their Territories till the ninth year after their Arrival, wherein the Britains found III Sunn themselves so concerned, that they joined their Forces together, and ingaged them near Cymen J a place called Mercredesburnanstede. The Victory was doubtfull, both Armies drawing Cippanio off after much loss to their own Quarters which caused Ella to send for fresh supplies, Dnym as Henry of Huntingdon writes, though others are unwilling to let him pass out reyram on of the Field without Conquest, according to their Custome. However five years & rope after this, Ella and Ciffa his Son laid siege to a little City called Andredes Ceaster, Sa nemices and taking it used their Conquest with such severity, that they left not one Britain Cymener

three Sons Cymen, Pleting and Cissa, in three ships he arrived at a place called Cymen-Sect. 1.

erein alive.

29. Now is Britain become the Field of Fortune, News is perpetually brought annual montes. to the Saxons, of the Success of their Countreymen, and there is no one Eminent realar rome for Birth or Arms, but promises himself a good share of so fertile a Countrey, to- on pleame gether with a Royal Title. In the forty seventh year after their first coming into beeny pon Cerdic and his Britain, as Henry of Huntingdon, Count Cerdic (or Certic) the tenth in Lineage on Sone from Woden, an old and well practifed Souldier, with Cenric his Son, and so many pubu de from Woden, an old and well practifed Souldier, with Cenre his Son, and to many produces men as he could transport in five Vessels, arrived at a place which from him was Sciennes called Cerdicesore. No sooner did the ships appear, but the Inhabitants of these parts sufficiently warned heretofore, stand upon their Guard, and as the Invaders functioner indeavour to land, manfully oppose them. But the Saxons still advance, and submapped what ground they once gain never more forske it, till at last, the Britains in vain mapping and the standard of the standard submapped the submapped the standard submapped the standard submapped the standard submapped the submapped the

refifting, they get fufficient footing in this Part also of the Island, insomuch that adventus cothe Britains vehemently suspecting what the Industry and Valour of Cerdick and rum. Chronol. his Son might farther produce, combined against them with all the Power they and An. 485. could possibly make. But within seven years after their coming they had cause to ille locum cobe a little diverted from them by a fresh Onset of new Gamesters, who arrived desharing Another inva- also out of Germany. One Port with his two Sons Bleda and Magla with two Ves- hee verd fels arrived at Portsmouth (fo named from him) and without much Difficulty Oespepe-

repelling fuch as unadviedly made head against them, and having slain a young ter bunnan British Nobleman of great Eminency, carved for himself and Followers another recesshare out of the Countrey. Yet it feems the Adventures of Cerdick, made the coronal An. Britains most apprehensive, and therefore seven years after the Arrival of Port, made the man of An.

Britains most apprehensive, and therefore seven years after the Arrival of Port, Britains and the fixtieth after the first coming of the Saxons, the Archdeacon of Hamindonen-forceded University of the Britains, a Man both of a Britains and B which reached to the Place afterward called Cerdicesford,) gathered the whole CCCCXCV.

force of Britain to ingage him. Cerdick aware of the danger defired and obtai-Hen com-ned aid of Escai King of Kent, Ella King of Sussex, and of Port, and his Sons, on apegen which done he divided his Army into two wings, whereof the Right he led himfelf, ealcopmen and committed the left to the Conduct of his Son Cinrick. Nazaleod, perceiving on Brecene the Right wing to be the stronger of the two, bent his whole strength and sury a copact gainst it with such Execution, that after great flaughter made of his men he for tunn mito ced Cerdick to run away, but pursuing with more heat than caution, the left wing put respum obtain a great commanded by Cinrick took the Advantage, and falling on his Rere renewed the in Sone the Britains. Battel with fuch Vigour, that he himself was slain in the place, and with him for receepe 17

Company five thousand of his Followers.

30. Such were the Circumstances of the Battel, if the Archdeacon doth not Century 30. Such were the Circumflances of the Battel, it the Archdeacon doth not Ceptoter take the liberty to frame these, and many more of his own head. But who this hopen 3 by Nazaled should be is much controverted; for the Britishs own no such King by alcaberge this Name. Some imagine it might be the British surrous fortune. Others think Certains over the state of the St it the Name of Uther Pendragon his Brother, whom Hector Boethius writes to have vel Cerdicigoverned the Britains at this time; but he adds that this Nazaleod, was a Man Cerdford bolie of obscure Original, and that Other made him his General, more out of respect contraste to his Person, with which he had long been familiar; than to his Valour or Mili-Chardford. tary skill; but being the best Captain next the King himself, he was slain in Battel on ad An. DI. together with fifteen thousand Men. Matthew of Westminster tells us how Uther Huntindonen-Pendragon fis ubi supra.

## 96 The Affairs of Britain, lately a Rom. Province, Contemporary PART IV

Sect. 1. Pendragon now lay fick, and therefore fent this Man whom he calls Nathanlioth against the Saxons, who slew him and fifteen thousand of his Britains. But forasmuch as all the Saxon Annals unanimously call him a King, and so doth Etbelwald and Florentius Wigoniensis, and the Archdeacon saith he was the greatest King of the Britains; Learned Ofher conjectures, that his Name might indeed be Natanleod, and that in respect of the great things atchieved by him, he might have the Sirname of Other, viz. Admirable or Horrible, for so Other signifies, Mab Oter be- Note Ninte ing an horrible Son in the British Language, and Arthur an horrible Bear, or an adjette de Iron Mall wherewith the Jaws of Lions are broken. Could we fix upon this the Typerium in Chronology of these obscure times might be made much clearer, and the begin-Primordiii, ning of Arthur his Son, that King of whom Writers fo much talk, and fo much P. P. 466,467,

30. Though Cerdick, (or Certick) obtained the Victory, yet with so much loss Britanii and danger, that finding still some difficulties, he was glad to admit of fresh 4rth, Ursan

Another fresh Supplies. Six years after the Battel, came two of his Nephews Stuf and Witgar supply arrives, with three Ships, and landed at Cerdicsford, where they found the Britains in a posture of warmly receiving them. For if Henry of Huntingdon be to be credited, the Captains had marshalled their men according to the exact Laws of War. When they marched with Advice and Caution, some on the Mountains, and others on the Vallies; as foon as the Sun arofe and shone upon their guilded Shields, the very Mountains therewith gliftered, and the Air it felf became inlightned and resplendent, wherewith the Saxons were exceedingly affrighted. Yet drawing near to Battel when the two resolute Armies came to joyn, the valour of the Britains, became inferiour, because (as our Writer takes upon him to judge) God had despised them, and the Victory was evident on the part of the Saxons, who hereby obtained places not a few, and the Prowess of Certic became terrible throughout the Countrey. These that came over still prospering in this manner, not a man there was in Germany who was either touch'd with a fense of honour, or not well satisfied with his present fortune, but must over more saxons into Britain, and accept of better, which so easily offered it self. Therefore not long after the War, whereof we write, many more flocked into the Island, and as Huntingdon tells us, feized both upon Eastangle and Merce, though they continued some time in confusion, not reduced under obedience of their respective Kings. For many Noble men there were who fcrambled amongst themselves, and in great hafte and Emulation inatched and feized on such Regions as they could. Hence innumerable Contentions and Battels followed against one another for such and such Territories, of which we are ignorant, as well as of the Names of these Cavaliers, fo numerous they were.

31. But for all their fucces, it's certain they found great opposition, and were not feldomer (probably oftner) defeated than the *Britains*, who were onely tired out and overpowered by their constant swarming into the Island, there being no end of their Numbers; however the Saxon Writers conceal all that makes not for the inhancing of the Valour and Victories of their Ancestours. Great pity it is that, as is usual in great Desolations, the Ruines of Britain buried these Monuments in the Rubbish, which should have transmitted the noble Acts of its Captains to Posterity, if any such Monuments there were, if the prospect of Death and Banishment, of the loss of all that was near and dear unto them, did not divert their thoughts, and their deplorable condition afford them no other Ink than Tears, wherewith to describe these valiant Deeds, which how daring and gallant foever, were rendred at length useless and ineffectual, by the Crowds of a perpetual swarming Multitude. Gildas was no way partial for his Countreymen, to fay any great matters of their Valour, yet from that little he mentions of Ambrose, and of the Victory they obtained at Mount Badon, as also of the vicissitude of fuccefs betwixt the Nations, fufficiently evidence they had Commanders fometimes who gave fufficient proof of their Caurage and good Abilities. Though as to the mentioning of any of these Captains, we are destitute of Authentick Writers (Gildas excepted) yet Fame, and the Report of some Authours (but such

as wrote feveral hundreds of years after his supposed Reign) make a loud noise with the Name of Arthur the Son of Uther Pendragon, as Geoffrey of Monmouth

is pleafed to firname him.

32. Concerning the time of this Arthur, (suppose his Person to have been) there is more variety of Opinions than concerning that of Ambrose, so formerly related.

(a) One placeth the beginning of his Reign, so high as to have it flourish in (a) Matt the year 458. (b) Another bringeth it down nine years, and placeth it at the Flank and

467 year of our Lord, the eleventh of the Emperour Leo, and the last of Hi- Sect. 1. lary the Roman Bilhop. (b) Some say he flourished in the Reign of Zeno the Successiour of Leo, and another will have him but to have been born in the twelfth (b) rid type Sucception of Leo, and another win take that use 48, (b) All these were Foreign, from to beyon of this Emperour, which sell into the year 48, (b) All these were Foreign, from to beyon or the Emperour, which sell into the year 48, (c) the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of Malmesbury, Geoffrey (d) (c) De decision of the Monk of the ers. Of our own writers, market of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of Momouth, Matthew (e) of Welmingler, and the Authour of (f) Eulogium puttar Exposure of (f John (b) of Tinmuth, and George (i) Buchanan the Scotchman, defers this till his ten, located eighteenth, Ralph of Baldee was of Opinion, that he began his Reign in the (e) Ad Ann.

year DXV, as also was Thoms Radburn; Matthew of Westminster, and David 16. Fowell, place it at DXVI; Buchanan at DXXVIII; and Hector Boethius casts it (2) Post-bren. back to DXXII. William of Malmefoury in another place writes, that Cerdic (b) in dured coming into Britain in the CCCCXCV year of our Lord, so beat and terrified the Higher. Britains, that he forced them to submit and yield themselves to his victorious Arms, (i,Rer Scorl, 5 Britains, that he forced them to submit and yield themselves only in the Western Seathfillibg, and in the twenty fourth year after his coming into the Island, in the Western Do gestin Reg. part thereof established his Monarchy. But in the place before cited, he writes, Angl. c. 2. that in the tenth year of this Cerdic, Arthur began to reign over the Britains; with whom feveral others, lately mentioned, concur; placing his beginning at

the year DXXVIII. To this one adds, that Cerdic often ingaging with Arthur, always came off with Victory, fo that Arthur being tired out, after that Cerdic had been in Britain fix and twenty years, took an Oath from him, and gave him the possession of the two Shires, Hantsbire and Somerset. Leland that renowned Antiquary, from other Authority affirms this done after Cerdic had been in Britain but twelve years, viz. in the year DVI. Thomas Radburn to his Account, adds ten years more with this Note farther, that Cerdic for an Annual Tribute permitted to the Inhabitants of Cormvall, the free exercise of the Chri-

stian Religion.

CHAP. II.

33. But however, Arthur was beaten and tired out by Cerdic the Saxon King: beween CorThere is great noise made of his overthrowing the Saxon in no fewer than twelve
digital saxon

There is great noise made of his overthrowing the Saxons in no fewer than twelve feveral Battels. The first of these, they say, was fought near the Mouth of a certain River, called Glenus or Glenn; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, near another River in the British Tongue called Dulgas or Duglas; the fixth at a Rivers fide called Baffas; and the feventh in the Wood of Cholidon, which in British had the Name of Cattoit Celidon. Matthew of Westminster bestows this Flower upon this Battel. In the year of our Lord DXVIII, Arthur King of the Britains (faith he) having got together a great Army, marched therewith to the City, called then, Caerlindcoit, and now Lincoln; where finding out the Saxons, he made an unheard of flaughter of them; for in one day there fell of them fix thousand men, of whom some were drowned, others killed in the fight, or in the flight; for he left not off purfuing them, you must know, till they came to the Calidonian Wood, when they rallied and made Head against him. Arthur perceiving their Resolution, caused Trees to be cut down and the Trunks thereof so placed about them, that they should have no way to escape, resolving there to starve them to death. Of this they being fensible, begged leave they might return into Germany, though with naked Bodies, to which he consented, after he had spoiled them of all they had, and taken Hostages for the payment of a Tribute. But enough verily of this Battel. The eighth was fought near (not the River but) the Castle of Suinnion, where all the day he carried the Image of the Virgin Mary upon his Shoulders. The ninth in the City Leogis, in British called Caerleon. The Tenth in the shoar of the River, which we (faith Huntingdon) called Tratteheuroit. The eleventh upon the Hill Brenoin, by us (faith he) called Cathbregion, or Catheregio. And the last was fought at the Hill of Badon, where he himself, without assistance of any other Britain, flew four hundred and forty men. These Battels and the places thereof, faith the fame Authour, doth Gildas the Historiographer set forth: all which places yet are to our Ageunknown, which we think came to pass by God's Providence for the despising of popular air, flattering praise, and transitory fame. However many Battels were fought, wherein fometimes the Saxons, and otherwhiles the Britains had the Victory: But the more Saxons that were lost in fight, the more came to their fuccour, being invited by the Countries round

4. However true may be his Story of the Battels, the name of this Authour is falfe, for Gildas it was not, but Ninius that was his Relatour. For the eleven they must pass, and still continue as unknown, as the Names of the places where they were fought; but for the Battel at Mount Badon, that fuch an one Sect. 1. there was at this Hill, is out of doubt from the certain Testimony of a true Gildus. whoever was then the British General. Here Matthew the Flowergatherer strews his flowers or his Romantick Stories about him, and joyning the matter of this Ingagement, with that of the other in the Caledonian Wood, tells us, that it repented Colgrin, Baldulph and Cheldrick the Saxons, that they had made an Agreement with Arthur. Returning therefore into Britain, they landed at Totnes, and at lait belieged the City of Badon. Arthur receiving the news, commanded their Hollages to be hanged, then halling toward the Siege, commanded all to be in Arms. He having already on his Corflet, fets on his Head an Helmet, whereon is ingraven the Image of a Dragon. On his Shoulders he hangs a Target, called Pridwen, whereon was painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, which he often called to mind. Being also girt with the best Caliburnian Sword, into his right hand a Lance he takes, named Iron; and having given all convenient Orders, boldly fets upon the Pagans. They flood manfully to it all the day, and killed many of the Britains. The Sun growing low they feized upon the Mount adjoyning, and for that Night used it as a Camp, whither the next Morning Arthur with his men ascended. But in ascending he lost many of them, the Saxons having the advantage of the upper ground. But the Britains having with great valour reach'd the Hill top, most dreadfully laid about them, and made as dreadfull flaughter of their Enemies, inraged at their difficulty and lofs. The Saxons couragiously refisted, not fearing to stretch out their Breasts towards the points of Spears and Swords, and much of the day was spent, when Arthur having drawn his Caliburn or Sword, called upon the Name of the bleffed Virgin Mary, and rushing amongst the thickest Troops of his Enemies, whomsoever he struck he killed without any more to doe; neither ceased he to slay till he had slain no fewer than four hundred and forty men. Here fell Colgrin and Baldulph with his Brother and many thousands of Barbarians. But Cheldrick perceiving the danger of his Companions, was fo wife as to run away with the remainder of the Army, whom the King commanded Cador the Duke of Cornwall to pursue. Finding no place of fecurity in stragling Companies, they came at last to the Isle of Thanet, whither yet the Duke followed them, and never rested till Cheldrick being slain, the rest gave up themselves into his Hands.

35. So doth Matthew tell the tale in conformity with Geoffrey of Monmouth, who fetting it out at length, hath this Circumstance, that the Saxons having wasted the Countrey as far as the Severn Sea, thence took their way to the City of Badon, which they belieged: After that Arthur being entred then into the Province of Somerfet and perceiving what was done, animated his Souldiers to Battel, who being cheared up by the Benediction of Dubricius Archbishop of Caerleon, first drove the Enemy up to the Hill, and the day following utterly routed them. This City of Badon is, as John of Tinmuth and others rightly observe, the same with that we now call Bath, to the Britains known by the Name of Caer Badon, as well as Ir Exinant Twymin, in Ptolemy called TAATA OEPMA, in Antoninus Aquæ Solis, and by the Saxons Bapancerrep & Dat Bapan, and from Difeased People which flocked to the Hot waters Acman cercen: In Stephanus we reade it Badica, and in Latin by the name of Bathonia. The Hill seemeth to be no other than the very same, which now is called Bannefdown, over a little Village near this City, which they call Bathstone, on which there are Banks and a Rampire yet to be scen. And the vale which runneth along the River Avon is named in British Naut Badon, or the Vale of Badon. As for the time wherein the Battel was fought, Gildas, according to the best reading of his Text, tells us, that from that to the writing of his Epiftle, had intervened forty years and one month, the Battel and his Nativity having fallen into the same year. This (as Matthew of Westminster tells us) was of our Lord the DXX, with whom confents the Chronographer of the Britains, who reckons from this Battel of Badon to the death of Arthur, two and twenty years. By which account Gildas must have been born in the said

year DXX, and have written the Epistle, now extant, in the year DLXIIII. 36. This is the laft Battel faid to have been fought by Arthur against the Sax-Print type. ons. But many other Exploits are told to have been done by him, as well within p. 677.

Action they's Britain as without. Howel the Albanian, or King of Scotland, the Brother of Howel King of Gilder albanian (not Gilder whose Enistle we have so much stoken of, but one Gild s Albanius (not Gildas whose Epistle we have so much spoken of, but one elder than he) a young Prince of great valour and hopes he flew, which that we In infalls Mimay not take for a Fable we are told, by one concerned for the British History, that name fire the in Venedotia the place is yet to be feen, which retains the memory of the Battel, quant Prifette where is erected a great Stone bearing the Name of the faid Howel according to

the custome of the Ancients of perpetuating the memory of such like things. Bur Sect. I Matthew of Westminster presents us with a flower which grew quite in another Garden. He talks of one Howel or Hoel, King of the leffer Britzin, the Ad Ann. Gra-Sifters Son of Arthur by Dubrisius the King of the Armorican Britains. That Ar- 112. 517. thur having belieged Tork, and frighted thence to London by the coming of Cheldrick with seven hundred Ships out of Germany, sent to this his Nephew to let him know the diftreffed condition of Britain, who, understanding the danger wherein his Uncle stood, with an Army of fifteen thousand men, and the next fair wind, arrived at the Port of Hamon. He tells us that Arthur recieved him with joy and honour, becoming his Quality and Relation; and for four years after hath not one word concerning him, till the year after the fight at Badon, he writes how Arthur received news, that the Scots and Pids had befieged him in the City Alchid, where he lay fick. Hereupon the Uncle with all speed hasted to relieve him; which when the Enemy heard, he fled to a place called Mureif, whither Arthur followed and belieged them. But they fled out by night, and got to the Lake of Lumonoy; whereupon he got four Ships together, and for fitteen days together belieged them in the Island, where being starved with hunger thousands of them died, which moved the Bishops of the Countrey bare foot and bare leg and with tears in their eyes to befeech him to have mercy on a miserable People, and permit them to inhabit some portion of the Countrey, though under the Yoke of perpetual fervitude. Arthur, good man, overcome by the tears of the Bishops, whom all the water of the Lake could not before this mollifie, granted them pardon at their request. 37. Two years after this, when he had restored Britain, you must know, into its ad dnn 523.

Marvies.

to doat) one that was descended of the Noble Stock of the Romans, and educated in the House of the Duke of Cornwall, a Lady surpassing in Beauty all the
ladies of the whole Island. Now doth he invite all notable Perions from all quarscript and some statements. ters, and becomes so pleasant in his House, that both by putting on forsooth, and mark confeswearing his Armour, by speaking and his demeanour, he provokes at distant quod confade-People to Emulation; infomuch that the Fame of his Bounty and Honesly be-ravit Regnam Then Invades ing divulged through divers Countries, all Foreign Kings, either loved or feared unum, qual him. And there was good reason; now behold his exploits abroad. With a expulir Sacamighty Navy he first Invaded † Ireland, the King whereof, Gillamurg, for all his cener & inc.

Bravado's, being taken Prisoner, all his Grandees were forc't to come and submit no. quod sub-Halmad, June-thermfelves. Then made he nothing of wasting with Fire and Sword, Holland, jugavit Notana, and the Juteland, and the Hes Orcades, all which he subdued under Tribute; which done he weam & on-like Orcades. returned into Britain. Here, it feems, he staid to breath himself a matter of 7 years. ultra eam, seil. Then cafting in his mind, and could you blame him, how to become Mafter of Islandian, & all Europe: he resolves to begin Northward, and drive all before him. He Sails to Greenlandian Spechardown. \* Norway, whither, when come, he finds Sichelin the King of the Countrey dead, Hiberniam,

Pope to breed, from whence he received the Girdle of War. Arthur finding Curlandian, Ros, Femelanthings at this pass, having subdued the Norwegians, advanced Loth to the Crown, diam, Wireand for Joy, would not follow on his Conquelt, but returned again into Britain, landian, but not without a delire to conquer Goffal flo, which he mightily, yea, exceeding Eduction, mightily thirsted after. His thirst continued three years very vehement, and at Lapham, length forced him to take the Sea to quench it, which having prosperously pas-omnes alias fed, with no more trouble than what the first Penner of the History was put to, fular Orienza-

he conquered Neuflria, afterward called Normandy, and proceeding farther, wa- in Oceani ufa; fled all the Provinces of Gall, killed Frillo a Tribune in a Duel, had furrendred Reffiem in the Lity of Paris, and toward the West, conquered all Anjou, Poiclou, poline Oriente. Gascoign, and every Foot of Aquitain. 38. The + year following, being certainly out of breath, after he had Conquered Regni Britan

Having beaten all Gall almost at a bit, he came to Augustodunum or Autun, and there met with cum tion Hiewas undered Lucius the Conful of Rome, being thence come to oppose him; but he made no-resonant night allows the Lucius the Conful of Rome, being thence come to oppose him; but he made no-resonant night profession, he pre-thing of killing both him and all his Roman Gallants near Lengriae, in a Valley rum. O ni parer to con- called (as truly) Seifiæ. In the fecond year after this, the Sun was darkened miun! from its rifing till nine a Clock, envious it feems and not willing to behold the Idem ad Ann. Success of brave Arthur, who having now subdued all the Provinces about the 136.

Alpes prepared to go to conquer Rome. His Name by this time of day was become \$37. mighty throughout the World, whereupon Princes came far and near to live and \$\frac{1}{100}\$.

ancient Estate, he married a Wife called \* Guenhumara (having now leifure enough † Idem ad .i.e.

who had left Loth the Sifters Husband of Arthur his Successiour, being his own Gurlandiam, Nephew, and a young Man of admirable goodness and beauty. As young as he melandiam, was, he had a Son by name Walwane, of twelve years of Age, sent to Vigilius the Winlandian,

Sect. 1. learn under him, and to be refreshed with his facetious manner of converse. But lest you should think this a wonder, you must know all this was foretold by Merlin the Prophet of the Britains, who affirmed, That oppressed Britain should prevail, and Galfrid Me. Proposet of the Britains, who america, this uppresses the anisotropic production are call, and vegically result the Cruelty of strangers. For a \*Bear of Cornwall should succour it, and tread much his Feet on the Necks of the Enemies. The Islands of the Ocean should be sub \* \*Roadsident\*. tiss reest on the Events of the flouid possess, and his Exit should be doubtfull. But he should notified to should remble at his Fierceness, and his Exit should be doubtfull. But he should time with loss should tremble at his Fierceness, and his Exit should be doubtfull. be celebrated in the Mouth of the People, and his Acts should be meat to them that see general

39. But, for all this, heavy tidings! this Boar is forced back again to recover his own Stye, whilst he is in his way to take up his Quarter in the best Palace Rome can afford. You must know, that Arthur at his setting out of Britain, Idem ad Ann.

had committed the Care thereof to Mordred his Nephew, together with his Wife 540. Guenhumar. Mordred, his back being turned, usurps; fets the Diadem on his Head, and takes Guenhumar to be his Bedfellow; joining in Confederacy with those Saxons, who came in eight hundred ships which they fitted out of Germany, and all now became Servants to Mordred. As foon as the News of fo horrid Vilany reached the high Ears of Arthur, who had now began to climb the Ladder of Italy, viz. the Alpes, that he might get up into Rome, the highest Chamber of the Empire; out of Anger he would mount no more, but down he comes in a dump, and returns with the Kings of the Islands onely in his company toward Britain, burning with fuch a Rage toward Mordred, as all the water in the Sea could not quench, so that

Several Pre- as great a thirst he had upon him at his return, as at his setting out. And it was Ad An the fages of Mile not for nothing, that about this time fo dreadfull a Comet appeared in Gall, the chief, enfuing. Countrey through which this King Errant passed, that the Heavens seemed to be on a flame. The same year also to usher in and betoken the gore bloud, which

should be shed when doughty Arthur laid about him, true bloud dropped from the Clouds, a certain House was found besprinkled with it, and a grievous Morta-Is set upon by lity followed. Noble Arthur hashing towards Britain resolved to land in the Port of Rutupus, afterward called Sandwich, whom Mordred there with a great Multitude opposed, and made great slaughter of such as attempted to come on shoar. Here fell gallant Argusel, the King of Albany, and Walwane the King's Nephew, and well-away others innumerable. But at length after vast pains taken, and much very much bloud shed, Arthur and his Men got to land, and so hotly, too hotly, purfued his Enemies, that he drove. Mordred and his Army after no small loss received, I assure ran away to Winchester. This being also brought to the tender Ears of

Guenhumar, without looking behind her she ran away to Caerleon, and hid her head under a Nuns vail, professing her felf a (chaste) Nun in the Monastery of Julius the Martyr. Arthur almost mad with Anger comes to Winchester, and there belieges Mordred; who the next Morning is fo fawcy as to fally out upon the King, and the Villain did much Mischief; but for all that still thought one pair of Legs

worth two pair of Hands, and ran away again towards Cornwall. 40. Arthur would not balk him an Ace but followed as fast as he ran, and caught

him napping at the River Camblan. Would you believe the Rogue, for all this, would fet his fellows in order, and give brave Arthur battel ? He did it, resolving to dye rather than run any more away, for he knew not whither to run, his shoes not being corked to take the Ocean. A fad fray followed. Abundance of Bloud was shed, and the Cries of the wounded, and dying would have pierced onesvery And after fe-Bowels. They had fought almost a whole long day (a whole long day till Noon, verai Dioudy Eattels is Islain, as did Robin Hood and the Pinder of Wakefield) when Arthur rushed, not like a Boar, but a Lion into the place where he knew Mordred flood, and eafily making way with his Sword, and removing the Enemies as he could do his own Servants with his word, he made most bloudy work on't, cutting down the ranks like Corn with his Sickle, nay even there where they were the thickest, and then thrashing them. What shall we say? The battel grows hotter and hotter, and the Air rings again, and founds with the very blows that were struck. The Villain, the Traitour himself fell, and with him the Saxon Whelps Cheldrick, Elaph, Égbrith and

Bruning, and many thousands with them, and the Victory was Arthur's. But wee Reminding and alas! he was mortally wounded in the fray, and was carried to be cured, if it continued Arrhur dies of might be, into the Island of Avalon, fince yeleped Glascon. Despairing of Life, succeptively when he had caused his Enemies to be slain, he yielded the Diadem of Britain to can 74. Conflantine his Kinfman, the Son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall. The good Soul Analysts being ready to depart hid himfelf, left Enemies should infult over such a Mischance, in the Reads is and his Friends be troubled. Hence it happens, that Hillories making no mention Relation of Negri

with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Arthur. CHAP. II.

of the death of Arthur or his Burial, the Britains for the Excellive love they bear Sect. 1 him, contend that he still liveth. Here's an end of an old fong, to the tune of Arthur of Bradley. A Fable which deserves not confuting. Pity it was not writ in verse, aswell as the brave Adventures of Roland. Alas, poor Arthur, that being greater than he both as to Royalty and Atchievements, greater by far than \*For not to Achilles, thou shouldst be so \* unfortunate as not to have as brave a Bard to make have been dipt thee Immortal by Verfes dipt in Caftalian Fountain! as brave a Trump to found in Lothe Lake forth, the Viernes Rivel and held Chapters, they were indeed who took wood Could fare forth thy Virtues. Blind and bald Chanters they were indeed, who took upon

them to publish thy Glories. 41. No height of indignation can be too great against those ignorant Scriblers, who by the deformed brats of their brains, have so imposed upon an ignorant and blind Bard did unwary World. May a blot lye upon their Memories, who fending their Follies him Immortal abroad, did not cloath them in fuch Garments, as might discover them to be what By Verses they really were. Course enough indeed their Dresses are, and the fancy wherethey really were. Courie chough modes that bread. Yet Wisemen indeed are cast and the distribution of with they are invested is of a very thick-spun thread. Yet Wisemen indeed are which made also often meanly clad, (true Histories coursly writ) but Fools should be dressed

the Eastern in fools Coats, a Romance writ like a Romance, a Poetick figment appear like a Poetick figment. Let it dance on fix or feven Feet, and jingle with Rithm at to cry, a Poetick lighten. Let it dance of Extravagant fancy, and O fortunate every turn, or be fet out with the party-coloured Coat of Extravagant fancy, and young Man, Effeminate Language, not clad in the grave, ferious and fubstantial, (though whole Verture course) Habit of an History Certainly Reader if the Sin and Injury of a Lye course) Habit of an History. Certainly, Reader, if the Sin and Injury of a Lye

found course ) Habit of an initiory. Certainly, Readed, and Liberty of judging or know- \*Vide GrotiSo brave a \*consists in this, that it takes away a Man's Right and Liberty of judging or know- \*Vide Grotium de Jure ing, whereupon he that took away the means or ways of Knowledge was faid by Belli & Pacit, the Hebrews to steal the Heart, and the greater or more considerable the thing is lib. 3.c. t. which should be known, the greater is the Injury, they that belye our Progenitours, and take away the means of our understanding the Originals of our Nations, must needs be guilty of a Theft greater than all others, in the Opinion of a generous Man, who by Nature it self is stirred up with a desire of knowing the State of his own Countrey, the condition of that flock, whence he or his Relations are derived. But though Britains and English are most concerned, yet hath this Injury extended to † Foreigners, who have, in reference to Arthur, in the fame manner Wide Alanum extended to T Foreigners, who have, in reference to 22 min, in the wonders as de Infalis in been imposed on. That Arthur should thus lay about him, doe such wonders as de Infalis in Merlini Pronever had been done before; that he should conquer both Eastward and Southward, phetian, lib.3, fubdue Gall and pierce into Italy, and no notice of him taken by any Historian of that time, or any time else till Geoffrey of Monmouth began to collect the old Wives tales of his Countrey, and publish them in the Latin Tongue; that he should goe and feek work abroad, when he had so much to doe at home, where so many thousand Saxons had taken up their Habitations, and already setled several

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Kingdoms; is a thing that no ferious Man with Patience may endure to reade

burden gales Monastery, whereon was written to this purpose: In this fland, which is called primed p. feaburg.

the fland of Avallonia, yea in this burying place of Saints, at Glassenbury rest the renowned King Arthur, the slower of the British Kings, and Guenhumara his Queen. Who after their Departure, were honourably buried, by the old Church, betwixt two stone Pyramids in time past nobly ingraven; and for many years there they rested (viz. six Handred and twenty Eight Tears) till the time of Henry de Soili; who was Abbat of the place after the burning of the faid Church. Now this Abbat being often importuned by very many Persons, gave order to some to digg betwixt the Pyramids, and see if they could find the Bodies of the forementioned King and Queen: and before they began to digg they hung up Curtains, and surrounded the whole Plat of ground. Having digged very deep, at length they light upon a great wooden Coffin close sout, which having opened, they found his Body therein with a certain leaden Cross,

jected to his rower, and he journal puncis the Community and the doubtfull. But he should Timogethat.

lus should tremble at his Fierceness, and his Exit should be doubtfull. But he should Timogethat. be celebrated in the Mouth of the People, and his Acts should be meat to them that ser genue.

39. But, for all this, heavy tidings! this Boar is forced back again to recover his own Stye, whilst he is in his way to take up his Quarter in the best Palace Rome can afford. You must know, that Arthur at his setting out of Britain, Idem ad An. had committed the Care thereof to Mordred his Nephew, together with his Wife 540. Guenbumar. Mordred, his back being turned, usurps; sets the Diadem on his Head, and takes Guenhumar to be his Bedfellow; joining in Confederacy with those Sax-

ons, who came in eight hundred ships which they sitted out of Germany, and all now became Servants to Mordred. As foon as the News of fo horrid Vilany reached the high Ears of Arthur, who had now began to climb the Ladder of Italy, viz. the Alpes, that he might get up into Rome, the highest Chamber of the Empire; out of Anger he would mount no more, but down he comes in a dump, and returns with the Kings of the Islands onely in his company toward Britain, burning with

such a Rage toward Mordred, as all the water in the Sea could not quench, so that Several Pre- as great a thirst he had upon him at his return, as at his setting out. And it was Ad An. 511. fages of Mif- not for nothing, that about this time fo dreadfull a Comet appeared in Gall, the

chief, enfuing. Countrey through which this King Errant passed, that the Heavens seemed to be on a flame. The fame year also to usher in and betoken the gore bloud, which should be shed when doughty Arthur laid about him, true bloud dropped from the Clouds, a certain House was found besprinkled with it, and a grievous Morta-

Is set upon by lity followed. Noble Arthur hasting towards Britain resolved to land in the Port of Rutupus, afterward called Sandwich, whom Mordred there with a great Multitude opposed, and made great slaughter of such as attempted to come on shoar. Here fell gallant Argufel, the King of Albany, and Walwane the King's Nephew, and well-away others innumerable. But at length after vast pains taken, and much very much bloud shed, Arthur and his Men got to land, and so hotly, too hotly, purfued his Enemies, that he drove. Mordred and his Army after no small loss received,

I assure ran away to Winchester. This being also brought to the tender Ears of Guenhumar, without looking behind her she ran away to Caerleon, and hid her head under a Nuns vail, professing her self a (chaste) Nun in the Monastery of Julius

the Martyr. Arthur almost mad with Anger comes to Winchester, and there belieges Mordred; who the next Morning is fo fawcy as to fally out upon the King, and the Villain did much Mischief; but for all that still thought one pair of Legs

worth two pair of Hands, and ran away again towards Cornwall. 40. Arthur would not balk him an Ace but followed as fast as he ran, and caught him napping at the River Camblan. Would you believe the Rogue, for all this, would fet his fellows in order, and give brave Arthur battel ? He did it, resolving to dye rather than run any more away, for he knew not whither to run, his shoes not being corked to take the Ocean. A fad fray followed. Abundance of Bloud

was shed, and the Cries of the wounded, and dying would have pierced ones very And after feveral bloudy
Bowels. They had fought almost a whole long day (a whole long day till Noon,
tertal bloudy
as did Robin Hood and the Pinder of Wakefield) when Arthur rushed, not like a Boar, but a Lion into the place where he knew Mordred flood, and easily making way with his Sword, and removing the Enemies as he could do his own Servants with his word, he made most bloudy work on't, cutting down the ranks like Corn

with his Sickle, nay even there where they were the thickest, and then thrashing them. What shall we say? The battel grows hotter and hotter, and the Air rings again, and founds with the very blows that were struck. The Villain, the Traitour himself fell, and with him the Saxon Whelps Cheldrick, Elaph, Egbrith and

Bruning, and many thousands with them, and the Victory was Arthur's. But woe and alas! he was mortally wounded in the fray, and was carried to be cured, if it comin like Arthur dies of might be, into the Island of Avalon, fince yeleped Glascon. Despairing of Life, pacent has wounded when he had caused his Enemies to be slain, he yielded the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Confined his Eight State of the Diadem of Britain to the Diadem Conflantine his Kinfman, the Son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall. The good Soul Alemia Men being ready to depart hid himfelf, left Enemies should infult over such a Mischance, im.ii. and his Friends be troubled. Hence it happens, that Hiltories making no mention NanCHAP. II. with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Arthur.

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buried at Glaf- Monastery, whereon was written to this purpose: In this Island, which is called Primord p. the Island of Avallonia, yea in this herying place of Saints, at Glassenury rest 116. Get the renowned King Arthur, the slower of the British Kings, and Guenhumara his Queen. Who after their Departure, were honourably buried, by the old Church, betwiet two stone Pyramids in time past nobly ingraven; and for many years there they rested (viz. six Hundred and twenty Eight Tears) till the time of Henry de Soili; who was Abbat of the place after the burning of the faid Church. Now this Abbat being often importuned by very many Persons, gave order to some to digg betwixt the Pyra-mids, and see if they could find the Bodies of the forementioned King and Queen: and before they began to digg they hung up Curtains, and surrounded the whole Plat of ground. Having digged very deep, at length they light upon a great wooden Coffin close shut, which having opened, they found his Body therein with a certain leaden Cross,

Sect. I. in one part of which was written, Here lies buried renowned King Arthur, in the Island of Avallonia. Then opened they the Queens Grave and found her Hair di-Avalonia: shevelled, and lying about her shoulders, as if she had been but newly buried, which did a dist yet upon touch fell all to Askes. The Abbat and Convent with great joy, and the ab Aval Bir. greatest honour imaginable, took thence their Reliques, and bestowed them in the quad pumm greater Church, in a Tomb which within was divided into two parts, and without Jonas, quis for nobly cut in a Rock, viz. the King's Body by it felf at the Head of the Tomb, and pomis & p. the Queen in the Eastern part thereof, over which they caused to be written, their merin about feveral Epitaphs.

ilius quoudam diminatore. Icm. filte antiquitis locus ille Britannicè dici Trys gnychrin, boc est Influt vittes, prop Anaxim, filt quali vitte coloris in marifeo circumflutumen: G eb boc dilla est polimianta è Daxonibus terram occupatibu lingua corum Gisfrostis, Glat enim Anglicè vel Saxonicè vittum fona. Girald. Cambrosf, in Specul. Ecclef distinal. 2-se

43. The Abbat, by whom these Bodies were found, was Henry Soliacensis de \*Hicjanas-Soily or Sully, and by some called Suinessus (not Henricus Blesensis, the Nephew Regions the of Henry the First, as Leland mistook, confounding them together) who was nakeway, made Abbat after the burning of the Church of Glassenbury, which happened in Rum made the Year MCLXXXIV. afterward Bilhop of Worcester, and died in the Year, MCXCV. He it was that placed their Reliques in a Marble Monument, and on it two \* Disticks for Epitaphs. But more than this Giraldas Cambrensis, describes the Bones of Arthur to us in this manner, having been shewn them by the Ab- hie Computer The dimen- bat of the place, together with the leaden Crofs lately mentioned. The Bone of timelina for the state of the place, together with the leaden Crofs lately mentioned. his Leg reared up by the Leg of one of the tallest men (as the Abbat experimen- que menut ted before the Authour's face) and placed by his foot upon the ground, was higher collections. than the man's knee full three fingers. His Skull was prodigiously large and thick. tum probe so that between the Eyes and the Eye-brows one might lay their hand. In it appeared al. focunda. fo that between the Eyes and the Eyes are the Eyes one may be the wounds or more, all which, one great one excepted, which gaped very wide, and Graducton brough, delewas onely mortal, were grown up and cicatrized. As for the leaden Cross he adds, fittutione that upon a broad stone, seven foot within the Earth, and three foot higher than Principal the Sepulchre of Arthur was found such a Cross, not inserted into the upper, but ra- Speculo Exclusion ther the nethermost part of the Stone, having these Letters ingraved, Hic jacet set seemstate pultus inclytus Rex Arthurius in Insula Avallonia cum Weneveria uxore sua fecun-ta valari psida. This very Cross being taken from the Stone he saw, being shewn it by the sit, respectively faid Abbat Henry, and read these Letters. But in this Inscription, the five last alterns ab arwords feem fome way to be added, for they are not to be found in the Monk of thurs in info Glassenbury, who tells this flory in the very words of Girald, nor were they to be rio dude. feen in the Crofs it felf, which was preferved in the Treasury of the Church of quam a Me-Glassenbury, till the dissolution of the Monastery which \* Leland himself with most transmission Rejains Rejains curious Eyes, and carefull Fingers viewed and handled, moved both by the anti-rapramad du quity and dignity of the object. It confilled of a piece of Lead about a foot long, DIX EXCL and in Large Roman Letters, but ill cut, contained these words, Hic jacet sepul-Which was tus inclytus Rex Arturius in Infula Avalonia. To conclude this Bulinels, these Re-tavit Ufrica. found in the liques were found in the days of Henry the Second, about the Year of our Lord Que all the A.D. 1139. MCLXXXIX. which may check the opinion of those who believed there never there is the horizon from was fuch a Man (the Man we admit of, but the Romantick stories of him we erit copie in abominate) and had it teen known earlier, might have prevented that ridiculous debaum tuhumour of the Britains, who thought him still alive many hundereds of years af-mulus (quant ter, and that so confidently, that should any Man have said in the streets in † Ar-simulicate calmorica or Little Britain, that he was dead, he should have had the stones immedi-riles inde se

Conftantine

ate flying about his Ears.

44. Arthur being ready to dye, is faid to have left the Diadem of Britain to his bant; ut ex 44. Arthur being ready to dye, is faid to have left the Diadem of Britain to his continuous faithful fair following for Kinsinan Constantine, the Son of Cador, the Duke of Cormoall, who the year following for following for the Son of Cador, the Duke of Cormoall, lowing had the better of the two Sons of *Mordred*, who rose up against him, and *Heddo Bupur*sued them for close, that one of them he slew at *Winchesser*, in the Church of this retail. St. Amphibalus before the Altar, and the other at London, where he was hid in a bienger video certain Monastery. In the third year they will have Constantine slain, and buried rine. at Stoneheng, or the Chorea Gigantum, to whom succeeded Aurelius Conanus, and pud Uffic. held the Monarchy of the whole Island, being a young man very well inclined, p. 120, and every way worthy of a Diadem, onely too great a lover of Civil Wars; for in Affect, he imprified his Uncle who should have reigned after Configuration and Armin. he imprisoned his Uncle who should have reigned after Constantine, and having † Alama de than his two Sons, obtained the Kingdom. Geoffrey writes that he died in the fe- infalin. cond year of his Reign, and that Wortipor obtained the Monarchy, who diligently and peaceably Governed the People four years, which done, he left his place An. 542

CHAP. II. with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire. Arthur.

to Malgo. But here Geoffrey and his Companions cannot agree about their Ver- Sect. 1. dict: for whereas he gives to the Reign of Aurelius Conanus, scarcely two years, Matthew of Westminster allows him no fewer than two or three and thirty, and gives but three to Vortiporius. But both their Accounts are true alike, while they make them to fucceed one another in the Monarchy of Britain, just like that Theophilus of Antioch, who makes those Kings to have succeeded one another in one and the same Kingdom; which Moses writes to have Governed several forts of People. For Gildas speaks to them all personally, as living and reigning at the same time, in several Parts of the sfland, and whereas they call Constantine Monarch of Britain, he terms him Tyrant of Damnonia or Cornwall. Malgo whom he calls Maglocunus, the last in the Catalogue, being another Regulus in Venedotia or the Northern Wales, to the Cambro Britains being known by the name of Maelgun Guineth, as he whom they call Aure-Several Kings lius Conanus, but Gildas Caninus rather, is by these Writers called Kynan Wledic, fo is Vortiper Gwyrthefyr. As Constantine reigned in Damnonia, and Malgo in Venedotia, fo Vortipor in Demmetia, South-wales, as Carmarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan shires; and Aurelius Conanus, as is conjectured, in Powis or some other Province.

45. Geoffrey did like our late Writers of Romances, who take some real

Subject, some certain Persons for the Basis of their work, but cloath these Persons with fuch circumstances, add so much of their own Invention, that in their story there's hardly one fentence of truth. Finding all these Names in Gildas, and wan- De Succession ting Successours for his Arthur, whom he resolved to extend to the seventh Ge-bus Arthu neration, out of this store he resolved to furnish himself, not setting them all at rid mentium. one time as Gildas doth; but making them fucceed one another in the Monarchy: tribuensess ufg, which thing Gildas overthrows in that he calls Constantine no Monarch but Ty- defermant rant, or Regulus of Damnonia. In like manner, by either a wilfull mistake, or nem Britanotherwise came the story of the Church of St. Amphibalus. Gildas wrote that ma Monar-Constantine flew two Boys of Royal Bloud, sub santhi Abbatis amphibalo, that is un-Neubrigensi der the Gown-coat or Vestment of the Holy Abbat; for that Amphibalum was a Vide Cambde fort of outward Vest or Garment, worn by Clerks and Monks, is very certain, wall & Cornhairy on both fides, fo that it was doubtfull which was the outward or inward wall. The fide of it, whence it had its Name. Now Geoffrey from this place frames a Tale nbi fupra. of the Martyr Amphibalus and his Church at Winchester. Hence came the very P. 539. text of Gildas to be corrupted fo, that in some Copies was written sub sancto Abbate Amphibalo, particularly in those which Polydore Virgil followed in his Edition of this Authour. Hence also came the Fiction of the New Amphibalus Gimenus, Abbat of the Abby of Amphibalus the Martyr at Winchester, said to have written an Epistle concerning this horrid fact to Gildas, as John Ball, and from him Pirfæus would have us believe. In like manner from some things charged

drunk with the Wine that was pressed from the Sodomitical Grape. 46. Hence Geoffrey tells us, that his Malgo was the most beautifull Person of all Britain, that he was the deposer or driver away of many Tyrants, larger than others, and most famous for goodness. Because Gildas calls him an Island Dragon, he tells you that he obtained the whole Isle, and moreover, adds since other comprovincial Isles to his Dominion, viz. Ireland, Island, Godland, the Orcades, Norwey and Dacia, having conquered them, by most cruelly Fought Battels. And because Madidus. the same Authour used this expession, that he was Wet or Drunk with Wine, preffed out of a Sodomitical Vine, he reprefents him to you as guilty of Sodomy; whereas Gildas meant a general or universal heap of Sins and Iniquity, the phrase gerem. 23. 9. being taken from the Prophet and eliewhere, which he had formerly also used to Dent. 32.3. fet forth the wickedness of Constantine. As for Cuneglasus, it's a wonder he past him 32. over, for he might have filled up some room in the Monarchical Catalogue; (a) Girald. it's to be fear'd, the Copy of Gildas he saw had not his Name, there being no Me- Cambr. Itimory of him in the British History. But in reference to Maglocunus or Maglo, we find ner. Cambr. elsewhere, that under his Government a dreadfull epidemical Disease raged throughout (a) Cambria or Wales, called the Iellow Plague, by the Britains I Gall Veleu, in Primeral from the yellow colour of those that were insected, but by the (b) Centuriators (b) Centurs (b) Centuriators (b) Centurs (c) Morbus Regius, or the Kings Evil, as the Icterus or Jaundice, is sometimes named c. 10 by Physicians. As for his Uncle, whom Gildas writes, that he slew in his youth, (c) Offering the is by others called (c) Carlon Vision (fig. 1) Indice he is by others called (c) Cathwallain, after whose death he Invaded the Kingdom Chronol, 11-3.

upon these particular Princes by Gildas, he has raised particular stories. From his

charging Aurelius with Paricides, and his being a lover of Civil War, he raifed

that of his Imprisoning his Uncle, and killing his two Sons. Gildas calls Maglo-

than any other of the British Captains; and farther adds, that he was as it were

cunus Infularis Draco, and a deposer of many Tyrants, another Saul, being taller

Sect. 1. of Venedotia. In conformity with this his ravenous and cruel Disposition he is said (d) followers being King of the Northern Britains, to have come (d) with an Army to subdue (e) Bulas 6 and prey upon the Southern, to have always been an Afflicter of the Saints, distribution and prey upon the southern, to nave always been an Annece of the sames, and temperature of periodic of St. Paternus, and to have been in particular (e) curfed by Thalleffin, & verfat Estimated the Bard or Prophet. Yet is he memorable for fomething not ill; for erecting ramites & in (f) a new City called Bangor, upon the River Meanath, or Menai (an Arme of Inguana L. the Sea rather) which is by no means to be confounded with the other Bangor of pud ciferin the Monks killed by Ethelfrid, which stood in Wotton upon the River Dee, not far Prinned. the Monks killed by Eller it, which these things happened while he was yet but \$\text{P}\$ 547. from Chester. This he did, and all these things happened while he was yet but \$\text{P}\$ 547. Regulus of Venedotia. But afterwards Matthew of Westminster tells us, he was erexit merant made King of the Britains at the year of Our Lord DLXXXI; about eleven Critisum

made King of the Britains at the year of Old who died at or about the year Membin years after the death of Gildas, the Complainer, who died at or about the year Membin

47. At this time he is therefore thought to have been made King over the Came Erat cnim 2. 47. At this time ne is mereiore mought to have been made thing ord the Billion brian Britains in General, the form of his Election being told us by Humphry Lbuyd, finer Die fin. an excellent Antiquary of Denbigh, as appears by his Fragment (a) of the Descrip-vium, shi E. tion of Britain, directed at the point of death to the Learned Antwerpian Abraham to the Learned Antwerpian Abraham to the Learned Antwerpian Abraham to the Learned Antwerpian to the Learned Antwerpian to the Learned Antwerpian to the Learned Antwerpian Abraham to the Learned Antwerpian to the Learned Antwerpian to the Learned Antwerpian Abraham to the Learned Antwerpian to the L tion of Britain, directed at the point of deathful the Leather and the recting overcome the in Water and Ortelius. After that the Saxons, faith his (b) Authour, having overcome the in Water and Britains, had obtained the Sceptre of the Kingdom, and the Crown of London, long the Coffring all the People of Cambria, assembled together at the Mount of the River Dee, to apad contains an the reopie of camerin, another came the Men of Guynedh, the Men of Fonys, 1933, the chufe them a King, and thither came the Men of Guynedh, the Men of Fonys, 1933, the following the Morganic or Morgan, and Application of Morganic or Morgan, and Application of Malgan, whom others call Macheum Guened. From this pallage Sancta for made choice of Malgan, whom others call Macheum Guened. he collects, that Cambria or Wales, was then divided after the Destruction of Bri-Bangare mtain, into fix Regions or Parts, viz. about the year of Our Lord DLX. But after men police of wards we meet with the King of \*Dynetia, falfely called Demetia, the Kings of (a) Impost Co. wards we flect with the rang of Dynam, handle of the Kings of Strat Clay lone aging Guent Powys, and Northwales, and mention is also made of the Kings of Strat Clay lone aging Guent Powys, and Northwales, and mention is also made of the Kings of Strat Clay lone aging Guent Powys, and Northwales, and mention is also made of the Kings of Strat Clay lone aging Guent Powys (a. L. Land Clay lone aging Guent

Kings or Reguli, till the time of Roderick the Great; who obtained the Monarchy (b) Audior rangs or reguli, the time of rocklill, and dividing it into three Parts, left it aniquifable of Cambria, about the year DCCCXLIII, and dividing it into three Parts, left it align bit de legible bit. fo to be possessed by his three Sons, for to † Meruin his eldest, he assigned Guy tamoram, nedb, to Anaraud (whom some make his Eldest) Powys, and to Cadelh his youngest Two Dorham, with the bleffing of the whole People, Dehenbarth, that is the Right part or Gipmeds, à Southwales. For the Britains, as Welch at this day, herein imitate the Hebrews, Gopp Powsp, that as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right à Gay Dethat as the Coasts they have the Coasts the Coasts they have t Hand. This Dehenbarth, though it was in quantity larger, yet in respect of those Resource, & E. Noblemen, by the Welch called Tychelwyr, wherewith it abounded; who were piline, a Marprone to rebell against their Lords, and dispute with them by dint of Sword, it game, fals, it. was accounted much the worst. This Division of Wales (as generally all Division is the page of the second of the s ons of Kingdoms ) at length destroyed the Government, while the Posterity of containing these three Brothers consumed it self by intestine Wars, though each Prince was thoughterning

externally laid at by the English.

ternally laid at by the Englip.
48. And fo at length, and by Degrees were the poor Inhabitants of Britain Lacalities. Britains driby the Pills and Scots, and especially the Saxons, outed of their Ancient Seats, mainted weatfrom their and driven such of them as fled not over the Sea, to the craggy and mountainous Linguis att-Places toward the West of the Island, naturally senced with Hills, and the Inlers dir. of the Sea, whither their Ravenous Enemies could not eafily follow them. Here they continued a very warlike Nation, as we shall have occasion in the Prosecution of our English Saxon Story to demonstrate, and for many years defended their Liberty, and though they were separated from the English Saxons, by a ditch or trench, cast by Offa King of the Mercians, yet stood they not onely to the defensive part of War, but made many inrodes into the English Pale, and by Fire and Sword wasted the Countrey. Their Success had been much better, but that they fell out amongst themselves, and as formerly when they lived in the Heart of the Land, fo now also they grouned under the Yokes of their several Reguli or Tyrants, the Names of whom it will not boot much here to mention, and the Acts of whom as remarkable, respect chiefly the opposition they made against the English. Of the Parts into which they were driven that called Cambria is most considerable, by them in their Language called Cymbri, and Wales, by the English, after the German Custome. For, as one \* observes, the Ancient Ten-\*1 hod in tones or Germans, calling the Strangers that lived near them on one fide by the For Fig. 1. Name of Galls, or Walls, afterward to all Strangers, and Inhabitants of other Provinces they gave the fame Appellation, as at this very day not onely the Galls, but Italians and Burgundians they call by that Name, as all things strange or Exotick Wallbe: The Wallons in the Low Countries, the Wallachians upon the Danube Sect. 1. have hence received their Denominations. At first they seized, and solely inhabited all this Region. Afterward it began to be inhabited by the English, as far as the Ditch of Offa, with whom they had innumerable Skirmilhes, and contells till the days of William the Conquerour, under whose Son Henry some Flemmings, who had been driven out of their own Countrey by Inundation of the Sea, received Roffe, a Province of Demetia, to inhabit, and notwithstanding all the Princes of Wales could doe, most valiantly defended themselves, and still preserve their Language and Customs, different from the Britains. Afterward the English growing by Degrees upon them, feized feveral other Parts of the Countrey, and at length brought them into full subjection, upon which we must not now dilate. But those that inhabited this Countrey, the English Saxons called Bripesler, or British Welfb.

Others into Cornwall.

49. Another fort they termed Connealer from Cormall, in Latin Cornavia, Ve illos in in the British Language Cernico, into which another Part of the Remnants of the Gallia. Britains were driven. These also use the British Tongue, all their words almost Galpealer. being radically the same with the Welsh; but in contexture of Speech, they do a little differ. Besides these Countries, we are farther told by the Learned Antiquary lately mentioned, that till about the year of Our Lord DCCCLXX, these

Parts lying about Carlile and Galloway it felf as far as the River Cluda, were poffessed by the Britains, at which time being forely laid at by the Scots, Danes and English, and at length Constantine their King being killed in Anaudra, they were constrained to betake themselves to their Countreymen in Wales, where they beat out the English, which had seized on the Countrey Tegenia, (by the Latins called Igenia, but Tegengel by the Welsh, that is Tegenia of the English ) lying betwixt the River Dee and Comvay. They founded a Kingdom by the Wellb called Strat-Lingdon and cluyd (a), from the River Cluda, on whose banks they fate down; for by the word fupra, fol. 26. Strat (b) added to a River, they understand the tract of ground lying upon or (5) 56.s. Strat (b) added to a River, they understand the tract of ground lying upon or (a) Mariane adjoining to the said River, as Strad Alyn, Strad Tony, and the like. Here they sear Strandian had often great bickering with the English, till at length Dunwallon, the last of their ylend Walano Princes, despiting his Principality went to Rome, at such time as the Danes by their (b)tra fore An-Inrodes, forely afflicted the Island about the year DCCCLXXI. where he shortly dissurpant voc after died. Such alternative Successions were there in the places, whither the Welfh Strand, fignifiatterdied. Such atternative successions were there in the places, withthe the responsibility as we e'er now fignified for the main they possessed the whole tam Ripum Countrey called Wales, especially that toward the North, viz. Guynedhia by La-fluminis ne tin writers corruptly called Venedotia. As for the other called Dehenbarth by them, Londino adjaand Southwales by us, the English having passed the River Severn, by degrees sei-cens propris zed on all the Land betwixt it, and the River Vaga. So that all Herefordsbire, se diad. and that anciently called the Danish wood, and Glocestershire with a great Part of Worcestershire and Shropshire, are though beyond the River Severn, this day inha-

bited by the English. 50. This River, together with Dee of old, divided Cambria from the other part of Britain, called Lhoegria, and fome do farther observe, that all the greater Towns which are built upon their Eastern Banks, were first raised for this very end, to restrain the Irruptions of the Cambrians, or Welsh into Lhoegria, like as the Romans very politickly erected very stately Cities upon the Western Banks of the Rhine, to hinder the Inrodes of the Germans into Gall, and the last Wall which the Britains made, was by the Advice of the Romans, drawn by confiderable Towns the more to threnghthen it. But to purfue our buliness, these Countries lately mentioned, together with some Corners of Flint and Denbigh, were in times past fubject to the Kings of the Mercians, and to this day the Inhabitants of them are known to the Welsh by these words, Guyr y Mers, or the Men of Mercia. For Off a the most potent King of the Mercians, as we hinted before in the year DCCLXX, to diffinguish, and fence his Limits from those of the Cambrians, caused to be digged a very deep Ditch with an high Wall upon it from the Mouth of Dee, a little above Flint Castle, through most high Mountains, as deep Vallies, Fenns, Rocks and Rivers for an Hundred Miles, as far as the Mouth of the River Vaga. This Ditch retaining its old Name, (for by the Britains it's still called Claudh Offa, or the Ditch of Offa) is clearly yet to be ieen in all these Quarters; and almost all the Cities and Towns feated on the Eastern fide of it, have their Names ending in Ton or Ham which makes it evident, that in old time Saxons there did inhabit. Yet again the Cambrians or Welfb, releated themselves beyond the Ditch (on this fide as we write ) in all places toward Lhoegria or England, and the Inhabitants of these parts in their own Language are called Cymbri, in the pronouncing of which

word the force of the letter b is fearcely to be perceived.

570

The Divifi-

on of Wales.

Sect. 1.

51. So much as to the Places into which our poor diffressed Britains, were driven within the Island, now having mentioned their Language, it were conve-The Language nicht to speak a little to it. And a little must be spoken by one who cannot of the Botfpeak it at all, and has but little acquaintance with it. That it was the same
turn the same with that of the old Galle. I am still perswaded both for the Reasons I have given runs the tame I with that of the old Galls, I am still perswaded both for the Reasons I have given with the Galls. in the History of the Eranks, and also upon farther confideration. Of Brennus, and his Exploits all who are meanly fludied in Antiquity have read, and that he and his were Galls, is the Opinion of the best Authours, both Greek and Latin. Now it may be proved, that they either spake the British Tongue it self, or that which differed a little from it in Dialect. Paufanias tells us, that in their Language they called an Horse Marcha, and the way of their serving in war each with his two fervants, fo that they made three Horse, Trimarchifia. Now the Britains at this day call three in the Masculine gender Tri, in the Feminine Tair, and an Horse they know by the Name of March; yet this agrees also with the Teutonick, wherein Treo or Thre is used in the same sense, as also Mare, anciently to denote the words it doth whole Species of that Noble Animal. But afterward the same Authour affirms these Galls, in their Language, to have termed their Shields, Tyran, and a Target now with the Wellh is no other than Tariam. Farther Athenaus writes, that the Remainders of the Galls under Conduct of Bathanatius, feated themselves upon the River Ister, and afterwards divided themselves into two Parts, whereof one named Scordisci planted in Hungary, and the other seized by the Name of Brenni on part of the Alpes near the Mountain Brennerus in the Countrey of Tirol; and Appian calls all these by the Name of Cymbri. Now Bathynad in Welsh signifies a Formed Judge; for Bath is Form, and Inad a Judge that obtains the second place from the King himself, for Brennus being dead, this man they chose for their Captain. Besides, Iscar in British is to Separate, and Iscaredic is the same as Separated, whence that part of the Galls which separated it self, and departed from the rest, was called Ticaredic, and thence came the Name of Scordisci. The other preserved the Name of their former Leader Brennus. Now Brynn in British fignifies an Hill or Mountain, whence he had probably his Name, and so had Brennerus the Mountain in the Alpes. It's reported that the Gatheli or Irish, when from Cantabria they wandred up and down the Seas to find them out new Habitations, called all Britains by the Name of Bremach, from that Famous Captain, and so still by that very Name they call them. Yet can I not believe that Bren-

not except in Dialect. or except in Dialect.

52. We shall onely make two or three more Remarks upon this Language, and citum named. fo difmiss it, as is agreeable to our general Design. One Letter it hath peculiar, lo explication which commonly they write with LL two of these, but the more learned Britaines & Lb, or L with a point under it, which is better. The Spaniards indeed use a Commy, b.c. double LL, and the Germans Lh, as in the Names of Lhodowick and Lhothair, but Aborigence neither of them hath the force of that whereof we write. Possibly the Inhabitants of Mexico have had it, the Spaniards expressing it by U, but this is but a Apad Passi-Conjecture, and uncertain; however this of the Welfb is pronounced with a sharp with kind of hilling, the Letter L being pronounced with a strong aspiration, the Tongue being with some violence thrust upon the Teeth half shut, and the Lips remaining unmoved, a matter not to be learnt but by long practice. For V Confonant they use F, as in the Teutonick Language they are used promiscuously. Besides the five Vowels which the Latines had, they have two others, therein imitating the Greeks; hereof one is written with a double V by the Vulgar, or with a fingle prick underneath by the Learned, and hath a found not much different from the Roman U; or rather is pronounced in the fame manner as the more simple fort were wont to pronounce the Latine O. The last both of Vowels and Letter is I, and hard to be pronounced. Q, X, and Z, are not necessary to write their words; and instead of K, they use C. They have many Diphthongs, in which, both the Vowels, or three together, as fometimes it happeneth either retain their full found, or at least some part of it.

nus was a Britain, though he and his followers be called Cymbri, and this word

agrees with that very Name whereby the Welsh at this day call themselves, as Lhapdan qui

tome learned men of that Nation would have it. But this strengthens the opinion printing and the strength of t

we have elsewhere delivered, that the old Gallick and British Languages differed 4t cero in

53. As to the peculiar Idiome of the Tongue, this is very remarkable, that as the Greek and Latin have their Variations of Speech, and Cafes at the ends of their words; on the contrary, this of the Britains suffers this change of Letters at the beginning; whereby it hath happened that in the Names of Provinces, Regions, and other things, very learned men have erred by reason of their ig. Sect. 1. norance in the Language. Every word whereof the first Radical Letter is, P, T, or C, hath three Variations in the Contexture of Speech, to avoid a difagreeable found. As P, is turned into B, into Ph, and Mh; fo T, into D, into Tb, and found. As r, is turned into b, into r, and r, into b, in from the Head, O ben, or, his Head (Masculine) Ben: With the Head, à phen: bric. ait Brior, her Head, i phen: My Head, Fymhen. So that of this Word Pen, there are cannot have all these Variations, ben, phen, and mhen. So Fire, in British, Tan, begets, from movem literate all these Variations, ben, phen, and mhen. Fire, O dan: with Fire, a than: my Fire, Fy mhan. And for C, Cariad, Love: unbraniles 22-From Love, makes 0 gariad, with love, a chariad: my love Fynghariad. Farther, cant, guid at from Love, and G, being Radicals, have their Variations alio: as Bara, Bread; & mutentur: from Bread, O fara, (where F hath the force of V Consonant) my Bread, fy mara. Omnes ifte is-And as B is changed into F and M, so is D, into D, DH, and N, as Duu the Name of iera in principle Distinguish Almighty God, and pronounced as the French pronounce their Dieu, makes from atque aliise-God, O Duu: my God, Fy nun. But for G, in the first place it fails, and in the second, is tram in locis Out, O Dank: my Out, Ty man, Dutlor O, in the first place it lasts, and in the record, is train in ordinary turned into NG: as Gur fignifying a Man, makes from a Man, O ur: my Man, ownermur.

Fyngur. Besides these, L, M, and Ph, suffer but one Mutation: as Lyfur, a Book, Extunds in bath from a Book, O lyfyr. Mon, the Island Mona, or Anglesey, hath from Mona, Lund.

O Fon: and Rusayn, Rome, makes from Rome, O Rusayn. The rest either are ne. Aise of local permission in the Rusay of the Company of the Rusay of ver Radicals, as D, P, Tb, L, R; or elfe are never changed, as Pb, Cb, N and S. Tondan By-Thus much may fiffice to fixed of the graphs of the fixed of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the results of the results of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the results of the results of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the results of the graphs of the results of the results of the graphs of the gra Thus much may suffice to speak of the genius of the Language, and thus much dain, Rhinfan the rather to put some upon enquiry, whether any such footsteps of Variation Admin Lummay be found of the ancient Gallick, which if it may, would abundantly confirm dain. us in this belief, that they were the same. That this Language received some Impression and Alteration from that of the Romans, we must not doubt, considering how many hundreds of years they lived in the Island, although not so much as those of such Countries as were nearest unto Italy. This is clearly to be perceived still in several words, as Cariad, Duu, Gur or Ur, and Lyfur, lately mentioned, Tair Tri, that word whereby they express the East and many others. And that as it received some Impression from the Latin, so likewise did the Latin from it, and a barbarous Latin was here of both made in Britain, as the Modern French or Gallick Bastard Latin in the Countrey of Gall, and the Spanish and Italian in the other Countries. But the distance of the Romans from the Island, and confequently the weakness of Commerce, were causes that it could not be so considerable, (as neither the Impression made upon the British) and their departure so clearly out of the Island, procured the extinguishment thereof.

54. Thus in our Comment upon the Text of Gildu, have we feen the Britains banished to the Mountains, and a little considered their condition there. We must remember he writes how fome committed themselves to the mercy of the Sea, and fought for shelter and habitation beyond that Element. It's the general Opinion that they feated themselves in Armorica in Gall. That that Countrey was of the Bri- feized by Britains, a Colony as it were of the Inhabitants of this Island, both the tampicated themselves in Name of Britain the Less, and the Language of that Feople sufficiently demonstrated Armorica in strate (for that this Britain was denominated from that, is an idle Dream and deferves not confuting) but at what time, and upon what occasion, it's not so easie

to determine. The first mention we find of the Britains in Armorica, is about the Vide Cambdeyear CCCCLXI, about thirty years after that the Anglo-Saxons were called out of num in Bri-Germany into Britain; for at that time Mansuetus, a Bilhop of the Britains, subscrit tannia Armobed to the first Council of Tours amongst other Prelates of France and Armorica. In vicanis. the ninth year after this, these new Inhabitants of Gall perceiving the drift of the Western Goths to seize the most fertile Provinces of Anjou and Poicton, were so refolute as to make head against them, and to them the Franks were much beholden. for they chiefly hindred the Goths from possessing themselves of the whole Countrey. For against them they sided with Anthemius the Emperour, and Arnandus was sidonius Apolcondemned of Treason for giving Council by Letter to the King of the Goths, to set linar inep. ad upon the Britains dwelling upon the River Loir, and diffwading to make Peace Hac ad Regent with the Greek Emperour, whereby they might divide Gall between the Goths and Gothorn Burgundians. Sidonius Apollinaris to Riothenius his Friend (whom Jornandes na-chartavidebameth King of the Britains) complains that these Britains were a kind of People pacem cum witty and subtile, Warlike, Tumultuous, and in regard of their Valour, Number, Grace imp. and Intelligence with one another, stubborn. Riothenius being alterward sent for disfuadens, by Anthemius, went to him with a power of twelve thousand Men, but before he per Ligerim

could joyn with the Emperour's Forces, was defeated by the Goths, and fled to fines impugna-55. We

the Burgundians, at that time confederate with the Romans.

55. We find them therefore at this time in Armorica, but still the Controversie remains undecided, how first they came there. One who was born in that very Countrey, lived near to that very Age, and wrote the Life of St. Wingalof the Confesiour, committed this also to writing, that A Progeny of the Britains imbarked Vita 5. Wise Collection, Collimited in that Land on that fide the British Sea, at fuch time as the Bar 2000, M. burous Nation of the Saxons fierce in Arms, and uncivil in Manners, posselled their in Bhancas. Native and Mother Soil. Then (faith he) this dear Off-spring seated themselves close Canadanase within this Nooke and secret Corner. In which place, wearied with travail and toil, Efferment to they sate quiet for a while without any Wars. But our English Writers report it as a Primord. truth, that long before this time our Britains feated themselves in this Track of His complete Gall, and particularly at fuch time as Maximus usurped the Roman Empire. Prov. dings. The Monk of Malmsbury relates, that Constantinus Miximus being saluted Empe-tricanna rour by the Army, carried away with him a great Power of British Souldiers, confidences through whose Courage and Industry having attained the Empire, such of them Bernaugg, as were past Service, and haddone bravely, he planted in a certain part of Gall complists. Westward upon the very Shoar of the Ocean; where at this day, faith he, their Wingados Posserity remaining, are wonderfully increased even to a mighty People, in Man-Egmander and Man-Egman when the Man Egman was the Man Egman was a mighty People, in Man-Egman was a mighty People, in Man-Egman was a mighty People with the Man Egman was a mighty People was a mighty Peo ners and Language formewhat degenerate from our Britains. True it is that Con-aliis dialy flantine concerning Military men made this \* Edict, Let the old Souldiers, according majore Brito our Precept, enter upon the Vacant Lands, and hold them for ever freely; and muricum possibly, here these might be placed to help to restrain the then frequent Inrodes transmignation of the Sixons. Yet doth he also affirm a Colony of Britains to have been plan-tempera Bisted in Armorica by Constantine the Great; and another will have the same thing tannis Colodone by Conflantius Chlorus his Father. Generally those that write the British His mises defined a flory, are confident that Maximus there placed his British Souldiers; but others \*Cod. Tend. as earnestly contend, that there was no Plantation there till after the coming of 17. 111.20.

ne Saxons.

56. This indeed makes fomething against the other Opinion, that Gildas speak-Radalphings ing how Maximus drained the Island of its Men, mentions nothing of his planting in Chromic them in Armorica. But neither doth he speak of this Countrey when he tells us large how the distressed Britains were driven beyond the Scas, though it was above use party. forty years from the Victory at Badon Hill, to the time of his writing his Epi-Leith fel flle, and confequently the Colony, or Commonwealth of the Armorican Britains, illumination of the Armorican Britains, must have been grown up to that eminency, as provokes him to make mention derunt alii, of them; if any thing could divert that angry and querulous Writer from his wide Ufficiant Theme. Some might be planted there by Maximus, as others think, and the Children of these old Souldiers might gladly receive these distressed Britains that fled out of their Countrey under Conduct of Rional; but the truth is, fuch Au-Rionalwights thours as fix the time of the Britains feeling there after the Invasion of the Sax-ma Holistic restriction of the Sax-ma Holistic restriction that the time of better credit and more considerable. Whenever they came Renlamning

Their Cha-" much as to ferve in Civil War one against another, without all regard of Right "or Kindred, but, according to the quantity of the Money, ready with their "Service, for what part foever you would have them.

thither they turned within a little time the edge of their Weapons most ingrate and medium Richard when the state Friends the fully upon those their Friends that gave them harbour, as evidently appears from thimm. most of the other Testimonies, and by these words of Regalis Bilhop of Vennes, We living in Captivity under the Britains, are Subject to a grievous and heavy Toke. The Native Armoricans being by little and little fubdued, the Name of Britains grew fo great where they were newly feated, that generally all the Inhabitants passed by degrees into their Name (as of other parts of Gall into that of the Franks) fo that the whole Tract was called Britannia Armorica, and by the French Writers Bri-Whence the tannia Cismarina. In the first times they courageously maintained themselves under petty Kings, and afterward under Dukes and Counts against the Franks, as we have already shewed out of their Writers, particularly Gregory the Bishop of Tours, in which Authour we meet with the Britains in Gall, but never before the Lib. 2 c.15. time of Childerick the First, who began his Reign much about the same time as did Hengist in Kent, over the Saxons. It seems their Quarter was not much better than what their Countreymen obtained, whom they left behind them in the Island. For their Wealth, as one writes, was onely Immunity from publick Taxes, and plenty of Milk. And if you will believe our Monk of Malmsbury. Gleter Red-A kind of People they were, needy and poor in their own Countrey (in his plus "time, and he lived fome 550 years agoe) being hired by foreign Money, and pur-"chafing a laborious and painfull life. If they be well paid, they refuse not fo

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. 57. This Description of them as to their Manners and Disposition suits well Sect. 1

enough with what Gildas and others write of their Countreymen. However fo Industrious and Valiant they were, as to bring under all the Inhabitants of that Tract, and had they had as constant Supplies out of Britain, as the Saxons had out of Germany, might have done as much for the rest of the People of Gall, and been before-hand with the Franks. In this they equalled them, that as they gave Name to the places they conquered, fo did they. But herein they exceeded them, that whereas the Language of the Franks being German, was swallowed up, and They preferred devoured by that, then spoken by the Provincials, or by the Bastard Latin, we now call improperly French. Theirs either quite conquered and overcamethat gauge unmixt of the Armoricans, or finding it much the fame with it felf, as we faid the Britifs and moor and ancient Gallick were the fame, preferved it felf and it unmixt and uncorrunted. and ancient Gallick were the jame, preferved it felf and it unmixt and uncorrupted. Our Welch men hence prove that the Cornish, and the Armorican Britains were the Lbods fo.6. fame Nation, because the Names of their Kings were alike to both, as Conanas, Meriadoc, (by which Name a part of Denbighshire in North-Wales, is still so called) Howel, Alan, Theodore, Rywallon, and the rest; and almost all their words are the same, although they differ a little in Syntax of Speech, as often it happens in the fame Countrey. The Countrey it felf is by our Britains called Lhydaw, which Cambden interprets, coasting upon the Sea, and so signifying the fame in British, as doth Armorica. But it seems it's no proper British word; for Lhuid thinks it came from the Latin word Littus, as being a Region of the Gallican Shoar. For as the Latin Writers in our words (faith he) turn D into T, fo our Conntreymen in like manner change T into D, and L in the beginning of words they always write with an afpiration. For Example, Lhadron with us

fignifies Robbers, the word being borrowed from the Latines. 58. But as some of our distressed Britains fled over Sea into Armorica, which pay of the they called Little Britain; fo we are told that others of them went into Holland, where at the Mouth of the Britain where at the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the Mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little and the mouth of the Britain or in falls in a little Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in falls in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in fall in the mouth of the Britain or in the mouth o where at the Mouth of the Rhine, as it falls into the Sea, near to Catmyck, they leves in Hold divided their Sails: and there they built a most frong Castle, which they called land.

Britain, and subdued upon themselves the North Proposition of the Sails: Britain, and subdued unto themselves the Neighbouring People. This Castle in Joan. Gerbrand the Teutonick Idiome, as we are told by the fame Authour, is called Die burch te Chron. Bel Britten, as if you should say, Britains Barge, or, the Castle of the Britains; being in the same sense at this day, by the Neighbouring Hollanders called Het Huys te Britten, or The House of Britain. This Castle was placed in the Batavian Shoar, at the middle Mouth of the Rhine, and the Ruines thereof are to be feen at a very low Water. It was built four-fquare, and took up the compass of two Roman Acres. And that it was indeed a Roman Fort, befides other things, the Vide Cambel. ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inscriptions, do in Brit. Uffer. demonstrate; with the view which Hadrianus Junius in his Batavia, and Petrus in Primara Scriverius in his Tabulary of Holland Antiquities hath prefented us. As therefore it cannot be granted this Chronographer that the Briteins built this Castle, (which might be called Britten Huys, because it stood over against Britain) so might it, being now left desolate by the Romans, be seized by the Britains, who might alfo, as he writes, fubdue the Neighbouring People. That this may not be thought incredible, a place of Procopius is cited, who in the time of Justinian wrote, that Brittia, distinct from Britain, was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, the Angles, Trissons, and the Britains, who had the same Name with the Island. And if what he faith be true, that it was placed in the Ocean just over against the Mouth of the Rhine, this could be no other than the Island of

59. Neither ought it to be wondered at that here the Trisones inhabited; foraf- User. ibid. much as it's certain, that not onely in the time of Pliny, and Tacitus, the Frisi here p. 419. had their Seats, but in later times part of Frifia, the Province of Utretcht was also accounted, and the Western Holland, which still retains the Name of West Freiseland, and in time past gave to the Earls of Holland the Title also of Lords of Frisia or Freiseland. But whence the Angli or Angili should thither come, is to be confidered. \* One Historian of that Countrey reports out of their Annals, as a \* Suffridas Pecertain truth, that a great Number of Angli came out of Britain into Frisia under trus de Orig. Conduct of *Hengift*. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of G. 11. Leiden was first founded on the Bank of the Rhine by Hengist, the Son of the King t Corn. Kemof Frisia, being beaten out of Britain, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern pius Rev. Frisia, being beaten out of Britain, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern pius Rev. Frisia. Bank of the faid River, made Governour thereof or Borchgrave one Dibald, to procure fafe Passage to Travellers, with free Accessand Recess to Merchants; whereupon the City in the Vulgar Tongue had the Name of Leiden. But John Ger-

57. This

Sect. I. br.wd, who himfelf was born at Leiden, relates the Original thereof with more In Corner. Circumstances. Having faid, that *Hengist* gathered Military men together out Co.9.10.

of the Lower Saxony or Frifts, his own Countrey, and with the Schwenfes or Hollandenses, having passed into Britain, after this relates what was done by that part of the Army which returned home. The Saxons Frisons with the Sclavenfes, that is, the Hollardenfes being returned home, the rest being dismissed, when they had now no employment, neither knew what to doe, nor whither to turn themselves; they went along to the Feirce Wood with a strong hand, and there at the Course of the River Rhine, built a great Castle, which now is called Leidis. In the same Castle of Leide, by consent of the Elders, they ordained and appointed for the Custody of the Forest, a certain Burchgrave or Castellane, a Valiant man, with many others like himself, to defend and secure the Merchants going and coming from the faid Castle to that of Wiltenborch and Slavenborch : And therefore that Castle was called Leyden, that is, Ductio or Leading. The common Chronicles of Holland relate the same also concerning the Burg De Burch, built by Hengill. For we must not be so injurious to that Noble City, as to conceal that Lugdunum Batavorum was much ancienter both from Ptolemy, and the Itinerary Table.

60. That a confiderable part of Hengiff's Army, after the defeating and difperfing of the Inhabitants, returned out of Britain, we have already thewn from more ancient Authours, as Gildas and Beda. But whereas fome will have Hengift, a Dane by Original, (which we shall hereafter discuss) it would if it could be known whether he being beaten out of Britain with his Angli (as the British Histories affirm) or being Victour, and pursuing the flying Britains, planted here a new Colony, and built a new Castle to keep in awe and bridle that which they had formerly feized. For Procopius doth not say that these three sorts of People, viz. The Fristans being Indigina, and the Angli and Britains being new Comers made up one People, but fignifies that each of them was subject to their own Kings: and indeed from Brittenburg or Huys te Britten, that Burgh is diflant but about two hours Sail, (so they of these Countries reckon, and not as we, by Miles) from which the Bargraves of Leiden of old had their Title. Yet \*Corn.Ham. another \* Authour will have it not built by Hengist, but by one Mandeth the Son rodius in Baof Lemaun, the first of that Name King of the Batavi. Philip † Cluverius also tavia. thinks it was built by the Romans, the Stones of it feeming as ancient as those of Amiguit. Britains were, by Authours of this Countrey, faid hither to have fled for Refuge, Holland, c. 5. and fetled themselves; we thought our selves to let the Reader know so much,

whom we leave Judge of what on all fides hath been faid. 61. We thought we had now done our part as to the Text of Gildas, (the best course we could take to write the History of these obscure Times, small credit being to be afforded to other British Writers) but due favour and respect both to the dead and the living violently calls upon us to take fome confideration of that part also of his Epistle which to vehemently inveighs against the Manners and Dispositions of the ancient Britains. What he says of the Layety we have already feen of late, and how he paints out the Manners and Behaviour of those of his own Rank, the Reader may fee in the Account we give of Ecclefiastical Matters. Most profligate he makes both forts, as well the one as the other, and as to those we have at present to deal with, he charges upon them breach of trust upon the Bri. and perfidiousnels, perpetual Emulations, Factions, and Tyranny over one another, makes them to be of a fleepy Nature, as easie to be beaten as ready to rebell, given up to all manner of Riot and Debauchery, and what he fays feems not to be meant onely of that time when he wrote, but of their general temper and demeanour in all precedent Ages, whereof he pretends to have the knowledge, viz. as

far as, the Invalion of Julius Cæsar. Hereupon several modern Authours have been emboldned to vilisse the Britis Nation, Polydore Virgil in particular, who Cost admits taxeth it as mean and cowardly in the general course of its Actions and Concernments: And some learned Men of that Original are very much concerned to wipe mittendam largely confu-them at his landing fo courageous and Martial, that they put him fore to it, for pareitrial ted from the coeff him to contain himself in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which he line has been ted from the ced him to contain himself in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which he finds leave best of Au. in his own behalf cunningly expresset, and more put min to night, which he may be in his own behalf cunningly expresset, by drawing back the Legions to their comparison of the companion of the Camp; for that a flight it was, they thence prove, that a little after Midnight be- terming have ing past, he stole to his Ships and so departed. But here was not the strength at it of reduction or

nor courage of all Britain employed, onely a small Company of those of Kent ha- Sect. 1. flily gathered together. From Cæfar himself it's evident, that they sought with great earneliness from their Chariots, fell with violence upon his Camp, and so discouraged the Roman Cohorts, that having lost Labienus the Tribune, it's faid, they made a fafe Retreat. Now what doth this Retreat fignifie, but that they efcaped away by flight? He consesses that Cassivelaun when he sent Ambassadours to him about Peace, was thereto moved by the Revolt of Mandubratius and others

62. They farther use the Testimony of Diodorus Siculus, who writes, that the Britains being Aborigenes, and living after the manner of the Ancients, used Cha-

riots in Fights, as the ancient Greek Heroes are reported to have done in the Siege of Troy. That as to Manners they were simple and upright, being far remote from the craft and cunning of those to whom he was related. That they contented themselves with simple and mean food, being absolute Strangers to the delitious living of Rich men. Tacitus, they plead, doth wonderfully extoll the Acts of Caratacus, and confesses, that after his Captivity the Romans were often beaten by onely one Nation of the Silures. He writes that Venusius (whom he calls fierce, and an utter Enemy of the Romans) beat not onely the Romans. but the British Auxiliaries also. He denies not that the Queen Boadicia (by Dion Casfins called Bunduica) being exasperated, put to the Sword seventy thousand of the Burduica Romans: And both he and Dion with long and evident Speeches celebrate and ex- agual Xiphil. toll the more than Manly courage of this Woman and her Facts, which may be compared with those of the most famous Emperours. In the Life of Agricola, his Father-in-Law, having told us, that the Galls and the Britains were very like

in their Ceremonies and Superstitious Perswasions; and that their Language dif-A Comparison fered not much; he adds, that betwixt them there was the like boldness in courtbetwixt the ing and fetting upon dangerous Enterprizes; when Dangers were come, like fear in Galls and Bri- refusing: But that the Britains made shew of more Courage, as being not then mollified by long Peace; for the Galls (faith he) were once also as we reade, famous in War, till fuch time as giving themselves over to Idleness, Sloth crept in, Shipwrack was made both of Valour and Liberty together, which also befell to those of the Britains that were subdued of old, the rest remain such as the Galls were before. Their Military strength consisteth in their Foot, some Countries fight in Waggons also; the more confiderable Person guideth the Carriage, and his Dependents fight. In former times they were governed by Kings; now by their great men they are drawn to Factions and Parties: Neither is there any thing that more benefits us when we have to doe with the most powerfull Countries, but that they do not unite and confult together. Seldom it hapneth that two or three States agree together to propulse the common danger; so whilst each fight for themselves apart, all are overcome. A little after he adds: That Britains indure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burthens imposed by the Empire, patiently and willingly, if Injuries be forborn; these they cannot endure, being subdued to remain as Subjects, not as Slaves. Again; The Noble Mens Sons, he (meaning Agricola) took and instructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the Britains before the Students of the Galls, as being now defirous to attain to the Roman Eloquence, whereas they had lately rejected the Language. After that our Habits began to grow into Esteem, and the Gown was much used among them; and by little and little they proceeded to the Provocations of Vices, to Galleries, Baths, and exquifite Banquettings; which things the Ignorant counted Civility, being in reality a part of Bondage.

63. They urge farther, that Dion Calfins in the Account he gives of Carfar's Expedition into the Island, delivers such things as make for the honour of
the Islands and namely this, That they did not accept of Peace before they their Valour. had oftentimes experienced adverse Fortune; that he so feet forth his Actions at his return to Rome, with Glosses and Flourishes, that a Supplication was decreed upon this account, for twenty days together; elsewhere this same Authour reports Pailages tending to the repute of the Nation. So doth Herodian, giving this Character of it, that it was most Warlike and greedy of Slaughter, contenting it felf as to Arms with a narrow Target and a Lance. Eutropius in like manner speaking of Cafar's Adventure, saith he was tired out with bitter fighting, and being feized by a Tempest, returned into Gall, whence returning again into the Island, at the beginning of the Spring following, his Horse at the first Incounter was routed by the Britains, and there Labienus the Tribune was flain; and in a prosperous Fight at length, but with great loss of his own men, he beat and put

PARTIV

112 The Affairs of Britain, lately a Rom. Province, Contemporary Part IV

Sect. 1. them to flight. Suetonius farther tells how Vespasian conquered two most powerfull Nations in point of War, and fought no fewer than thirty times with the Enemy; figns not of cowardly and effeminate, but of a most valiant People. And Eutropius writes, that Caraufius the Britain having been in vain attempted by Arms, at last, as the greatest defence against a man most skilfull in War, a Peace was made. Sextus Rufus reckoning up the Legions of the Roman Empire mentions the Britanniciani and Brittannici; the fecond the British Legion, and amongst the Legions of the Magister Equitum of Gall: the Britones twice; with the Comes Hispaniarum Invictos juniores Britones, and with the Comes Britanniarum Vectores juniores Britannicos. But what need is there, fay they, to turn over the Writings of fo many learned Men to discover the glory of Britain? When fo many most valiant Kings, so many Invincible Captains, so many famous Roman Emperours issued from the British bloud, have abundantly evinced what kind of men this Island brings forth. To what purpose should I, faith Lbuid, make mention of Brennus that Conquerour of Romans, Greeks, and of almost all the stoutest Nations of the whole World? Why Cassivelaun, to whom, as Lucan expressed it, Cae-Taringuaging far shewed his affrighted Back? Why, Caratacus that distressed the Romans by a War of tending tengs. of nine years continuance? Or Bunducia that most valiant Virago, who procured Strabo Gogg, the destruction of 70000 Romans, with the terrour of which Woman Rome and 1.4 & En Italy were fo mightily struck, that as one writes, they were not so much concerned for the coming of Brennus or Hannibal? Or Arviragus, that unconquered Air A out King of Britain, preserving his Liberty in despight of the Romans, the Lords of Justin and the World? Or those most courageous Captains who thirty times ingaged in Battel with Vespasau, and broke the heart of that valiant Emperour Severus, be see decaded to use the could not bring them under? Why (faith he) should I make mention seed of the could not bring them under? Why (faith he) should I make mention to the could not bring them under? of these, when Britain bestowed upon the World Constantine the Great, not onely in This is a most valiant and most happy Captain, but what is more, the best Man and the view. first Emperour of the Christian Religion, in which he was instructed by his Mother Helena a British Woman?

64. How much do Gall and Italy owe to Britain for this man born in this Island, being freed from the rage of cruel Tyrants by his means? And much Christian Religion, thus he proceeds, all do well know, except one Polydore and his Master Gulielmus Parvus, lately published by some ill willers of Britain, although unworthy to fee the light. And because a late Frenchman, and an ancient Greek Authour, of a greater Name, affirm Conflantine born at Dyrrachium, I will produce the words of a most ancient Panegyrist, spoken in the presence of Constantine himself: "O fortunate Britain, and now " more happy than other Countries, who first sawest Constantine Cæsar. De-" fervedly hath Nature endowed thee with all good things belonging both " to Air and Soil, in which is neither too great cold in Winter, nor heat in " Summer; wherein is fuch abundance of Corn, that it hath fufficient of the "Gifts, both of Ceres and Bacchus; in which are Woods without Savage " Beasts, Land without noxious Scrpents: On the other side an Innumerable " Multitude of gentle Cattle distended with Milk, and loaded with Fleeces, " with other things defireable for Life; very long Days and no Nights with-" out some light. For that extreme Level of the Shores doth not raise Sha-" dows, and the view of Heaven and the Stars transcends the limits of " Night, fo that the Sun, which with us feems to fet there, appears onely " to pass by. Good God what means this, that always from some last end " of the World, new Divinities of the Gods descend to be worshipped by the " whole World! Why should I mention (now Lhuid proceeds) Bonofus, who Interested from a Duke of the limits of Rhatia, became a most valiant and fortunate Emperour, why Caraufius Angustus, who seven years together, though fore against the wills of Jovius and Herculius, wore the Purple? And why Allectus Caefar, for the Conquest of whom Mamertinus seems to preser Maximian before Julius Cæsar. After him, was Emperour Maximus a Britain, the Kinsman of Helena, a valiant and honest man, and worthy of the Title, had he not spoiled Britain of its Youth, by which he overthrew Gratian.

65. He by his Wise Helena, Daughter of Euda; left a Son Victor Augustus. Britain alfo, as writes Paulus Diaconus, owned Marcus and Gratian for Emperours. Constantine also with Constans his Son, were made Emperours in Britain, (Gratian their Countreyman being kill'd) against whom their Captain Gerontius (concerning whose death most ancient British Rithms are extant) set up another Maximus for a Rival. After these the last Emperour of the British bloud CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. 113

Ambrosius Aurelius is reckoned by Panvinius. Besides these twelve Emperours, Sect. Britain produced to the World Arthur that most invincible King, whose unmatchable glory and most illustrious Acts, our Leland by infinite Testimonies, and most invincible Arguments, hath made more eminent against the snarling And other fa- and Vatinian hatred of doting Polydore, and the great gutted Monk of Rhicvall. more conversant in the Kitchin than in the Histories of the Ancients. Neither do our Countreymen alone, but the Spaniards, Italians, French and Swedes, (as one relates out of their Histories) found forth his Acts in their Books. Cadvaun also made from a Prince of Guynedhia King of the Britains, and his Son Cadwalla (whom Beda styles a Tyrant) because he pursued the Saxons with cruel Wars in the declination of the British Government, most valiantly reigned. And after the destruction of Britain it self in Cambria or Wales there were men not to be defrauded of due praife; as Roderick the Great and his Nephew by his Son Howel, firnamed the Good, both of them famous for matters relating to War and Peace. Graffith also the Son of Lewelin, the Son of Gefyl, most valiantly desended their Wales. And after him Owen Prince of Guynedhia, resisted Henry the Second, the most potent King of the English, who had thrice invaded Wales, and his Son being slain in Anglesey, a great part of his Army he destroyed. Lewelin the Great, was his Nephew by his Son, whose innumerable Triumphs as writes Mathew Paru an English man, require particular Treatises to set them forth according to the exigency of their worth.

66. Neither onely these but the Remainders of the Britains in Cornwall, as they are the most robust of all the British People, so are they to this day famous for Military Exploits. Neither have the Britains in Gall the Off-spring of the same Nation degenerated from their Ancestours, having not onely defended their Possessions obtained amidst valiant People for many Ages, but overthrown the Goths and Franks in most bloudy Battels. They valiantly resisted Charles the Great, that most potent Prince. The Army of his Son Lhodowick, the Emperour fent against them under Conduct of Murman, they put to flight; Charles the Bald in like manner, Emperour and King of France, in open Battel they defeated twice, and caused to run away, leaving his Pavilion and all his Royal Furniture behind him, when Numenius was their King. Herispons the Son of Numerius compelled the faid Charles to make an ignominious Peace with him, whom Salomon the Son of Herispons, a Courageous and skilfull Warriour, compelled to retreat as he marched against him. This Salomon being dead, the Britains (as writes Sigebert) out of defire of reigning, waste themselves with Intestine War, and so unwillingly they cease to doe mischief to Gall. Wherefore should I make mention (faith Humphrey Lhuid) again of Ursand that most invincible and most strenuous Captain, his Acts against Hasting the Norman, and Pastquitan the Britain? Wherefore Judicael and Alan, who repelled the Normans from their Borders, as they miserably wasted all France? Wherefore should I insist upon the Wars which long after being assisted by the Aids and Supplies of the English, they waged against the French Kings, when as to all men it is evident that this was ever a most valiant Nation? Thus much Lhuyd by way of Testimony out of his great, and to be commended, Zeal for the Reputation of his Countrey. He closes all with a direct answer in reference to the Person of that Authour, whence so much matter and evidence for the Accufation of his Countreymen is usually fetch'd.

67. That at last (saith he) I may stop the Mouth of Polydore with his Gildas, this I say, that this man, if indeed the Work be his, was not an Historiographer, but a Priest and a Preacher, who are ever wont too sharply to inveigh against the Vices of their People. If therefore with Polydore we fetch Authorities from Sermons, what Parish, what City, what Nation, what Kingdom shall escape Infamy? What hath Bernard written of the Romans? He calls them Impious, Infidels, Seditious, Immodest, Traytors, Braggers of much, but small Doers. These things say Divines, that these Vices might be shunned, and life be reformed, not that indeed the Romans or Britains were the fame, although according to the Custome, such they be called out of the Pulpit: Neither doth any man, except he be an impudent Sycophant, make infamous any Society, City, or People, by reason of the Speeches of Priests, their words being wrested to the worst. Avant therefore all cursed Detractours, and let the true glory of Britain appear to the World: Neither (Good Reader) account my Tongue too sharp. For (so let God love me) neither Envy to another Man's Name, neither the delire of a little pittance of glory, neither

Their first

Sect. 1. hatred to any Nation, but the love of my Countrey, which undefervedly is ill spoken of, and the desire of illustrating the truth, have caused me to write what I have written. In fuch like words, and very modest, doth Humphry Lhuid of Denbigh end his Epistle to Ortelius, or his Fragment of the Description, a Piece the Authour of which deserveth what the Publisher hath put into the Title Page, that The Reader will admire his Diligence and Judgment, and pity it is that with it he ended his Life, and had no longer time to study and publish more, which he seems to promise. His Zeal is to be commended, and if it caused him to believe such Stories, as perhaps upon another Subject he never would (for he useth the silence of Roman Writers to consute the Fables which Beothius uttereth, and never confiders this in his own Arthur, and other Passages of his British History) his love to his Countrey, and his Virtues lately mentioned, may

eafily procure his Pardon.

68. As to that work of Gildas, and this Person's indeavours to beget a contrary Opinion of his Nation; Prudent and Moderate Persons, as in all such Cafes, will fearcely chuse either of the Extremes but the middle way. That Age whereof Gildas wrote, was undoubtedly very corrupt, effeminate, and debauch'd, and made way for the Ruine, which is ever ushered in by such Practices. But that Gildas was a Priest and a Preacher, and used such a Pious Art as others of his Profession for the amendment of their lives, to whom he wrote, we can easily yield and add, not of what another Countreyman of Lhuid hath written, though not of the general defign of his Book. He (viz. Gildas) feems to have propoled Prifam Hiffs, this onely thing to himself in this little Book, that he thought at least his Brit-Britams cuttains would blulh and repent, if he rather collected all that was blame-worthy in them, and fet it before their eyes, than if he should mind something worthy of Commendation, which either they themselves or their Ancestours had performed. Therefore he partly overwhelms them with all forts of Accusations, partly smites them with the Divine Oracles, that none might suspect he did it out of hatred to them. And if the Ghost of Lhuyd will permit the Name and Testimony of Polydore Virgil here to be used we shall add what he himself saith in this Case as to the decay of Religion amongst the Britains: That a few retained the true sense of Christian Religion, whom Gildas calleth Good Men, the rest of them, and especially the Priests erring so through the iniquity of the Times, he chastiseth and labours to reduce into the way. This was to be faid in this place, that every one might know that Britain did not beget evil Priests, but that the Cruelty and Impiety of men was the cause; foraimuch as this first of all Provinces received the Christian Religion, and at all times (faith he) and even at this time, hath had and hath a most Religious People. Thus far Po- Unde went lydore ascribing this decay of Religion amongst the Britains, to the ancient Per-quad Refinate fecutions of the Romans. Here now we must leave our poor Britains in the priman rational states of the states of t Mountainous places of Wales and Cornwales, or else shifting for themselves in Angles counts ftrange Countries, and now come to those Intruders who possessed themselves Sasses that of their Countrey, and drove them out, whom retaining the old word they still guilfining ap-The Countrey call Saiffon, and their Language Saiffonaeg, not knowing what Englishman or pellant, me called Saiffon, England means. First therefore let us see what these Saxons and others that in qualified angular and that Language Saiffon and watched Britain in Conjunction with them, were. Then let us come to a view rant blooking gauge Saiffon and the Language Saiffon and the Clark Conjunction with them were. of the several Kingdoms they crected in the Island. And of these in their superstation

SECT. II.

### SECT. II.

The Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, which planted themselves in Britain.

I. HE Getes or Goths, as we have formerly shewed out of Scandia, in most Sect. 2. ancient times, not onely made Inrodes into the Cherfonesus, and the Islands of the Baltick Sea, and the more Northern Parts of Germany, but into feveral Parts both of the Afian and European Sarmatia, and Scythia, whence driving out the Inhabitants, they there feated themselves, as well as in Thrace and several other Provinces. In the Afiatick Scythia or Sarmatia, was there a City called Agard, as the Northern Writers tell us, the Inhabitants whereof Agardiani are by fome thought the same with those whom the Greeks knew by the Name of Afpurgiani, both forts of Authours placing them near to the Lake Maotis, where the River Tanais, with great fury empties it felf into it, and if some have not wrongly apprehended him, Ptolemy the Geographer himself, called the City by the very Name of Ascard or Asgard. The Countrey in which this City stood was in a peculiar way called Afia by Strabo, and the People thereof Afai, and Afiota Lib 2. by the other Writers. As for the Names of Asgard and Aspurg they denote but the very fame thing, Gard to the Goths fignifies the fame which Purgos did to the Greeks, viz. a Tower or Castle. Such of the Goths, as inhabited this Countrey Turcas quast Greeks, viz. a 10wer of Calife. Such of the Original with of the Maries if were also called Turca of Turks, as Mela witnesseth, who makes them the same Tauro, with the Tyr [aget a, those that at this present bear that Name having long time adogun Reafter entred into these Quarters deserted by the Goths, after they returned back diese habitative entred into these Quarters deserted by the Goths, after they returned back diese habitative entred into these search of the grant after entred into these Quarters districted by the observations and their Kings, the Dominions of whom extentos purat non
the Afpurgiani had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extentos purat non ded to the farther Mountains of Scythia, within Imaus, where the Sasones, Syebi nemo. and Iota inhabited, whom Strabo comprehends under the very Name of Alpur-

2. Of this Aspurgia or Asgardia was King, amongst the rest, one Othin, as an Apud Stephaancient Chronicle of Norwey calls him, though he has many other Names diffe. nium rent in found yet casily to be apprehended of the same Original, for Gothick they all are though variously written, and pronounced according to the feveral Gothick Dialects. The Reader will find him called Othin; and Othen, Oden and Voden: Godan and Guodan, Eowthen and Euoden; fometimes concilely written Wode, Ode and Othe, Gode and Guode, Ween and Goen, but most commonly we find him Woden, and from him is the third day of the week named Woden [dach, (our Wednesday) as also Woenfdach and Gorenfdach, neither are there wanting other Names and Epithetes, whereby he is known. He is reported to have been a flout and expert Captain, aiwell wife and cautious, as hardy and daring, and famous for the Art or Faculty of foretelling. Some will tell you, that he was expert in the Art Magick to fuch perfection, that he would change his shape into that of a four footed Beast, Bird or Fish as often as he listed; in the twinkling of an Eye could remove himself into what place he pleased, with his word alone could restrain the heat of Fire, the fury of the Sea, and doe many other things which far exceed the Power and Capacity of Man, whereby he procured to himself no small Esteem, and Reverence; even asmuch as was attributed to the highest Deity. This well fitted him for the place of Chief Prieft, which he bore in his Countrey, where very frequent Sacrifices were offered to Idols. Twelve of the chiefelt Senatours 12 Senatours he chose from amongst the rest which excelled in Goodness and Wisedom, and to be Over-made them Overfeers not onely over Religious matters, but Ministers of Justice feers in facred and driving to the People. They were called Diar, that is Gods or Divine, and Drotuar or Lords, and the People by turns were bound to affift and serve them in their Ministration. While they governed the People at home, he conquered many Kingdoms and Countries abroad; being so prosperous in all his Enterprizes, that in none he failed. When to his Captains he committed any Expedition or other fort of Survice, he laid his hands on them, and as it were confecrated them to that Affair,

who thereby concluded, that as by a certain Spell they were rendred uncapable of

Woden their

Sect. 2. any Misfortune, especially if at time of danger they made but mention of his Name.

3. He had two Brothers, the one called Ve, and the other Velir or Vuli. He being abroad and bufied in his Wars, they prefided over the Kingdom of Afgar-

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dia, and took care of all publick business, as of his Wife Frigga. He returning, they restored to him his Wife and Government, which he presently again leaving He makes war in the fame hands, undertook an Expedition against the Scythians of Tanau, called upon the Sey- Vaner, who made Valiant Refistence, notably defended their Countrey, and making his Victory often very ambiguous, retreated still with fafety to their places of Succour, and confirmined him not feldom to procure fafety by a feafonable return. Many damages did they receive on both fides, whereof at last being Who after fe-wearly, they gave Hollages mutually, and came to an agreement, which ended in a veral Battels firm and lafting Peace. The Scythians gave up to Woden two notable men, Niord, Sirnamed the Rich, and his Son Troi: And the Aliani were not below them in their choice, delivering to them in exchange one Heiner, a Person fit for the management of all matters relating both to Peace and War, and Mimer the most wife of all Mortals, whereat the Scythians were fo touched, that out of a fense that they were overcome in this particular, they delivered up to balance him another Heroe called Quafir, who to them feemed the wifest of all living Men. Heiner presently obtained the Sovereignty over the Scythians, and having at his Elbow fo able and faithfull a Counfellour as Mimer, did nothing without his advice, who taught him Rules and Methods which he should use in all publick business; but afterwards wanting him when Causes were brought before him, which he was not able to decide, he would often fay, do you agree amongst your felves; and advise together such of you as are skilfull, for from me you can have no assistence. The Scythians now perceiving themselves deceived by the Asiani, in an unequal exchange of Hostages, cut off the Head of Mimer and fent it to them, which Woden receiving, caused it to be preserved with Balsam, with Magick Rhimes made it Vocal, fo that it would reveal to him any facred or concealed thing. Niord and Troi he reckoned amongst the Asiatick Deities, together with Treia the Daughter of Traia, who having learnt Magick and Inchantments of the Af-aticks, therewith wonderfully pleased the Seythians her Countreymen. As for Niord, he returning home, married his own Sifter, which their Laws allowed, where amongst the Asiaticks it was esteemed the greatest wickedness for any to joyn in Wedlock, which were fo near in bloud. 4. But, very high and craggy Mountains, running in length from North to

South, separate the greater Scythia, as it were by a natural Fence and Limit, from the adjoyning Countries, whereof fuch as lay toward the South were all subject to the command of Othin. At this time the Romans being Masters of all, had fubdued Innumerable Nations, far and wide, with their Victorious Arms having reduced under the Yoke of their Empire, most vast Kingdoms, most Valiant People, most flourishing Cities, and famous Commonwealths; whereupon many Princes and Governours, forfaking their own Countries, delivered up their Subjects into their Hands. But Othin being a famous Magician, and endued with an especial faculty of Divining, and thereby knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the world, committed to his two Brothers, Ve and Veler, the Government of Asgardia. He himself went into Saxony, and Russia, and thence proceeded into Saxony, which having subdued, he delivered it over to his Sons, of whom, Skield he fet over Dania or Denmark, wherein he made Lethra his Regal Seat. Othin after this having discovered that Gothia Suetica, or Swethland, over which prefided one Gyluo, with Royal Authority, was a Countrey fertile, and able to entertain numerous Inhabitants, he betook himself to Gyluo, and having made a strict League and Alliance with him, obtained leave to plant himself, and as many as he pleased in these Quarters, for the other was nour of Sweth- afraid lest by refusal, he should irritate and provoke the Asiaticks, to whom he fufficiently knew himfelf to be inferiour in power. Now do Gyluo and Othin strive who shall excell in Magical Inchantments, in all which contest, yet Othin bore away the Victory, and this done, went and Inhabited on the River Loger, where he adorned the City Sigtum (of which name faith our Authour, there was a

Town in Sweden in the days of our Ancestours) and built a most magnificent

Palace, where he ordained a course of Sacrifices, according to the Rites and Cu-

floms of the Afians. Having feized on-all this Region, he planted as it were 2

certain Colony of their Deaftri, to which heafligned certain Places and Chapels,

so to Niordfell Moalum, to Frey Upfal, to Theron Truduanger, to Heiner Hundbierg.

and to Balder Broedeblick. At length Othin with a Troop of his Idols, going Sect. 2. back to the Northern Parts of Suedia, exercised himself in working wonders by his Magical Art; and thereof, as it were, fet up a publick School, there being formerly no use of it in this place.

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5. As for this Person, his countenance, words and carriage, shewed him to be chearfull, pleasant and facetious to an high degree, most agreeable to his friends, His character but terrible in all respects to his Enemies; for, Proteus like, he could change himfelf into all forms and shapes. He had such a perswasive Tongue, so eloquent as could not be relisted, and the more for that with his Oratory, he mixed Rhimes and Sonnets, whereupon he and his Companions were called Schialdri and Poets. By his Magick, he was wont to deprive his Enemies of all fense, and strike them with a pannick fear; nay, joyning Battel with them by his Charming Verses, he could dull the edge of their Swords, infomuch that his Souldiers, without either Shield or Breaftplate, like fo many fierce Dogs or Wolves, would wound, tear, and rend their Enemies, which were but like fo many Sheep before them, they themfelves in the mean time being utterly out of danger. Thence was this kind of fierceness, afterward called the Onset of the Berserkers. Farther, then this Othin was so cunning in deceiving the Eye, that he would cast himself down as dead, and his Body would feem to be changed into the feveral shapes of Fishes, Birds and Serpents. Returning to himself, he would affirm he had been viewing Countries far distant, and knew exactly what was therein done. With one word he could extinguish Fires, lay Tempests, stop Inundations, and command the boisterous Winds. The Spirits of dead Men he could fetch out of their places, and confine them unto certain Hills, whereupon he was named Dronga Drotten vel Hunga Drotten, the Lord of Hobgoblins. He had two Crows which he had taught to fpeak, which would fly into other Regions, and relate to their Mafter what Accidents had happened. By his Magick he would open Mountains, and thence from the Veins of the Earth, fetch as much Gold and Silver as to him feemed convenient, and without any ones telling find out Treasures that had been hidden. In fumm, Othin by his Rhimes, Songs and Inchantments (called Caldran, Seid, Liod and Frolkinga) did fuch incredible things, that his Name became Famous, and the Renown of his Wisedom and Power, as also of his Asians, reached all Countries and Nations. By this means he fo afrighted his Enemies, that they dared not to attempt any thing against him; on the contrary, he so retained his Allies and Friends in their Fidelity, that feldom or never, did they revolt from

6. Thence came it to pass, that the Sueci and other Northern Nations solemnly facrificed to him and his twelve Affociates, and paid to him that Duty and Devotion, which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone. Their Names they gave to their Children newly born, calling some of them Audun and Oudun from Othin, Thord, Thore, Toraren, Stemtor and Haftor from Tor, some of which faith the Chronicler are still in use amongst the Norwegians. Othin, farther, made many Laws, amongst which these are reported the most memorable. The Bodies of the dead or fuch as were flain in War, he ordained should be consumed with Fire, together with their Choice Goods and Ornaments, the Ashes either buried in the Earth, or cast into Rivers. That Hillocks should be raised in memory of Great and Noble Persons with Monuments upon them, to transmit the same of their Actions to Posterity. That thrice every year they should offer solemn Sacrifice; in Winter for the Happiness of the year, in Mid-winter for the fruitfulness of it, and at the end of Winter for Victory. The Scythians every year paid him a Denarius a Head in way of Tribute, he being to protect them from their Enemies, and propagate Superstition amongst them: Niord had to wife one Skade, which leaving him married a little after to Othin, and by her he had many Sons, the Name of one of which was Semming. Then did new Scythia, viz. Suecia get the Name of Manheim, and the Great Scythia of Gudheim. At length, Othin, when he had lived long enough, died in Suecia. Being near his end, he commanded all his Members and Limbs to be marked with nine Scars, which the Ancients called Geirs Odde. He farther commanded, that fuch as were beaten down in Battel should be facrificed to him as the most acceptable oblation that could be. After his death he appeared to many, especially if some considerable Battel was at hand. For many he obtained Victory; others he invited into the Palace of Plato, called Valbalden. His Body was folemnly burned, and a Funeral Banquet together with Sacrifices were inflituted to the Honour of the deceafed. Such is the Account we have concerning the Life and Death of this Woden, and his Expedition out of Agardia

He dies,

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Sect. 2. into Saxony, from an Ancient Chronicle faid to have been written by Snorro, the Son of Sturlay, an eminent Man in Island, about the year of Our Lord 1220. And with this Relation, for the main, agrees the Edda of Island a most Ancient Monument, Johannes Martini an Ancient Writer also, as Joh. Messenius hath it, and another old Sueo Gothick Chronicle published by the faid Messenius, from several Manuscripts which agreeth in all things almost with the Relation made by Snorro the Son of

Sturlay. 7. The Edda makes mention of Odin his making a long stay in Saxony, that he polleffed the Countrey far and wide, and distributed it amongst his Sons, whereof Vegdegg obtained the Eastern Saxony, Begdeg West phalia, and Sig Francia. It adds that having done this, he himself went into another Countrey called then Reidgotoland, afterward Jutland, of which he had to himself as much as he pleafed, and over it fet his Son Skiold, who was Father to Fridleif, whose Posterity was called Skioldungar or Skioldrades, from whom the Kings of Danemark are defcended. Afterwards relating how he went into Suithiod or Suecia, it adds that he built the City from him called Sigtun, and now enjoying Royal dignity, called himself Niord. Therefore in the Annals it is found, that the first King of Suecia, was Niord, because Odin the most magnificent King there reigned, though before him other Kings there ruled. Lastly it relates how Odin constituted twelve Persons, for administring of Law to the People according to the Turkish Customs, in imitation of what was done at Troy. Johannes Martini tells the Story how Woden, with twelve Judges of the Kingdom called Drotnarii, his Wife Frigga, and Children, and a great Army went into Kylland, over which having happily conquered it, he appointed Governour his Son Bo. His Affairs having to profeeoutly succeeded in Rysland, he sailed over the Sea into an Island of Denmark, called Oden Soo, which to this very day faith he from Woden his inhabiting there keeps its Ancient Name. Having also made some stay in the Dukedom of Slefwick, and from a certain Cunning woman called Gefion, learnt how fruitfull and beautifull a Countrey was Suecia, having left Hilfatia under the Rule of seven of his Sons, he departed thither and a long time lived at Sigtun, where he obtained great Fame and Veneration amongst the Sucones, who were amazed at the things formerly related which he did by Magick, and particularly at this, that he could pass vast Seas in a little Skin or Pelt which he was wont to fold up together like a Bag. Dying at last at Sigtun, he was with much Honour, and no small Quantity of Gold and Silver burnt, and by how much higher the fmoke ascended from the kindled pile by so much they esteemed him placed in an higher degree, in the other World. The Saxogothick Chronicle relates, that Woden being Prince and also Priest of Asgardia, killed and offered Men aswell as other Animals unto Idols. That coming with all his Diarii, and a great multitude, of other Men into Ryfland, thence he proceeded into Saxony, which he committed to the Government of his Sons, and by Sea passed to a certain Island called Odensæa in Fronia, at the writing of that Book. Having understood, that there was a good Land near Lagere, thither he went with his Diarii, and took a piece of ground to himself which he called Sigtun. Niord placed himself at Nuburg, Freyar at Upsal, Hymdel at Hymburg, Thora at Trundwagn, and Balder at Bredeblike, where they introduced the Custome of sacrificing. Here is to be understood, that after Woden and his Diarii came into the Northern Parts, Art Magick came in use, but prevailed especially in Finnark. Concerning his wonders performed by this Art, his death and honours, he relates the same with Snorro the Son of Sturlay.

8. Such is the Account we have of the return of the Getes or Goths into Germany, under Conduct of Woden, from these most ancient Northern Writers: a flory the Reader cannot but a little startle at, as favouring of such Poetick fancy, and Romantick humour, as usually covers the Originals of Nations, under the Veil of Obscurity. That such fancy and humour is prevalent in this Story cannot be denied, especially as to the Persons and Practices of our wonderfull Woden. We must confess, that these Northern Parts have abounded with Tales inserted into their Magical Songs and Incantations, and that Edda the ancient Monument, we have cited, was no other but a Store-house of Allegories and Fancies, a shop out of which Poets were to gather materials, and furnish themselves with fit Conceits, for their Superstitious Ditties. And to speak the utmost, it's to be feared that these ancient Chroniclers from it and Tradition had their greatest Collections. Indeed as Kranzius observes in his History of these Northern Countries, it's difficult forany Man to write the Original of any Nation, and not to touch upon some Fables; not onely the Greeks, but each other People have their Heroick Stery. Yet

as in these of the Greeks as most think, is involved much also of truth, and real Sect. 2. things covered with fictions, which may be discovered to have been real, by confent of other Circumstances of times and places; so perhaps upon disquisition we may find the same in this Subject, whereon we now insist. In the first place, to grant such Stories as are told of Magick to have been general Fables and Rumours of the People; yet this we must fay, that to any one who has either travelled into these Parts or hath been conversant in the Histories of these Northern Nations, it will appear, that they have been in former time (whatever they are at present, and let this be considered) most propense to Inchantments, direfull Imprecations and other Magical Charms and Tricks. Many Monuments of their ancient places of burial with their Runick Inscriptions, sufficiently testify enough of this matter at this very day.

9. But to put our velitary or weaker Arguments in the Front of our Ingage-

Magical In-

chantments much used.

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ment, that Woden and his Companions came from Afia, bears some resemblance of truth; because his sirname is Aas, and they have that of Asiani. Afer in the plural is the same as Assaticks, whereof the singular is As or Aas, given to Woden, in an extraordinary manner with too great an Adjunct, as Den Almegste Aas. This is more evident from that ancient form of an Oath, which in old time was used in Norwey, So help me Frier, and Niordar, and that omnipotent As, meaning Woden, whom they facrilegiously elevated into the place of the highest Divinity. Hereupon the Ancient Goths to witness their descent from these their Deities, Woden, Thor, Skiold, and the rest, were wont to add the word As unto the Names of their Children, it fignifying with them as much as Divine or Saint. As Asbiorn ( or as the Danes write it Esberne ( we Osborn ) St. Beare or As Beare, Asgeir, As-Speare, Asgrimur, Aswalse, Asketil, Asdog, Aslakur, (the Danes call it Axell) that is Dius Famalus, or As feruant, and as these and others belong to Men, fo some there were that appertained to Women. Farther, that in Sarmatia Asiatica, there was really such a place called Asgardia or Aspurgia, and People known by the Name of Asiotæ, and Asiani a Countrey by Strabo expresly and peculiarly called Afia, we have already feen. Hence when Woden and his Followers came into Germany, was the Name of Asciburg, or as now it is called Asburg, given to an ancient City there mentioned by Tacitus, this being far more probable than that it should be founded by Ulysses, it being the Custome of these Gothick Nations, to give the Names of the places from whence they came, to their newly acquired Conquests. In the Preface to the Edda, the Countrey whence Woden Part whereof came, is called Turcia, and Mela witnesseth that the Inhabitants of Aspurgia, were some of them called Turca: being the same with those Goths, called Tyrsageta, who from the Mountain Taurus might receive fome denomination. And as fuch like Denominations, when they come to be fixed upon Nations or Families commonly flick: so probable it is, that after the Saxons came into Britain, the Name of Turk still continued, though the reason of the Name might be in the dark. For in the County of Lincoln upon the Trent, some four or five Miles from Gainsborough, there is a Town now called Torksey, which the Saxons in their Language called tupierisse or the Island of Turks. But as we said before the present Turks came into these parts of Asia long after, when the Goths returning into Europe had forfaken them.

Aspurgia.

10. Farther, that Woden came into Rysland, is made probable from the proper Vide Shering-Names of feveral Places there. In the Borders of Livonia, formerly accounted hami, Difpart of Rylland, was a Province from him called Odenpoe, as much as to fay, Opon Genni Angli, Woden, denoting as some think, that all their Hope and Expectation was upon c. 13.

him. In the Bay of the Sarmatian Sea, is also a certain Island from him called Settles his Son Wodesholm, by the Danes Odesholm, and Vodesholme. Woden leaving Rysland, Bo in the Ringdom of left King over that Countrey, his Son Bo, as both Saxo Grammaticus, and Johannes Magnus relate, calling the faid Bo King of the Rutheri, the Land of whom by the Goths was called Rysland, Roxilania in the Latin Tongue, and in times past Russia extending from the Mouth of the River Vistula, as far as the Bank of Maotis, and Tanais with the Riphean Mountains, in the Circle of which are at this day contained Prussia, Livonia, and a great Part of Muscovy, with other Countries. Now that from Rylland, Woden by Sea came into the Northern Parts of Germany, befides what is faid by Johannes Martini, other Circumstances render very probable. First it has been the constant opinion and tradition of the Saxons themselves, that thither they came not by Land but Sea. Then as in other Places, fo in these Quarters of Germany, Woden left several marks of his Name. From him otherwise called Wodan and Godan, Sialand formerly called Wetallaheeth, received the Name of

Sect. 1. Godanonia, or Codanovia, as also all the Straits beset with Islands, that of Sinus Godams or Codamus, the Bay of Godam or Codam. Then it feems very probable, Stephania in Codamus, the Bay of Godam or Codam or the Goths, because Pref. al 3x. that Woden brought Poetry and the Runick Letters in use with the Goths, because Pref. al 3x. of old they called the Runick Speech by the Name of Afmal, or the Aftan Lan-ticum. guage; which is preserved in Island more pure, than in other places. Fimbul, who is reported to have been the Scribe and Prophet of these Asa, is indeed said to have invented the Runick Letters or Characters; but Woden is faid to have cut them, and taught the People the use of them, for which reason he was called Ranhofdi, or the Head, Principal or Chief of the Runa, which were imagined to have wonderfull Power and Operation in Prayers and Imprecations. But of these more, in a

more proper Place.

11. The Removals and Travels of the Goths out of the more Northern Parts into Germany, and the adjacent Islands are farther made out by the Inscriptions in Runick Characters, which are extant both in the faid Islands, and in Sweden, as well as by the confent of the Annalists of these Quarters. Great Pillars were in Sweden, not long fince to be feen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erested by them in memory of their Worthies, which had lost their lives in Greece, Thrace, or other places. From Woden and his Companions who were Scythians, came Sueica to be called Nova Scythia, and the Inhabitants of the Chersonesus, or the Cimbri to be called by the Greek's Celtoscythæ, being first to them known by the Name of Cimmerians, and why by this, but that because they were first in Scythia called Cimmerians, and into Germany, and those Parts travelled from Bosphorus Cimmerius. But to come near to our matter, we know that onxons, and dagles, came our Ancestours came out of Germany, consisting of Jutes ( Gutes or Getes ) Saxinto the Nor- ons and Angles, three of the most valiant People of that Countrey. Now from thern Parts of Ptolemy it appears that in Scythia or Cimmeria, there were three feveral People Germany, un frocensy it approved the very fame Names. He speaks of Jota, lying upon der Conduct which were known by the very fame Names. the Sea of the Rhymmii. Of the Sasones, under the Massan and Alan Mountains. Now though he mentions not the Angles, yet the Suebi he doth, or Suevi, part of which Nation the Angli are rationally thought to have been; being so called from the Angle or Corner on which they feized in Germany. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Maritime Parts of Germany, at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of Woden, because before the time of his Expedition, no fuch Names as these do occur in Northern Writers, but after this they became famous, especially the Saxons. In the Sueogothick Annals, those of Norwey and Danemark their Memory flourishes, but amongst the ancient Greek and Roman Writers, the Saxons are known; as also the Jutes by the Name of Cimbri, though the Suebi by that of their own.

12. In Sarmatia are many Towns, especially in Livonia, which it appears plainly The Names of to have borrowed their Names from the Saxon Tongue. Reffuel fignifies a place where two Seas meet, Riga, Riches, and others there are whose Terminations are plainly Saxon. And as for the Maritime Parts, there they speak that Language to this very day, which are prefumed manifest figns, that these Countries were formerly subject to Woden and his Saxons, part of whom such as there rook not up their abode, passed over the Seas into Germany. Let that farther be considered that the Peninsula, when Woden came thither had the Name of Reidgothaland, but afterward received that of Jutia, and whence should this change come but from the Goths, Fotes or Jutes, who came and seizing on this Countrey inhabited, especially the Western Promontory thereof? But we had almost forgot what in course should before this have been remembred, that not onely our Ancestours, viz. the Jutes, Saxons and Angles, but others the Principal Nations of Germany, had their Name Jutes in Scythia. Strabo places the Macropogones or Longobards in Cimmeria, about Syndica, near to which Woden is faid to have reigned in Afpurgia; it may be true indeed that other Colonies did afterward go out of Scandia, but yet before these Migrations, that such of this Name inhabited part of Germany, both Tacitus and Ptolemy may affure us. All know that in Gerwany there are the Treres, Trevirenses, or those of Triers in Saxon die Trerer, and such there were in Scythia also. The Chatti lied in Germany, under the Mountain Relibotus, not far from the Suevi, Angli and Camani, and Ptolemy places them also in Scythia, next the Massagetes, without the Mountains Imai.

13. Yet still this doth mightily (especially in conjunction with the other Ar-Being very 13. Yet still this doth mightily (especially in conjunction with the other Area much alike in guments) inforce the probability of this Plantation, that the Gothick Nations or De his contained all things.

Cimbri in their manners, and Inclinations much fuited with the Afaitck Seythians, inclinated with the Afaitck Seythians. Both the one and the other esteemed it Noble to dye in war, but difgracefull to ab print !

Angles and Jutes, that invaded Britain. CHAP. II.

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be sent out of the World, either by Old Age or a Disease. By bloud (drunk or sprinkled) both entred into Leagues and Confederacies. Their Women with both, together with the Men, ingaged in battel, and fought against the Enemy. The Amazons themselves were the Off-spring of the Scythians in Asia. And such Goths as inhabited in Europe on this fide Tanais, and the Riphæan Mountains as far as Germiny, called with some variety Gothones, Gottones, Samogetæ and Sauromatæ, and part of them Alans, had their Amazons also, which for warlike enterprizes, Hippacaust de equalled the Men themselves, and as those in Afia had their Right Breast burnt off, Are Septing. whereupon from the Greeks they received the same Name, and were not suffered to marry till they had killed three Enemies. Women both of warlike Dispositions and Actions, like to these, Saxo Grammaticus relates Danemark once to have bred. Lib. 7. Another though barbarous Cuftome both agreed in, and that was to make Cups of the Skulls of their Enemies, and drink out of them; this being accounted by the Goths the Sum of all Felicity, that after death in such kind of Vessels they should drink Nappy Ale with Woden. But nothing more evinces the thing we are about to prove, than the mixture of the Greek Language, and others of the Afiatick Tongues with the Saxons, viz. Armenian, and those of the Turks and Perfians. Now how could they reach fo far as into the Cimbrick Chersonesus, but as they were transmitted by such as were once Neighbours to these Nations, and afterward travelled into these Quarters? Moreover the most ancient Names both of places and Persons were the same, and many of them to this day continue amongst us, Erick, Berig, Filmer or Fulmer are frequent enough in England. And as for the proper Names of the Grand As themselves, as Woden, Thor, Siggo, Skiold or Scyld, they are here also sufficiently known, and of them we have the Names of

with Woden, came back into Scandia, and fetled part of them in Germany. And though fome of the Books out of which they are fetcht abound with Fables, yet we must needs confess several things there are which laid all and considered toge-Both Nations ther, will at least inforce a Probability. Likeness of Speech argues ever the speaproceed from kers to have been of one and the fame defcent, and where two leveral People bear one Original. He fame Name a vehemont fulfacion it is that though at prefent they are verthe same Name, a vehement suspicion it is, that though at present they are yet,

Shilton or Shelton; and many others an industrious Man might find.

they have not ever been separated from each other. A Tradition it was amongst the Saxons, that by Sea they came into those Quarters of Germany, but no Footsteps of any other Invasion or Migrations, are to be found besides this of Woden. Let this Opinion then stand at least as Probationer, and let him receive his defer- Sheringhamms ved thanks of all that affect Letters, who has lately taken to much ingenious abs fared. pains to make it out. What shall we say as to the time of this Migration? Some

Towns compounded, as Wodensbury, Thorsby ( not to speak of days ) Sigfton,

14. Such are the Arguments brought for this opinion, that the Afiatick Goths

make it to have happened four and twenty years before the birth of Christ, about on 24 years Hake it to have happened and any But Woden is faid in the Preface of the Edbefore Christ, the time whem Pompey wasted Syria, But Woden is faid in the Preface of the Edbefore Christ. da, to have delivered over the Government of Jutia to his Son Skield, whence the Kings of Danemark were anciently called Skioldinger, now this Skiold according to the Danish Chronology, lived almost a thousand years before Pompey; and accordingly Woden with his Saxons, Sueves, Getes, and other People of Scythia, must

about the pretended beginning of the Danish Empire have entred the Chersonesus, and the adjacent places, and to Saxony, Suevia and Jutia, have given these as their proper Names. And one there is who will have the Saxons, to have given occafion to the rife of the Danish Kingdom, and to have invaded the Danes, who then endeavoured to shake off the Gothick Yoke, with whom the Danes not able to gra-

ple, were constrained to crave aid of Howel King of the Goths, who sent them for King his Son Dan ( from whom Dania received its Name ) who by his Valour reprelled the Saxons. But these things are uncertain.

15. By this last Account the beginning of the Danish Kingdom, should fall into the 2910 year of the World, and Woden must have been something Ancienter than Homer. But how will this consist with the Genealogies of our English Saxon Mundi. Kings, the Founders of the feven Kingdoms, all which are derived in defcent from Woden? Hengist and Horsa his Brother are faid by the Monk of Malmesbury, to have been but the Abnepotes or fourth in descent from Woden, and Cerdick, the Founder of the Kingdom of the West Saxons, the Tenth; but how could this be? For this Chronology will have Woden, live and flourish 1038 years before Christ, and Hengist came not into Britain, till about 449 years after his Birth, the Great Grandfather, Grandfather and Father of Hengist, must at this rate have been night as long lived as Methufalah, supposing them to have generated in the

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middle of their Age. Some therefore tell us, that as amongst the Greeks there were feveral that bore the Name of Hercules, but that they were all confounded to- Bryoslphur gether, and what was done by all was ascribed to one; so also it fell out as to piscounts. bare the Name the matter of Woden. There is one that thinks there were three of this Name all kalkenji in defined: the first descended from Saturn and the Trojan Kings, called Asianus, and Compiliant Odin hin Gamle, or Woden the Ancient, who never came into Carpoe, but his Name Gamme, and Rights were hither brought by others The second of *Vpfal*, to whom in exwerting.

Suedeland was a Temple dedicated, which was very sumptuous shining with Gold, mit taking who was also called Assanus, but a stranger of the Scythians. The third was called Ecological who was also called Assanus, but a stranger of the Scythians. Methodinus, or Middle Woden, of whom Saxo Grammaticus maketh mention, who, thedrain duthe other Woden being abroad, took occasion to feign himself a God, but after his holtini. return relinquishing his Prestigiatory tricks fled away into Phaonia, there to lurk; but was flain by the Concourse of the Inhabitants. Another produces a fourth Woden, who being beaten by Pompey out of Afia, into the Northern Parts, taught Angrinus J. the People the Arts and Laws of the Asiaticks, and was therefore had in especial national Honour. But his flight is from the Romans also ascribed unto him of Upsal, although they are reported to have lived in far different Ages. In these obscure matters it's difficult where to fix. If fuch was the Descent of our Saxon Conquerours, there must be a Woden, much later than that first we have spoken off, may later than the last of all these mentioned. But it's a usual thing with Ethnicks to father fuch upon their Gods as they are at alofs with, as to their Pedigrees. Or fome notable Warriour, the more to aggrandize his Name, might assume to himself or have given to him that of Woden.

16. Let us admit then of this story of Woden, and the great Army of Sasons, Getes and Suebi, that came with him into Germany. Now let us fee what there they did, let us take a view of these several sorts of People, there supposed to be planted, Nicholas Cifner, a Learned Lawyer of Spira, in his Preface to Krantzius his History of Saxony; having brought the Sacæ and the Saxons (sprung from them) out of Afia, whence from the East they betook themselves Northward, and from the North by Degrees into Countries nearer to these parts of the World, is of opinion, that most of the People of Germany, as the Suevi, Catti, Alani, Cimbri, The Situati- Daci, Dani, Getæ and Goths almost in the same method and manner, powered themon of old Sax- sclves into Europe; so that what Neighbourhood was amongst them in Asia, the

ony, being the fame almost continued with them in Europe. But, the old Saxons, or those that cient Saxons. first invaded Germany, seated themselves in that Countrey, which at present contains Holfatia, properly fo called, Dithmarsh, Stonnar and Wagria: the breadth of it lies from the City of Slefwick to that of Hamborough (placed in the utmost part of Saxony ) the length from the Western to the Eastern Sea, or from the German Ocean to the Baltick, having old France adjoining to it, between the Mouths of the Elbe, and the Rhine. For Ptolemy places the Southern Border of Saxony, betwixt the Mouth of the River Altis (now Elbe) and Chalufus (or Trane, which runs by Lubeck) the Northern Border as Adamus Bremensis fixeth it was the River Egdom, which feparated the old Saxony (from lying North of the River Elbe, called Nortalbingia) from Dania. Of the People inhabiting this Saxonia Transcl- Adams Brebiana, the same Authour makes this distinction. Of the Transfelbian Saxons, there ments Histories for three People: the first are the Dithmars upon the Ocean, whose Church is east, or

the Transelbi- Mildenthorp. The second are the Holfati, so called from the woods where they Holfatm air inhabit, being watered by the River Store: their Church is Sconenfeld. The third am Kranizio and more Noble are Stormarii, so called because that Nation is also tossed by Se-Helts Sylves of ditions: their Metropolis is losty Hanburg. With this division agrees Helmoldu, and in his Sclavian History. The old Saxony was not therefore West phalia, as Krantzius, Siestlement. and feveral others were of opinion, but that which at this day is called the Duke cola. Alii

dom of Hollatia.

17. But afterward by their Conquests our Saxons so inlarged their bounds, nie fuisse the that feveral other Divisions came in use. For all these Maritime Parts as far as tam Offician the River Scheld and Flanders, were called Saxony; then came up Names of Saxonia ceteral sus-niam, in sche Ciffrhenana and Saxonia Inferior, as for new Saxony, or that which bears the Name quis seil.miat this day, it's but a small Pittance of the other. All these though distinguished inscription enough amongst themselves in Germany, were first known to the Greeks and Ro-Chronicis. mans by the name of Cimbri, as the Sea from the Cimbrica Chersonesus, as far as Flanders, having been called Mare Cimbricum. Though the Saxons brought their Name out of Asia with them, and were by it sufficiently known at home, yet Ptolemy is the first Authour that makes mention of it; and after it became known,

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and famous to Greeks and Romans, by it they understood that Part of the Cimbri Sect. 2. inhabiting betwixt the Rivers Rhine and Elbe, which had been conquered by of our ancient Saxons. So much for the Seats of our ancient Saxons, now let us Malmeth. fee if we can find that of the Angles, and we are pointed to it by Ethelward, Lib. 2, c. 2. and our own Monk of Malmsbury, who tell us, that Old England was situate betwixt the Saxons and Giotes, having its Capital Town, in the Saxon Tongue called Sleswick, but Haithaby by the Danes. Betwixt an Arm of the Baltick, of old called Slia and the Bay of Fletefloicke, did this Countrey lie; which still, by its Inhabitants is called Anglen; by Krantzius and others that write in Latin Anglia. The Inhabitants were more anciently called Suevi, being part of the D: Analis Co-Nation which Cafar witnesseth in his time to have been the greatest and most pione agie Cif-Warlike of all the German Nations. Ptolemy, though others mention more, nerus in Practice diffinguishes them into three forts of People, viz. The Suevi Longobardi, the adKranizino. Suevi Semnones, and the Suevi Angili, whom Tacitus and other Historians contractedly call Angli. But some make a great doubt, others deny that the Saxones Angli, and these Suevi Angli, were the same Nation; and upon this ground, because Beda calls the Angli, Saxons, but the Saxons and Suevi were not the fame Nation, being Nations diffinct both as to Name and Place. To this others answer, that so it was indeed at their first coming into Germany; but afterward part of the Suevi, with their Seat about the Elbe was conquered by the Saxons, and after this retained both their own Name, and yet got that also of Saxons. So the Normans and Britains retain their old Names in Gall, and yet in a general acceptation, are called French. And as we faid before, the Saxons passing over the Elbe, pierced as far as the Rhine, nay, the

Scheld and all People in this compass obtained the sirname of Saxon, especially fuch as lived within the two former Rivers. Now that part of the Suevi were feated betwixt these two Rivers, Strabo is a sufficient Witness, who al-

fo testifies that the Suevi were a restless People, and wont often to change their Seats. Therefore though the Suevi Angli in the days of Tacitus and Ptolemy, inhabited the Inland Countrey, yet some time after they might

remove, being not wont in Cafar's time (as he assures us) to stay any longer than a year or two in a place.

18. Being invited by the Saxons to joyn with them in War against the Danes, Vide Suffrithey mixed with them in the Chersonesus, or in Jutia, the Danes being ejected, dum Petrum de Orig. Friwho fometimes again recovered their ground and expelled them. But hence the zior.lib.i.c.11. Angli received the Name of them under whose Patrociny they were, being Sheringhawhen amongst the Suevi, called Anglo Suevi, when amongst the Saxons, Angli mum quo su-Saxones, in Pomeravia, Angli Pomeravi, in Frifia, Angli Frifii, and some were called Angli Germani; but the Angli Saxones became most eminent, because they came over into Britain in Conjunction with the Jutes and true Saxons, the Name of which Beda gives to both the other, which argues this People to have been then under their Jurisdiction. This doth much make for this Opinion of their changing their Seats, that neither Ptolemy nor any after him till they came into Britain makes any mention of the Angli in the Chersonesus or Jutia, and when they come to be mentioned as inhabiting the Chersonesus, none speaks of their living upon the Elbe, a great fign they were thither removed. Neither after this time doth any Geography speak of two forts of Angli separated as to the place of their Habitation. But, in making this discovery of the Place of the Angli, we have The Seats of light upon that of the Jutes too, who inhabited Jutia, which still retains its Name being a most known and remarkable Member of the present Danish Kingdom. A Geographer speaking of the Parts of the said Kingdom, tells us, that Gothia is most spacious and Populous, in the place of which Name, the former Syllable being vitiated, one near to it is retained, and it is called Jutia: But that the Name of Jutia or Jutland was ancient, not onely Adamus Bremensis, but Saxo Grammaticus witnesseth, as also Beda, who more than once calls the In-Userius de

habitants thereof by the Name of Juta. For a very learned man affirms to us Brit. Exclession that all the Manuscript Copies of that Authour which he consulted, so read it, primordin, pag. 391. and not Vita, wherewith also concur, Florentius of Worcester, William of Malms-Saxonica Rebury, Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster, Ralph of Chester and others. gis Aluildi Fabius Ethelward the Saxon Writer calls the Countrey Giota and the People read In Giotæ; the Saxon Annals of Peterburg reasum and Jorum. Agreeable to this is Chromolegia.

Elfred by the Mother, that He was a Goth by Nation being issued from the Total.

the mention which Afferius Meneventis makes of Offac the Grandfather of King Saxonica

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Sect, 2. Goths and Jutes, for it ought to be read Jutis, and not as it is most vitiously printed, Judis. In respect of those Jutes it is that the King of Danemark retains flill the Title of King of the Goths; and with reference to their Progeny may that of Belifarius be interpreted in Proceping, which has put fo many to be below a plunge, where in his Treaty with the Ambassadours of the Goths, he tells them, we also permit the Goths to have all Britain, being far better than Sicily,

and though it was in times past subject to the Dominion of the Romans.

19. But be it that some Copies have it Vitæ, this might easily be changed for fuitæ, the first Letter being taken away or omitted; and f might easily be changed into G, as in the Laws of Edward the Confessour they are called Guta, by reason of the nearness there is in the force of these two Letters. Be they Jeta, Juta, Juita, Jota, Jotuni, Geta, Geatuni, Giota, or Guta, it's the same Name as well as thing, the Orthography and Terminations according to the diverse fancy of People, and their pronunciation being onely various, as happens ufually in all other Names, fcarcely any Nation or Town being written and called every whit the same in any two Languages. Some therefore seem to approve of Fabrician the present Copy of Beda, calling them Witi, whereof one tells us, that at se-Chemnicenju veral times going out of their own Countrey, some came into Britain, others de orig Saxon. passed the Rhine, and seized on part of Helvetia, being asterward called Lib.1. Suiti and Suiceri, which Name still continues; but to speak impartially, the Suicers with more probability some derive from the Suevi, but Abbo Flonacensis in the Life of King Edmund, calls the Juta by the Name of Viti, and this is not to be neglected that the Grandfather of Hengist is called Vitta; and Sir Henry Spelman upon other Quotations, approves the reading of the Word Witi: W and Gu being ordinarily used for each other, as in the Word William and Guilielmus. The Jutæ therefore being the same with the Gutæ or Getæ, the same Original of Name, whether from gear a Gyant, or from their Goodness the Reader may call to mind what we have faid in another place. Theirs was far more ancient than either that of the Angles or Saxons. As for the Saxons, Isidore was so good a Latinish, and had so little skill in the Teutonick Tongues, as to derive their Name from Saxum a Stone, because they were an hard and robust Nation, excelling all others in Piracy. Others fetch'd it from Aschanes the Son of Gomer, but with what tolerable Reason we are to feek. Doubtless the Name as well as the People was Gothick, and as to this, se-Vide Cificram veral there are who would have them called Saxones as Sacasones, viz. the Sons in Pref. ad or Children of the Sacæ, deriving them from this People, which they say Sheringhamade Incursions into Bactriana, Armenia, Cappadocia, the Hercinian Forest, and man in print, also into Germany. But of their Inroad into Germany they can bring no proof, 6.11. and as for the word raex is the Name of a Saxon, not re xron in the Singular Number, whereof Jaexen is the Plural. Others fetch the Name from the flaughter of the Thuringi, with whom this People having War, hid their long Knives under their Clothes, and with them called reaxen when they were at a Treaty basely cut the Throats of the Thuringi, who expected no such Treachery, and thence being before called Cimbri, obtained this Name of Saxons.

20. It's to be imagined that he that first mentioned this had read of Nemcz coup reaxen, what the Saxons did with the Britains on Salisbury Plain, and it's well his Learning was not fo British, as to make them first called Saxons from that base Action here; but it was not much better, for they had that Name, as several Learned Men have evinced, long before this Thuringian War, or the Name of the very Thuringians was heard of. Most therefore and with most Reason take their Name from Saex, which fignifies a Knife, or a crooked fort of thort Sword, having teeth like to a Saw, or from Seison or Saison, which fignifies a Sickle, for that fuch like Swords were in use with the Getes is very manifest, and the ancient Arms of Saxony (as Pontanus tells us, were two fuch little Orig Francis. Swords placed across, the one over the other. This Derivation is as probable Like cap a as can be brought in Matters that are conjectural, it were to be wished we could The original fatisfy our felves so well about the Original of the Name of Angli. Saxo Gramof the name maticus derives it from Angulus Son of Humblus King of the Danes, but what it fignifies, and of what Language it is, he doth not tell us; neither do we hear any thing of the Angles being in Denmark in these ancient times, we find several Marks of them, leveral Towns which took Names from them in Germany, as Ingolftadt, Engleburg, Engelrute, and Ingelheim famous for the Birth of Charles the Great, but no footsteps of them in Denmark. Widiscind a Saxon will have the Saxons called Angli from a certain Island placed in a Corner or Angle of

the Sea, which they subdued: Others more truly (saith Cifner) interpret Anglia Sect. 2 or England as an Angle or Corner of the World (but what is this to the purpose) and all these fetch the Derivation rather from the Latin than the Germa; Tongue. Aventinus and Goropius Becanus will have it of German Extraction. Aventinns acquaints us, that Angel or Engel in this Language fignifies three things, an Hook or Sling, an Hinge, and a Border or Limit, and hence in a general fense, he thinks that Ptolemy calls them Anguli, and Tacitus Angili. Goropius makes choice of the first Interpretation, whereby is signified a Fishing or Angling Hook, as we even at this day call it, and he is of Opinion that the Saxons fo called themselves as Hooks which caught all that was in the Sea: And as for the Suevi Angli, they might well also have this Name, because living near to the Sicambri and Thii, they hook'd in all they could fnatch from their Neighbours. Amongst these Opinions (if one may interpose) I cannot see any Reason why the Names of other German Nations should be German or Gothick, and this of theirs onely taken from the Latin; certainly this is no common, but an extraordinary thing; and I believe they were called Angili or Angli, before the Romans had much knowledge of these Parts, for certainly Tacitus did not give them the Name but found it before his time fastned on them. In so Conjectural a matter where it is free for any one to declare his Opinion, I must confess I fide with Cifner, who believes the word to be German, but modestly rather agrees with Aventine, who deduces it from a general rather than a special fignification and force of the word, leaving the choice thereof to the pleasure of the Reader. From some accident in respect to their Habitation, they might be called Borderers at some certain place and time, and this might stick by them afterwards; or rather being, as we find, a Roving, Wandering People, it was not for nothing they roved and wandered, but for their advantage, to feek, doubtless, what they could farther fnatch or hook in to themselves. It's no strange or unordinary thing for Nations, from their Preying and Rapine to re-21. So much for their Places and Names after these three People came in-

to Germany. We must now look upon them all under the general Name of Saxons awhile, and see what they did till such time as they Invaded Britain. For a long time we find them strugling with the Danes, for the Chersonesus, or that Countrey called Jutia, in which Contest they had fuch success as War affordeth, fometimes coming off with lofs, and otherwhiles driving out their Enemies; but at last they were quite driven out themselves, and forced to leave that about which they had so long contended. But the very first Quarrel betwirt them sie Saxonie was not about Jutland, but a Love business, if we give heed to what Krantzius sue Prefatur. was not about jutiana, but a Love buillers, it we give next to what humbers of Genii Saxa-writes, but what fearcely himself believed. One Strublus Ring of Phinus or num primar-Finland, had a very fair Daughter, and on her Gram the King of Denmark and die origi-Sweden was so enamoured, that he must needs quit his former Wife, the Daugh size of the late Swedish King, whom he had conquered, and marry her. Yet Autiquitates, was he not in such haste but that he could slay from Consummating any Mar-apud nestres riage quickly, you must know he was contracted to her now, and then depar-relegement for eccupie ted into Norwey, whither his Military Affairs called him. Being there intangled in & confusio fasuch Difficulties as was judged he would hardly master, Siblas began to repetite its par-him of what he had done, and Married his Daughter to Henry King of the Samilbus de-Saxons, a People he knew to be fierce and Warlike, which would prefently be liramentiscomupon his Back, in case he Invaded Finland. But Gram was aware of the Plot, nis scaren ut and having timely notice of what they were about, came upon them unexpectedly conflet, nihil and quite spoil'd their sport, killing the Bridegroom e'er he could enjoy the quadret. Una and quite ipon a their iport, kinning the bridgeoon eet he could enjoy the eff omnibus

Hemy their Bride, which he took inflantly from her Father. This is the first mention fementia, alirunny mer Dritte, which he took initiality from het rather. In 15 the made of the Saxons in the Danish Antiquities, and I assure you upon a very sad and professive Wedding made of the Saxons in the Danish Antiquities, and I assure you upon a very sad and professive with the same occasion. But this Feast, and especially the last Course stuckin their Stomachs, samgustem, which was the work of the would spoil Gram's sport also in Normey, where they joyned with the Na-ri advents size of the world spoil of the same with after their good King Henry. Neither was it difficult for our Saxons, who long quo tempore, after their good King Henry. before this were potent at Sea, from Julia to pass into Norwey. But how, faith benner conveour Authour, doth time change all things! Then did the Saxons there Wage nit, &:.

War, and Intermarry, whither now, a vigorous trade on the Coasts of Ger-

many flourishing in the hands of the Saxons, scarcely any would vouchsafe to

Sail, who got their living upon the remotest Seas. But hence you may take

a fcantling of the greatness and strength of this Nation by its Warring abroad,

and thus being courted to Marriage and Alliances.

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22. The

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Sect. 2. 22. The next King of the Saxons mentioned by Krantzius, is Sifrid, who lived in the time of Hadding King of the Danes, with whom he had some Skir-They lose the mishes, but still he kept possession of Jutia, which was lost by Hundinck his Son, who was worsted in a single Combat, to which he was provoked by Roe the Danish King, who founded Roschild a Town once famous in Danemark. From this time the Saxons never had the entire possession of Juteland, though sometimes the Dukedom of Sleswicke, the principal part of it was in their Dominion. The next Adventure made by our Saxons was about another Love business, liking it feems in fuch to intermeddle. Hother, you must know, the King of Sweden had a Mistress he much affected, and a Rival one Balder, his Subject by Birth, and fo in this respect his Inferiour; but Superiour to him in the Opinion of the Feople, which for his Magical tricks, as it feems, had fanfied him to be a God. To War they went, a supposed God, for a Mortal Woman; and he did not so confide in his Divinity, but that judging himfelf too weak for his King, he fought to Gelder the King of the Saxons for aid, a Person that very readily complied with his Demands. Though the Saxons had now lost Justia, yet their Ships they had And are bea-not, which had transported them into Sweden, but that that King's Fleet met

ten at Sea by them by the way and streight ingaged them. Now, as our Authour observes, a supposed Divinity could not prevail against the Arms of poor Mortals. Balder is beaten and runs away. The Saxons slick to it, and are slain every Mothers Son: Which the Enemy perceiving, made a fair Funeral Pile of their Vef-

fels, and therewith most nobly and gently consumed them. A Fact, doubtless to be compared with that Generofity which Hannibal the Carthaginian shewed towards flain Marcellus. The next Act of the Saxons shewed but little of Generofity. They would have hector'd Wermund the King of Danemark out of Jutia, being now very old and blind, and having a Son, in whom for his reputed Stolidity, he had no pleafure. The Ambaffadours in a jeering way offer a Combat betwixt this Son and their Masters, which contrary to all expectation, the Fool

accepts; nay, offers to meet in the Field both him and his Squire, and that with fuch fuccess, that he first doughtily slew the Squire, and then his Master. 23. By this means the proud Saxons were forced to submit their own Necks to

the Yoke which they had been fitting for others, though not long they continued in that condition. For shaking off the Yoke of Servitude again, in the days of Dan, the third of that Name, King of the Danes, they fent another proud Challenge to them, either to pay Tribute, or to expect them to come and fetch it; but in this Adventure our daring Saxons were once again beaten. Here Kranzius fatisfies the wonder of his Reader, why he should so much hear of Sea Expeditions, and nothing of the Mediterraneous Parts; why the Danes should still come off with Victory, and the Saxons ever with loss and discredit, a thing which did not so fall out in after times. He tells him there's no Body has written of these Matters but Saxo Grammaticus an Islander, one who made it his design to extoll the Danes, as all other Writers Greek and Roman have done by their Countreymen; had Saxo been a Saxon by his Countrey as well as by Name, he would have done the quite contrary, and not obtruded these Fables upon the World, but perhaps others as bad on the contrary fide. Doubtless he is very fabulous and partial, and for that cause we refer the History of these Northern Kingdoms to another Period, when he may have fomething certain whereon to fix; but when we have certain footing as we have in the case of the Britains, Saxons, and others, then judge we it necessary to give the Reader an hint of Fables, though Fables, which by that habit we dress them in, and that distinction we put upon them he may easily discover from rational and probable Stories. Then comes Krantzius to write the History of the Cimbri, which made War in Italy, and other places, which we have heretofore dispatched in the Accounts we have already given of those Nations, against which they made War. We have already told the Reader, that unto the Greeks and Romans the Saxons were first known, as well as others, by the Name of Cimbri; but so were all down to Gall, and even the Galls themselves, of which Nation these Cimbri that invaded Italy and Greece, seem to have been. And whereas Krantzius faith they were Saxons, we shall grant them so to have been, in a large acceptation, as their Name was also communicated to all that inhabited, even as far as the Scheld.

24. After this he reassumes his Story of the War betwixt the Saxons and Danes. They paid Tribute to Fronte the Great, who reigned when our Saviour was born, and to his Son Fridleve as valiant and victorious as himself, but grudged to dee fo to his Son Frothe a Child of but twelve years old. They rebell, and

the Armies meeting, the Controversie is referred to another Duel between one Sect. I. They have the Starcater on the fide of the Danes, and one Hama on the Saxon part, who came worst again. by the worst, having his head cloven asunder, from whom the Writer guesseth the Town of Hamburgh might receive its Name. Yet still would not the Saxons DeOrig. Hamrest, but shortly after passing the Elbe (for they had lost to the Danes all lying burgi vid.c.i. beyond that River) they were again overcome and lost their Captain Hanef, from Kranzio 3 whom he thinks Hanofer might also receive its Name; and truly one as likely as practice the other. But for all this Swerting the other Captain of the Saxon; would not be the them the other than the oth be discouraged, and presuming he should doe nothing by force, betook himself to Hamburgenses. Wiles and Craft. He invites the King of the Danes to his House, and then sets it on fire, willingly therein perishing like another Decius or Samson, that thereby he might destroy his Enemy. The Sons of this Swerting took off his Son and Succellour from revenging his death, by giving to him their Sifter in Marriage, which procured fo good an understanding betwire them, that they lived lovingly with him in his Court for a long time, till stout Starcater returned thither. He (you must know) so rated the poor young King for harbouring these Snakes in his bosome, that to prevent stinging he knock'd them on the Head, notwith-standing what their Sister and her Children could doe to preserve them. Yet could not he get any Tributes from the Saxons, who now stood upon their guard and stoutly defended their Liberty.

25. What was done in the mean time in the Island Countries by the Saxons Krantzius complains that we are ignorant, blaming Tacitus for being too much tacitus in this Particular. He then mentions in short what was done in Germany by Drufus and Germanicus in the time of Augustus, concluding, that those they had to doe with were Saxons, although such they be not called. After this he tells us another Tale of one Siwar a Nobleman amongst them, who had got the confent of the young Queen of the Danes; but one Haldan of Norway who had had a Months mind to her, but was diverted, by some Wars he waged with the Ruffes They pay for hearing of the Wedding, came as Gram had done upon them on the very day, and their Leacher cruelly flaying the Bridegroom, took the Bride away with him: And these are the Saxon Antiquities (and goodly ones they are) which Saxo the Danish Writer

(in Name alone being Saxon) hath communicated to us; the rest are buried in Oblivion. From these goodly Antiquities he passeth to what was done against the Batavi in the time of Vespasian, but insists on this Subject but little, as unproper by his Confession. Next he falls into a grievous Complaint that none hath transmitted to Posterity the Actions of the Saxons in the Inland Countries. not doubting but that fuch as had been fo ftout at Sea, would not be Cowardsat Land, but have acted fomething against or with the Turingi and Vandals. He doubts not but they had an hand in that War of the Marcomans, in the days of Marcus Antoninus, which affrighted the Romans no less than the Carthaginian Wars had done. But neither any of the Marcomans nor Saxons committed any thing relating hereunto to writing; we onely enjoy what the Romans wrote, which they did, as all other Stories, for the advantage and grandeur of their Empire, onely being filent as to the valiant deeds of their Enemies. We see a Man hath plainly the advantage of a Lion, because a Man was the Painter. Could, a Lion have painted, we should have seen another kind of Picture, Of these things we may complain, but cannot amend them. Thus Krantzius

26. He farther observes, that till about three hundred years after the Birth of Christ, there is no mention made of the Saxons in any Roman Writer. The first that mentioned them, is Eutropius, and after him Orofius, in the Reigns of Diocletian and Maximian. Eutropius relates how Caraufius being appointed to clear the Coasts of the Armorican and Belgick Seas, which the Franks and Saxons infested, though he often took many Barbarians, yet neither gave up the Booty to the Provincials, nor sent it to the Emperours, was suspected for favouring of the Pirates, that he might rob them as they passed by, and for this reason being commanded to be flain by Maximian, took upon him the Purple at Bononia or Bulleign in Picardy. This is related by Orofius in well nigh the same words, and by Beda in his Britannia, as he calls it. Here our Authour infults upon two forts of Writers, as well he may; First, such as setch the Franks from the Lake of Maotis, in the time of Valentinian the Emperour, who was not yet born; then over those who deduce the Original of the Saxons, from the times of Theodorich King of the Franks, who was neither in being two hundred years after: This is to be taken special notice of, that in those days the Saxons exercised Piracy upon all

CHAP. II.

PART IV.

Scct. 2, these Coasts, and that as well the British, as the Gallick; so false is that which fome have affirmed, that before the coming over of Hengist, they were unknown to the Britains. For Claudian the Poet, inveighing against (a) Estropies, (a) Quenum about the year of our Lord 400, makes mention of their Inlefting the Sea in general, (b) in another place of the Orchades, and in (c) another introduces Bri Non longing and Bri Non longing Britain, speaking how Stilico had Fortified her both against the Invasions of Picts, mito qual Scots and Saxons. Moreover, (d) Sidonius Apollinaris, about the time of their Saxons Tescoming into the Island, describes most elegantly their Piracy, both in his Epistle til Minor.

to Lampridius, and in his Panegyrick to his Father-in-Law. 27. Moreover, in the Notitia of the Dignities of the Western Empire, we have fulus Huss. mention made of the Comes literis Saxonici per Britamias, of the Count of the Midne-Saxon Shore throughout Britain. Now the Saxon Shore was all that Tract from Trans Saxon the Cambrica Chersonessus on that fide the Sea, as far even as the Western Part of the Cambrica Chersonessus on that fide the Sea, as far even as the Western Part of Orchada.

Intelling Sea Gall, where the Saxons were wont both to rove and rob upon the Sea, and also (c) Metalogical. land and make depredations on the Continent; and from this Shore it is, that a committee that a land and make depredations on the Continent; and from the Saxon Shore throughout Britain, to have received his Title, denying that this Shore of Britain could Municipal be called the Saxon Shore, because here they never landed, but onely robbed off Stillies. at Sca. In a matter of truth we must be impartial, and affirm him strangely illustration constitutions.

overseen when he saith that, \* We reade not any where that the Saxons had at that timeron time, either fetled themselves upon the Shores of Britain, or were wont to fail this Sanita, e Picther, or that they infested any thing of Britain, except the Ses. From the verses of rem, we like Claudian lately cited, it sufficiently appears that Britain, as he brings her in, did to the too not fear the Saxon roving, but the Saxon coming, and how could he properly be Auditives faid to come to her except he landed? But Ammianus himself, whom that Learned tunum Saxo-Man fo often cites, sufficiently clears the controversie, where he relates that a na semii. message came, how Britain was extremely vexed by Conspiracy of Barbarians, on carnthat Nellaridius the Count of the Maritime Tract was flain, and Buchobandes the lum vide. Duke was circumvented by their Hostile lying in wait; now what Barbarians must these were, is evident from his words which follow, that the Sc xons were at this salem solution time wont to Conspire with the Attaonts and Scotts and in another place he writes, that as the Allemans did depopulate Gall, and Rhætia, and the Sarmatæ and Quadi Scotts. Pannonia, so the Picts, Scotts, and Attacotts, vexed the Britains with continual mi- 2011 & dieferies. Can we imagine that these Rovers would not land any where, where they could get booty; and that Britain should be so poor and beggarly, that it should see a final them should be so poor and beggarly, that it should see a final them. could get booty; and that Britain mound to the waterish places of Holland, and Sperahn, &c. not afford them incouragement, as well as the waterish places of Holland, and Sperahn, &c. not afford them incouragement, as well as the waterish places of Holland, and Sperahn, &c. the barren Coasts of Brabant? their aim, if they rightly understood their Trade, Mr. Clauft should be to prey at Sca upon the Batavians, whose ground could scarcely main-Lib 2.2.7. tain them, as at this day, and plunder the Land of Britain more fruitfull, afford Lik 27. ing more incouragement than the other. We find by Claudian they landed in

the Orchades, and were the Orchades Islands more tempting than the Island of Bri-

tain? As for the opinion of Pancirollus, that the British should be called the Sax-

on Shore, because the Saxons were before called in by Vortigern to affift the

Britains, and there inhabited, in those times, it is a mighty overlight also, the Saxons being called in long after there was a Count of the Saxon shore throughout

Britain in the times of the Romans. But it was but an overfight not worthy to

be so charged with ignorance by that Learned Man, Pancirollus being sufficiently

known to have been excellently skilled both in Hiltory, the feries of Times, and

other Learning. 28. That our Saxons then were great Pirates and Rovers at Sea, it's granted on all hands; but as one of our Learned Men denies they landed or made any abode Offering in in Britain, so another as eminent in things of this nature also, will not yield that Primud Ebefore the coming of Hengilt, they had so much as passed the Elbe, and seated clift p. 339themselves upon that Shore betwixt it and the Rhine, so commodious for Riding of Ships and Navigation. He grants that in the time of Domitian, through the Tract of Belgica and Aremorica, they infelted the Sea, as Eutropius witnesseth, and that the Saxons were a Nation active, in Piracy on all the Coast from Hist. likes the River Rhine to the City Donia, now called Danemare, at fuch time as they were called into Britain, as Fabius Ethelwerdus affirms in the second little Book of his Annals. He denies not that they exercised Piracy in that Maritime Tract: but cannot yet, he faith, find that they fixed any where in the Continent of that Tract: For, whereas it is read in Zozimus, that the Quadi Part of the Saxons seized upon Batavia, having thence beaten the Franci Salii, and that Julian taking upon him the defence of the Salii, reduced the Quadi into obedience, he cannot

affent to it first, because the Quadi were no part of the Saxons, and then because Sect. 2. (a) Eunapius Sardianus (whose History (b) Zozimus rather transcribed than wrote one himself) neither said they were Quadi, neither Canchi (whom Cluve- (a) In Eclog wrote one himself ) neither laid they were Quality, heither cannot whom there legat ab He-rins would substitute in their Rooms ) nor Saxons, but Chamani; (c) Julian him-schalio Edit. rms would unfinite in that the senate and People of Athens, fetting forth what he had r. s. doing to the senate and People of Athens, fetting forth what he had r. s. doing to the fame purpose. But to this may be opposed, first, that they made ma light num, gs. ny Inrodes, and these Inrodes made by them were not small and contemptible, but (c) Oper. Futo some extent; for (d) Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that in the days of Valentinian liam. par. 1. and Valens, the Coasts of Gall were wasted by the Franks and Saxons, bordering [4] Lib. 27. upon them, each making excursions as far as they could by Land or Sea, with grievous plunderings, firings, and flaughters of fuch as they took Prisoners. And farther, the Saxones Baiocaffini, or the Saxons of Baieux, are mentioned by Gregory Lib. 5. c. 26. of Tours, as ancient Inhabitants upon the Shore of Aremorica. It's not the opinion onely of Krantzius, that the Saxons long before their coming into Britain, had inlarged their Borders from Holfatia, on this fide the Elbe, almost as far as the Rhine, but Aventinus placeth the Saxons between these two Rivers, even in the days of Boior. Annal. Augustus Casar. Some Eastward extend their Dominions through all the Sarma-lib. 2. tian Sea, even almost as far as the River Tanais, which separates Europe from Afia. And an ancient Chronicle in Rhime alledges from other Books, much more Vide apud ancient, that all the Countrey beneath Neomagus, was in old time called the low-Sheringham. er Saxony, and that the River Scheld taking in its Waters from the Meuse and the cap. Rhine, was its Western Border. To be sure that after the removal of the Franks into Gall, by degrees they fetled themselves in their Seats, and not onely possesfed the Maritime Coast betwixt the Elbe and the Rhine, but pierced into the inward Parts of Germany, on all hands is agreed. These things speak the extent of the Saxon Power; which indeed was so terrible both at Land and Sea (whereever they planted ) that amongst all other Nations, in the decay of the Empire, they by the Romans were most fear'd.

feared by the

29. We have now presented our Saxons ready to take Ship, or their Keels for Britain, to which Voyage they were sufficiently inclined, doubtless from the knowledge they could not but have of the Island. And so great inclination they had, that some there are who speak nothing of an Invitation, but say like unwelcome Guests, as they proved, they came absolutely without sending for; yet partly because they could not stay at home. For Ninius will have them driven by their Relations out of Germany, which another limits unto Frifia, as the Galls of old Joh. Gerbrand when their Countrey was not able to maintain their growing Multitudes, Chronic. Belg. fent out as to travell, three hundred thouland of their Brood, to leek out new Habitations; fo Geoffrey of Monmouth would have us believe it to have been Hift Britan. the Custome in Saxony, to fend out their Numbers by Lot, to free themselves 1.6.c.i. from a fuperfluous Multitude. But we have good fecurity from Gildus, Beda, Paulus Diaconus, and many others, that they were fent for over by Vortigern, whom Gildas calls a proud and unlucky Tyrant, and Witichind makes a formal vited by Vor. Embaffy to be fent, as we have before related. Therefore William the Monk of De Gestis Reg. Malmesbury will have both Causes to have concurr'd, which is not improbable. Angl. 1.1.6.10. It pleaseth them all (faith he) to send for the Saxons and Angli out of Germany,

being valiant at their Arms, and a wandering People. Hereby would accrue double profit, for being invincible, they would eafily beat back their Enemies; and hitherto being uncertain where to fix, they would take it for a mighty favour, if they might have but some rough and barren Soil, some dry and hungry Heath to inhabit. They never imagined they would all any thing against their Countrey, the fresh memory of this favour would so oblige them and soften the sierceness of their Disposition. This Advice being approved, Ambaffadours are fent into Germany, men really of quality, who would worthily discharge themselves of that publick Character. The Germans hearing they were courted to a thing which they themselves a thousand times had desired quickly condescended; the pleasure they took in the Enterprize, sourring them on to all expedition imaginable. Bidding therefore farewell to the Places that bred them. and renouncing the Affections of their Parents, they commit themselves to the favourable Ggle of Fortune and the Winds, which in three long Ships, which they call Ciules or Keels, wast them into Britain. Now at this time and afterward they came from three forts of People in Germany, viz. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes.

30. For, almost all the Land which lies under the Northern Pole, because it doth germinate so many Men (so the Monk plays with the word) is not undeservedly called Germany, though distinguished by many Limits of Provinces. Wherefore in like manner, as they whose work it is, are wont to cut off the Luxuriant boughs of a

They take Ship for Bri-tain being in-

Sect. 2. Tree, that it may have Juice enough wherewith to keep in Life the remaining; so do the Inhabitants by the Expulsion of some of their Number ease their Mother, lest by feeding so numerous an Off-spring she should be exhausted; but to prevent grudgings Casting Lots and discontent, they use Lots for deciding the Controversie, who shall be Sent away. who shall goe. Thence is it, that the Men of that Land have made a Vertue of a Necessity, that such as were driven from their Native foil, might by their Arms make themselves room in foreign Countries, as the Wandals who formerly overran Africk, the Goths who pessessed Spain, as the Lombards which still inhabit Italy, and the Normans possesfing that part of Gall, which they had won with their Arms, have called it Normandy. Out of this Germany then came first into Britain a small Band of Men, but such as made good its smalness by its Valour, two brothers of hopefull Inclinations, and not ignoble in their Countrey, viz. Hengist and Horsa, being their Captains. For they were the Abnepotes, or Great, great Grandchildren of that most ancient Woden, from whom almost all barbarous Nations derive their Pedigree, and whom the Nations of the English, madly fansying to be a God, have by a perpetual Sacrilege consecrated to him the fourth day of the week to this very time, and the fixth day to his Wife

The Original of the Saxons,

31. This is to be observed from what we have formerly said, that such as came over into Britain were of the Ancient Saxons, viz. those peculiarly so called whose seats we have shewn, and of the Jutes and Angles. Ninius will have Hengist to have come out of an Island called Ogbul, whether by it he means the whole Cimbrick Peninfula, or as Learned Ofher found in one Copy Angul, that is that part of the Chersonesus, which at this day is called Angleu, and gives a certain reprefentation of the whole Peninfula. But (a) others from the Chronicle of Leyden, will (a) Vorper have Hengist a Frisan. John (b) of Leiden, in his Belgick Chronicle, affirms him Thobasis. His tor Frishes. to have been King of Frisaor Freiseland, which he says was called Lower Sax- (b) Johan Grio.y. Suffridus (c) Petrus contends, that he was the Son of Udolph Haro, the brand. feventh Duke of the Frifians by Suana, the Daughter of Vetgift Prince of the Sax- (c) In Apal. ons; and adds that he led forth two feveral Colonies: the former in the two and Frif. twentieth year of his Age into old England near Jutia, where for fixty two years he continued fustaining his Company, partly by Tillage, and partly by a piratical kind of War: the fecond in the eighty fourth year of his Age from that England into Britain, where he lasted not above four years dying in the eighty eighth year of his Age, which was of our Lord the four Hundred fifty third. But whatever he fondly talks of Books written in those days upon these subjects by the Father of Hengist, and two I wot not what Dukes, our Learned Primate very rationally in Primate concludes, that if Hengist and Horsa were Frisians, they were born rather in P 397 the Danish Frisia, than in that which borders upon Holland. For in Danemark there is a Freiseland, which in respect of the other Saxo Grammaticus calls the less in the beginning of his History, being the most Southern Part of Southern Jutland, having on the East Old England or old Anglia, and on the South the Ancient Saxony, and separated from both by the River Eidore, from which its Inhabitants are called Eidersteds, as from the thore they inhabit Strand Freiselanders. That these People were a Colony of the Frisians, the Agreement both of their Name and Language do testifie, as the same Saxo writes, and Those Emmius affirms, that Hist. 14 ftill they retain through fo many Ages their Speech uncorrupted, having fo much Historia affinity with the English Tongue, that it comes not nearer any Language of their lib. 2.

32. Now if these Frisians were of one and the same Original, and agreed in their Speech both betwixt themselves and the English, it's the less to be wondred faith the Primate, that the Frisones are also with other Nations, which gave Original to the English S. wons reckoned by Beda; the other are, besides the Ancient Lib. 1. Hist. Suxons, the Rugini, Dani, Hunni and Borultuarii, some of which might possibly cap. 10. come over amongst the constant supplies which were sent to Hengist, and the rest out of Saxony; for that the main Body of the Colony confifted of the three Nations, Saxons, Angles and Jutes is univerfally accorded. Neither is there any other Testimony besides this of Beda, that the Anglosaxons were of Frisian descent, for as for that which Emmius produceth out of Marcellinus, in the life of Suidbert, this Marcellinus is a forged Authour, discovered to be such by Stephen White (one most knowing not onely in the Antiquities of his own Island, but of other Nations also) as Mailew the Great Patron of that Book himself confessed. But he produces another Proof out of Procopius, who writes that the Island of Britain was inhabited by three mast numerous Nations, over each of which commanded its own King, these are called Angili Frilones, and Britones, having a Name near a-kinn to the

Island it self. And what can you now farther require faith Tbbo ? But Procopius Sect. 2: meant nothing less than Britain; he wrote of Brittia, which in the selfsame place in plain words he diftinguisheth from Britain, placing it betwixt Britain and Scandonavia, which he calls Thule. This shews us how to correct that Passage of Isaac, Tzetzes, the Scholiast upon Lycophron, which saith, that in the Ocean is the Island of Britain placed betwint Britain which lies Westward, and Thule towards the East. And what loever the two Teetzes Brothers, John upon Hefiod, and Iface upon Lycophron, have fabled concerning the Souls of the deceased, they being carried into Britain (as we reade it, ) Procopius writes all this with Relation to Brittia. 33. We land therefore our Saxons in Britain, being such as were descended from

Angles and Jutes, that invaded Britain.

When they

those properly so called from the Angles and Jutes, though some of other Nations might possibly intermix in some of their supplies, and now let us enquire what time it was they were sent for over. Those of Holland and Freiseland, say their Vide Userium Passage happened in the three hundredth and eighty fifth year of Our Lord. Out ubi supra. p. of the Ancient Welsh Chronicles, Price in his defense of the History of Britain, Germanic.Expresents us with this Chronology: From the time of Guorthigirn, till the Battel of eg. lib. 6. 6. 37. Badon, when Arthur fought with and vanquished the Saxons, passed 128 years: then Chronic. from the Battel at Badon, to the Battel of Camilan, wherein Arthur was flain 22 On heona years more are reckoned. Now the death of Arthur in the British History is placed Dagum at the Year 542, out of which Number first 128 and then 22 being deducted, 392 Jengert will remain to have been the Tear of our Lord. .. But, at this time the Britains were Lopiarpoin under the Command of the Romans, the yoke of whom though Zozimus writes Pype geothat they cast off, and made themselves a free People; yet if so it was, this was but a home gelarebellious fit of theirs fuitable to what Gildas writes of them, for the Saxons came Ta Cyninge not to their affiftence till they had petitioned again the Romans for Relief, and corulaame wholly submitted themselves to them again, and yet they were for saken by them, I hia, &c. and left to shift for themselves. This is certain whatever Irenicus a German hath Hist. lib. 1. written, that the English Saxons on a fudden passed over into England (Britain he The last Edimeans) in the Days of Valentinian, and killed the Romans every Mothers Son tion is mended means) in the pays of ratentinan, and that the terminal view of them; their opinion is abfolutely to be allowed, who write that under Theedo leck, according fus the younger, or elfe of Martian his Successiour, this great Alteration happened of the best. in Britain.

of the Saxons in the year CCCCXXVIII, at the Confulship of Fælix and Taurus, King Alured, in which Consulship the Franks their Neighbours lost to Atius, the Count, part of which runs Gall lying upon the Rhine, on which they had feized. To pass by other foreign Da parymb Accounts, which deserve no credit, because they contradict what Gildas clearly reopen hints, that before the third Confulship of Atius, the Saxons were not called his huns pinther, Sigebert placeth their coming in the very year of his third Consulthip, of our tha I ni-Lord CCCCXLVI. But the Latin Saxon Annals left by Cambden to Cotton's Library, 30n 7 recrefer it to the year CCCCXLVIII. Fabius Ethelward, and with him the Annals Pennis written in the English Saxon Tongue, published by Wheelock lately, and by him called Dpihoner a Saxon Chronology, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Alanus de mennircyr-Insulis, Matthew Florilegus, and others assign it to the year CCCCXLIX, induced re p chap-

as Ofher believes by those words of Beda, that in the year CCCXLIX, from the vianur Ca-Incarnation of our Lord ( fo the Manuscripts have it, not as the Printed Books repe pice-CCCCIX) Martian being the forty fourth from Angustus, together with Valentinian onpens obtained the Empire, and held it feven years, Then the Nation of the English or Saxons, reopon gea-invited by the foresaid King (Vortigern) passed over into Britain in three long.—Sa Ange fhips. But it being evident, that Martian came not to the Government till the year peo 7 Seuxfollowing, their coming is either to be referred (as Florentius of Worcester doth na par Keit ) to the Confulship of Valentinian and Avienus, that is to the year CCCCL, or lapos rpam as it is in the Common Chronicle of Marianus Scotus to the Confulship of Hercu- Sam roprylanus and Asperatius, which, as appears from the Fasti, fell into the year CCCCLII. pecenan

For Beda doth not mean, that just in the year that Martian was advanced, but Cyninge J within the compass of the seven years he reigned, the Saxons arrived in the Illand, on Specco or rather within the five years, wherein he jointly governed with Valentinian. Phys my-for in the Epitomy of his History, Beda significant, that in their times the English clum jeywere fent for by the Britains.

. 35. What number they were which Hengist first brought over with him, is no east Sale where told us, but coming over but in three Vessels by them called Ciules, by Syrer eaus Keels, by the Freislanders Schieulen, they could not be very many. They londer eafirst landed, or as Gildas says, set their terrible Claws, on a place called Hip-wines- poun 5 reofleet, as both the Saxon Annals or Chronology, and Ethelward do call it, thought &c.

34. Therefore an Interliner of *Ninius*, who ever he was, hath placed the coming the Saxon Translation of

CHAP. II.

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Sect. 2. to have been Ebsfleet in the Isle of Tanet, which Isle being the Eastern part of Kent, as Kent is of Britain, several Authours affirm to have first been given up into their Hands. They shew'd themselves so valiant against the Pids and Scots, against whom the Nation intended them, and so cunning withall for their own ends, that by the means and methods we have formerly shewed, they got such footing in Britain, that of Friends they turned Enemies, and from Guests would be Masters and Owners of all; and driving the poor Britains up into the Mountains, and barren places of the Island, or forcing them upon Rocks, or beyond the Seas into foreign Parts; the best part of the Countrey they seized, where their Posterity at this day continueth, notwithstanding what alteration was afterward made by the Danes and Normans, in its possession of their however got Inheritance, their very Language, not with flanding too much altered by ridiculous affectation of worfe words, still surviving. Having for a time considered them all as Saxons, now we shall distinguish them again, and acquaint the Reader what parts of Britain were seized and plan-The Postess. ted by each several People. First then the Jutes, or such as came out of Jutia, possessed themselves of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hamshire lying over against that Isle, where the River Umble enters the Ocean; for though afterward it tell to the Province of the Welffaxons, yet in the first times of these English Sax-The Possessis, the Inhabitants were called Jurnacynn or of the Nation of the Jutes. The on of the Sax- Saxons, or fuch as came out of Saxony, properly and anciently so called, came to be diftinguished into Southern, Eastern and Western. The Southfaxons possessed themselves of Suffex, which still bears their Name; not that they were so called in their own Countrey, but from the Situation of their newly acquired possessing ons. The Eastern Saxons obtained for their share Essex, which still bears their Name, with Middlesex, and that Southern Part of Hertfordsbire. The Westernsaxons anciently called Genniss, got to themselves that which we now call Surrey, all Hamshire, that part excepted which we said was seized by the Jutes, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and some part of Cornwall; for,

on of the

most part of it is still retained by the Remainders of the ancient Britains. 36. The Angli, or those that came out of Anglia ( which Beda calls Angulus and faith it was so exhausted by this Plantation, that to his time it remained desolate, but it was afrerward replenished by the Jutes, as we may perceive by Adamus Bremensis ) had the greater share, and therefore it was reasonable they should give denomination to the whole, though there might be another occasion. They gave Original to four forts of People, viz. the Eastern English, the Midland English, the Mercians, and Northumbrians. The Eastern English possessed these Provinces called afterward Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge with the Isle of Ely, and, as some think, part of Bedfordshire. The Midland English inhabited Leicestershire, which was subject to the Dominion of the Mercians. The Mercians by the River Trent, were divided into Southern, and Northern. Within the extent of the Southern Mercians were comprized the Counties of Lincoln, Northampton, and (what was once a Part of it) Rutland, Huntingdon, Bedford, the Northern Part of Hertford, Buckingbam, Oxford, Glocester, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Stafford and Salop. Within that of the Northern Mercians, the Counties of Chefter, Derby and Notingham. Lastly the Northumbrians, were they that lived beyond the River Humber, who were dislinguished into the Deiri and Bernicii. The Deiri dwelt in Lancashire, Torkshire, Westmorland, and the Southern Part of Cumberland, on this fide the River Derwent. The Bernicii were Masters of Northumberland ( which at this day onely bears the Name of that large Kingdom , ) the Northern Part of Cumberland with some Portion of Westmorland, contiguous to it, with the Bishoprick of Durham, and the Southern Part of that we now call Scotland, lying betwixt the River Twede, and the Frith of Edenborough. For though the Name of Scotland came afterwards imposed upon that Countrey, yet that the People inhabiting there, and possibly farther Northward were the Off-spring of the English is evident from their Language, which being English Saxon could not have conquered and over-powered the true Scotch, but by the great Multitudes of them that spake it.

37. Now last of all before we take our leave of this Subject, what Britains were expelled, by what other forts of New-comers, whether Jutes, Saxons or Angles, we shall inform the Reader, that of his own Countrey he may receive as An account of full information as we can give him. Know then that Kent retains the old Name, the Britains, being by Cæfar as well as others called Cantium, and as Cambden gueffeth from a that were expelled by those Gallick word, fignifying a Corner, which the French still call a Canton; for, a New-comers. certain Nook or Corner in Scotland is called Cantir, the Inhabitants of another

part of the Island are by Ptolemy termed Cantæ, the Canganæ in Wales were pof- Sect, 2. fessed of another Corner, and the Cantabri in Spain amongst the Celtiberians, dwelt in another Angle. Certainly Kent is a Canton or Angle of Britain, looking toward Gall. And to take the rest rather as they lay in the Island, than as we have named them in respect of their New possessours, Cornwall and Denshire were before inhabited by the Damnonii or Damnonii fo called in British, either from the Mines of Tinn, called by them Moina, or from their dwelling under Hills. Dorfetsbire belonged to the Durotriges, so named possibly from Dour or Duor water, and Trig an Inhabitant, the Coast lying for about fifty Miles full of turnings or windings upon the British Sea. Somerseishire, Willsshire, Hampshire were the Possession of the Belga, who as most hold passed over from the Belga, a People of Gall into Britain, being originally Germans, having passed over the Rhine. The Isle of Wight adjoining, was probably peopled by them. The Atrebatii, who came also from the Atrebates in Gall, were Masters of Berkshire. The People called Regni of Surry (or Southrey from its Situation Southward from the River) Suffex (or South(ex) and the Sea Coast of Hampshire. The Dobuni of Glocestershire and Oxfordshire, so named from Daffen, signifying low places lying under Hills; their Successiours the English were termed Wiccii from Wic in Saxon, signifying a Creek, for they inhabited round about the Mouth of Severn, which is very full of small Creeks and Reaches The Cattieachlani, being as is rationally conjectured first called Cassii, inhabited the Countries of Buckingham, Bedford and Hertford. The tacasar Ivia

Angles and Jutes, that invaded Britain.

Trinobantes, those of Midlesex and Essex, rationally thought to have taken their nonnes Tacito Name from Tre Nant, or Towns in a Vale by the fide of the River Thames.

38. Next to the Trinobantes lived the Iceni (possibly so called from Iken a wedge in British) and possessed what was afterward called East-England, viz. the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Huntingdon. The Coritani spreading themselves very far through the Mediterranean Part of the Island, inhabited as far as to the German Ocean, the Counties of Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby. The Cornavii dwelt in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire. The Brigantes whose Territories were afterward contained within the Kingdom of the Deiri, held Torkshire, the Bishoprick of Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland. The Offadini ( who rather should have been called Offatini, for that they lived beyond the River Tine ) had their Habitation in Northumberland. The Gadeni were next to them, and were feated in that Countrey, which lies betwixt the Mouth of the River Iweed, and Edenborough Frith. All these were by degrees dispossessed by these resolute and hardy Incomers, and either killed or driven out of the Island, or forced up into Cornwall or Wales, which once fignifyed all lying beyond the Severn, but afterward was much contracted, and when the Romans ruled in Britain, was inhabited by three forts of People, the Silures, Dimetæ and Ordovices, who held not onely the twelve shires as they now call them of Wales, but those two also beyond Severn, viz, Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, which have been now long reckoned amongst the Counties of England. What forts of People were dispossessed by Jutes, Saxons or English properly so called, the Reader may distinguish by comparing what has been faid, and may farther understand by that to which we

have now brought him, viz. a particular Description of the several petty King-

doms, these New Planters founded in the Island. Of which severally according

to the measure of our Intelligence.

SECT. III.

CHAP. II.

#### SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Jutes in Kent, from the first found-ing of it by Hengist, to the Conquest of it by Egbert King of the West-Saxons.

The space of three hundred seventy four Tears.

Engist the Son of Villigiske, whose Father was Vitta (Veta, Wehta, or Withar) the Son of Woden, after the death of his Brother Horsa, Hengift made was made King of Kent by his Followers, in the year of our Lord CCCLVI, as Mathew Florilegus writes, or as all the English Saxon Annals consent in the year CCCCLV; the same wherein the Battel was fought betwixt them and Vortigern the Son of Vortigern, about the very same time that Childerick the

First, King of the Franks, of the Race of the Merovingii, or the Son of Meroveus began his Reign; the Affairs of the Romans now every day more and more

going down the Wind in these Parts, and the Goths and Suevi being together by the Ears about the shares of that Countrey. 2. This same year he is said thrice to have fought against the Britains; but as the faid Flowergatherer tells us, was not able to result the skill and prowess of Vortimer, but was glad to flie to the Isle of Thanet, where being daily vexed with Sea Fights, at length the Saxons being scarcely able to recover their Boats, leaving their Wives and Children, returned into Germany. Henry of Huntingdon writes, that once he fled to the Isle of Thanet, and once to his Ships, and sent into his Countrey for fuch as were gone away. If these Writers say he was beaten, we may be assured Ninius the Britain will swear it, who plies you with his Verbs Conclusts, Obsedit, Percustit, Comminuit, Tenuit, meaning Vortimer, (or Guorthemir as he calls him) his Welfb Bloud being up, as it had reason to flie out against these Infidels, these that were wretched Unbelievers themselves, and like Miscreants had broken all Faith and Covenants, and of Hirelings and Servants turned Tyrants and Masters; who being called to protect, were now turned Destroyers, and with Fire and Sword prosecuted the Britains, the true and right Proprietours of the Countrey. But being thus beaten, he faith, they fent Messengers into Germany to bring more Keels full of a great number of stout and lufty Warriours, and afterward fought against the Kings of our Nation. Sometimes they overcame and enlarged their Borders, other whiles they were worsted and driven back. And Guorthemir greedily fought four Battels against them, whereof the last was by Lapis Tituli upon the Shore of the Gallick Sea (Still called Stonar, as we faid, in the Isle of Thanet) where the Barbarians were overthrown, and he remained Conquerour. They ran away to their Keels, and got fearfully into them like fo many Women, and he died not long after. He of Huntingdon agrees with him as to the death of Gortimer (so he calls him) with whom, he adds, that the hope and fuccess of the Britains died. After this, Hengift, and Eschis Son having received fresh Supplies out of their Countrey, and being much incouraged by the death of Gortimer, prepare themselves for another Battel at Creganford. The Britains bring forth against them four Bodies of men, each conducted by a most valiant Captain; but coming to the Ingage-But in another ment, find themselves over-matched by the Numbers of their Enemies. For the Britains those that were newly arrived being fresh, and all of them choice men, with their Axes and Swords so laid about them, that they made great slaughter of the Britains, who yet left not off till they faw their four Captains dead upon the place. Then being frighted and discouraged beyond belief, sted from Kent as far a London, and never after durst come thither for to fight. That this Battel fought at Creganford (a Village in Kent, so called, because situate upon the River Creke or Crey, about a Mile and an half from Dartford, in the Bailywick of Sutton Dartford, Hundred of Little and Lesness, lately of Sutton at Hone, West Division of the County, and at this day called Creiford) was fought in the year CCCCVII, wherein Leo the Elder began his Reign. Fabius Ethelward also testifies, besides Florence of Worcester, the Saxon Annals both of Christ-Church in Canterbury, and

the other of Peterbrough continued, although in others it be referred to the preceding

3. But Ninius tells us another kind of Tale of what happened after the death of Guorthemir, and after the Return of Hengist with his Troops. The Saxons then began to confult how they might craftily circumvent King Guorthigiru and his Army. They fent their Amballadours to make a Peace and a perpetual League and Amity with them. Hereupon Guorthigirn called his Council, and consulted what was to be done; the Refult whereof was, that they would accept of a Peace, and with this Answer the Messengers returned. After this a friendly Meeting was agreed on, and Caution was given, that neither Britains nor Saxons should come to the meeting with their Arms; the more to suffer their

Minds and Affections to unite and strengthen. But that most wicked Hengist commanded his Followers, that each of them should carry his short \* Sword with \* Ninio artahim, faying, when I call to you and fay Nemet cour Saxes, then draw your visite. Cultel-Knives (or Swords) and fall upon them courageously. But kill not their King, in states then but for my Daughters sake, whom I gave him to Wife, keep him safe, that he gifts no in Dut for my Laughters hate, which I gave find to the face hat late, that he medis front may redeem himself. The place was appointed, and they met together. The fit poment saven cunning Foxes feemed very kind, giving marvellous good words, and they five which face down man by man very fociably. But Hengift, as he laid, gave the word, barkariseiam and all the three Hundred Noblemen (Seniores † he calls them) of Guorthigirm Seniores of the word of the control of Guorthigirm Seniores of the calls them of Guorthigirm Seniores of the Call of the C was constrained to give them large Countries, viz. Eastfex, Southfex and Middlefex. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, that this Meeting was near the Convent of Ambrifis, not far from Salisbury, where || four hundred and fixty Persons Unde fibi Saxo were flain, the Bodies of whom were buried by Eldade the Bilhop of Gloucester, nomen trawith Christian Burial, not far off in the ordinary place. The Chronicle of Leiden mentioned but three hundred Princes of Britain to have been flain, which account † Ex Senior another of that Countrey follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though Lat. Sign another of that Country follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though Lat. Sign another of that Country follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though Lat. Sign another of that Country follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though Lat. Sign another of that Country follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though Lat. Sign another of the Low Countries of he mentions in another place twelve, whom he calls Duces Britanniarum, as being Hispan. & the chief in Place and Dignity. But these Outlandish Writers consound the Affairs Signious of Britains and Saxons. What they say concerning Hengish his being beaten out Francis. of Britain, and his founding the City or Castle of Leiden upon the Bank of the alia exempla-River Rhine, let the Reader remember what has been said before, that we may ria habent que not here again repeat it.

4. In the year CCCCLXV, Hengist and As is his Son again ingaged with the vira 8. Du-Britains at a place called Wippedssieet, and therein indeed slew twelve Captains british so their Nation, as both Fabius Ethelward, Florence of Worcester, and the English print of their Nation, as both Fabius Ethelward, Florence of Worcester, and the English print of the control of Saxon Annals do testifie, these they might mistake, for having been slain in the in Primard. Massacre. But still about that Massacre there is more variety of Stories. Geoffrey p. 415. of Monmouth talks of Hengist his having affociated himself for this Enterprize, or Evil Merry-day, no fewer than three hundred thousand men. As to the number of the flain, our Caxton and Johannes Major in his Scotch History will have Hengilt to have entered Britain with fifteen thousand men, and John Harding will have the Saxons to have kill'd there near Salisbury treacherously, one thousand and threescore of the British Noblemen. A certain Scotch Chronicle agrees with Geoffrey in the number of four hundred and fixty; and William of Brought is flain Malmisbury fides with Ninius in the smallest number of three hundred. As for its manager of the state of

he came to some such kind of end, because the English Saxon Writers say nothing of his death, as neither of any of the Victories obtained by the Britains; what made against the honour of their Countreymen they conceal, but are zealous to publish their Conquests and Trophies. Matthew the Flowergatherer placeth his death in the year CCCCLXXXIX, and from him Ethelward and the English Saxon Annals differ but in one years computation. According to both their Accounts he reigned then thirty and three, or as Florentius Wigornienfis hath Pro veteri vo it thirty and four years; so false is that which Suffridus Petrus writes of his being but four years in the Island. He was by consent of all, a most stout War- Batavi Paerd, riour; cruel enough, and as cunning as courageous, knowing very well, in cafe the at equam in-Lion's skin was too feant, how to piece it up with the Fox's. As his Brother frame weant had his Name from that Noble Creature we still call an Horse, so he from the un obeval en-Male of that Species intire as Nature leaves him, without any mutilation of Mem-tier, nes Ston'd

ters. And he being a man deserving Honour in his Countrey, from that great Hengist.

Plantation he fettled in this Island, his Countreymen the Saxons might possibly

give in memory of him that Animal for their Arms, which formerly were two little Swords or Seanes born cross or Salter-wise.

5. To Hengist succeeded his Son Oeric or Oseric sirnamed Afe, as Beda informs Ethelmardon Oferichis Son fucceeds. 5. 10 Hengys increased in soon out to topola intention in the Kings of Kent, faith Matthew, to this day are called ← for the labyle Entering the soon of the things of Kent, faith Matthew, to this day are called ← for the labyle Entering the soon of the soon kynges. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells a story, how when Hengist was taken and mentices still killed in Conisburgh, Oeta his Son shut himself into Tork, but was forc't to yield warm killed in Conisburgh, Oeta his Son shut himself up to Ambrose, who granted to him, and to Eosa his Kinsman, who had qui pramaalso fortified the City of Alclud or Dunbritton, a Countrey near to Scotland; but nabutur #56. though Oeric, Oferic and Oeta being something, yet this seems not the same with politic Reu the Eldest, who came into Britain with his Father, with whom he was invited Cammin E. by Vortigern, as Beda writes, and who is faid to have begun his Reign also toge-singes form no. by vortigern, as beau wittes, and who is and to have by a general Name were 10 men foriti, ther with his Father over the Saxons (Jutes who by a general Name were 10 min Remails called) in the Kingdom of Kent. There is little or nothing more spoken of Reman, G him, than that he reigned twenty four years, though some add ten to this num- Cerese Cerese him, than that he reigned twenty four years, though folia and ten to this failt ber. The Monk of Malmesbury lays he reigned quietly, Florentius of Worcester, Tusto Tusto. gloriously, being content with the Dominions his Father left him, rather than stri- Affe quipe ving to inlarge them, though Henry of Huntingdon faith he did this too; but hunting moit dark are these times whereof onely the main things, asgreat Battels and no table Successions are mentioned, so as Memory and Tradition could transmitthem to but the from one Generation to another. For who should relate the many and considerable Actions which happened in this great Revolution? the poor Britains were Anglarum, camaffacred and driven from House and Home: the Saxons were Heathens, nothing in partial of hympatics, nothing of civility or letters amongst them. They took care how Wighted. of humanity, nothing of civility or letters amongst them. They took care how arm with a or numanity, nothing of country or active and all how to transfinit the method property to get and hold their Possessions, nor thought at all how to transfinit the method property and course of their Exploits to Posterity. They thought they should doe bravely they, arms and course of their Exploits to Posterity. if they but left goodly Inheritances to those that should come after them; how Chron, lizez. they came by them they cared not whether ever they knew, feeing they should leave them possession, nine points of the Law, and a title written by the Sword's

6. To Oferic succeeded his Son Otha, to whom Sir Henry Savil in his Fastigues

point.

Then Ethel-

reigned Otha twenty years, although William of Malmesbury tells us that Oferic had for Succeffours his Son Otha, and Otha's Son Ermerick more like to him than to the Grandfather and great Grandfather: that to them both are ascribed fifty three years in the Chronicles; but whether they reigned apart or jointly together it's uncertain. But the Fasti now mentioned give to Ermerick nine and twenty years. After them followed Ethelbert (or Egilbert, or Æthilbyrht, as some Copies reade Ethelmads him) who at his first coming to the Government was very contemptible in the Asialalysis. eyes of his Neighbours, and ingaging in War with some of them, was once or twice worsted, particularly by \*Ceaulin and Cutha, who beat him back into Kent, \*Chrond St. twice worsted, particularly by *Ceausin* and *Ching*, who beat find beat find *Non-Collina* and flew, in a place called *Wibbandune*, two of his Noblemen, *Offac* and *Chebban*, xxxvii fee and with much adoe could defend what was left him by his Ancestours. But Creating when he grew older, and came to more experience in the World he grew more cura Be skilfull in military matters, and so plied his business, that he obtained Victory Juhron pay where-ever he engaged, and quarrels arifing betwixt him and the other petty Ædelbynbr Kings, as one gave occasion unto another, he subdued them all one after another, Thincin and by continual fuccess brought under all the English Saxon Nations except those Central Vision (Continual State of Continual of Northumberland. This made him to confiderable abroad as well as at home graymon that feeking for Alliances he was not denied, but obtained Bertha the Daughter of presentable the King of the Franks, fay fome, or rather one that was of the Bloud-royal of piban-that Nation. Now had be and he Come that was of the Bloud-royal of pibanthat Nation. Now had he and his Court by more acquaintance with the World, cuneofand especially by conversation with the Nation of the Franks, which had been pogon Or civilized before, began to relinquish their barbarous manners, and the Queen be-lac 1 Who wascon- ing a Christian, and having a Christian Bishop, by name Letard, attending upon Cnebban verted to the her, by this means he became more susceptible of that Impression which was made upon him hy Augustine the Monk and his followers, who being sent hither by

Gregory the Bishop of Rome, and finding better acceptance, no doubt, by reason of the Intelligence he might hold with the Queen, without much adoe brought him over to the Christian Religion. Having abolished Paganism, and brought in true Religion, that his Subjects might grow into a more civilized Body, like to the other polished Nations of the World, he set upon making Laws, such as most Lawsin favour fitted their Temper, and fuited with the prefent occasions of the State. In making these Laws, Beda tells us that he followed the pattern of the Romans, and Justie exercompiled them in the English Tongue, in the first place making provision for re- pla guarantees and place making provision for reflitution rum 1, 2,43 stitution to be made, in case a Church, Bishop, or others in Orders were indama- Sect. 2. ged, refolving to protect those the Doctrine of whom he had received. He died on the twenty fourth day of February after he had reigned fix and fifty years, in the one and twentieth year after the receiving of the Christian Faith, the year

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelbert, &c.

Then dyes.

of our Lord DCXIII, as the present Copy of Beda hath it, but as the Saxon Da parymb Translation of King Alfred about the year DCXVI, it being placed by the Fasti ryx huns Translation of King Aijred about the year DOAVI, it being placed by the Angle Phopa J above mentioned, in the year following, which was the feventh of Heraclius the Phopa J syxtyne Emperour, and the first year of Boniface the Fifth, the Roman Bishop, in the pinteen days of Clothair King of the Franks.

Edbald fuc-

nys of Clothair King of the Franks. 7. To Ethelbert fucceeded Edbald or Eadbald his Son, unlike him both in his rner men-Disposition and Success. He cast off the Christian Yoke and incestruously pollu-nyenegre, ted himself by the Marriage of his Father's Wise, which was followed by a de-&c. fection of those People which lately had obeyed his Father. Yet by means of Log Bedam section of those reopie which sately had obeyed his rather. Let by means of in high laboration the Succession of Angustine in the See of Canterbury, he was reduced a.c. & will to the Faith, and left the Bed of his Step-Mother, but never could reduce those liebn. Malnotions which had faln off, not being able to prevail with the Citizens of Longituding Geflix Region don to receive back Mellitus their Bilhop, whom out of an Heathenish Rage they Anglorum et. had expelled. He was forced therefore to be content with his Kingdom of Kent, and never could recover that height of Power from which he was faln. He

Then Eream-reigned, according to William of Malmsbury, four and twenty years, and was then, or is as some Copies, succeeded by Ercombert his Son begotten of Enima Daughter to the King of the Franks, who reigned the same number of years, and with better fortune; being famous for his Religion towards God, and his goodness towards his Countrey. He is indeed much commended upon the account of Religion, the Reformation whereof he much perfected, as we shall shew in its proper place. He Married Senburg the Daughter of Huna King of the East Angles, and having governed with great Commendation (though by some he is noted to have fraudulently usurped upon his Brother Ermenred, whose Right was precedent to the Crown) four and twenty years and some odd Months, then left this World and his Kingdom to Egbert his Son, his death being uthered in with After him Eg- an Eclipse of the Sun on the third of May, and a grievous Pestilence. Egbert either caused to be slain, or winked at the Murther of his Uncle's two Sons Elbert and Egelbright, and being not famous for any thing done (onely infamous for

doing or suffering this) died after he had held the Royal Seat nine years. He

Next Lubair. being dead, Lotharius his Brother feized on the Kingdom, though he left a Sort called Edrick, with ill luck as it happened. For Edrick for eleven years together would never suffer him to take any rest, but perpetually vexed him with Stirs, Infurrections, and Battels upon his own account, in one of which Lotharius received his Deaths Wound; for being pierced with a Dart he died as the Wound was drefling. Both he and his Brother were cut off after a fhort continuance, as fome observed, for their Usurpation, Injustice and Cruelty. For Eghert as we faid procured the innocent Sons of his Uncle to be murthered: And Lothair is taxed for abusing and deriding the Martyrs, (so they are termed) though he repented of the deed, and in way of fatisfaction, granted to their Mother, part of the Isle of Thanet, whereon to build a Monastery. 8. Lothair being removed out of the World in that manner, Edrick then

lor, who was enjoyed the Power, but onely a short time, for before two years were well at depired of an end he was both spoiled of his Life and Kingdom, and left his Countrey ex-like and Ring posed to the Lust and Tyranny of his Enemies. These were Cadwalla King of the down by Cad-west Saxons, and Millo his Brother, who finding the Kentish Affairs all in a consu-ctional King of the Country Coun the Welt Sax- fion and out of order, refolved to take the opportunity offered of invading it: on ad An. But he found not the People fo unprepared as he imagined, for they made a very oclaxxv1 ftout resistence, and after their Houses had been burned, and their Countrey de ben Cabpopulated, gave them Battel with great Indignation. They had the better of Falla 7 Out them, and forcing Cadwalla to run for his Life, drove up his Brother Millo income to a little Cortage wherein flutting up himfelf and not daring to break through to a little Cottage wherein shutting up himself, and not daring to break through, henceon. fire they fet to the Cottage, and therein burnt him alive. This did very much provoke Cadwalla, who, as appears from the Chronology or Saxon Annals, either staid in Kent well onward of two years, or else invaded it two years together, and the later of them twice, to which they add, that he wasted not onely Kent, but the Isle of Wight too, which was under the Jurisdiction of the Kingdom of the South Saxons. To revenge his Brothers death he raged with all manner of Depopulations and Cruelties against them, and so desperate was the condition of Kent, that for fix years it had no King except it were Foreigners that

Sect. 3. Who being

intruded. In the seventh year Withred the Son of Egbert having by his great pains and industry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himself and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himself with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own House he shewed all manner of respect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having inlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need should so require; the greatest felicity which usually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom fucceeded Edbeyt. Then Edil-

9. Of these his three Sons Edbert the eldest succeeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother Edilbert, who reigned other eleven, bert and Al- his Reign being onely unfortunate in the accidental burning of the City. He dying after these eleven years, Alrick the youngest Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the luftre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obscured by an unfortunate Battel, which he sought against the Mernemg much obscured by an unfortunate patter, which he longin against the mer-cians. So faith Malmbury, if any ill Accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether so it be done on purpose and by design, or it so falls out through the badness of our Nature, through which it comes to pass that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that causeth smart and forrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themselves, yet the Monk's Observation is much amiss in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the Britains, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly filent as to their Defeats. But in these three Brothers the Royal Kentish stock quite withered, the generous bloud was extinct, faith our Authour, and every impudent Fellow, whose bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendred formidable, would aspire after Tyranny, and dare to assume the Royal Diadem. Of these Edilbert or Pren Death feveral having governed the Kentish men two years, to shew himself a King indeed would Usurpthe Go- attempt greater things against the Mercians than he was able to perform, and being taken Prisoner by them was kept in custody, whence not long after he was yet dismissed by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the fame

Faction succeeded to his pitifull condition, and was King onely in Name for But are driven eight years more. The last of all was Baldrede, whom Malmsbury calls an into Banish.

Mortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather besieged than gomet by Ebert King of verned Kent, for other eighteen years was by Egbert the King of the West Saxons the West Sax- driven into Banishment. So this Kingdom of Kent, which from the year CCCCXLIX had stood for the space of CCCLXXIV years became subject to another Jurisdiction. So writes William of Malmsbury. The end of the Kingdom of Kent is noted in the Fasti to have fall out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of Egbert, the third year of the Reign of Michael Traulus Emperour in the East. The tenth of Ludovicus Pius who bore that Title in the West. A. D. DCCCXXIII.

SECT. IV.

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The Kingdom of the South Saxons in Suffex. From the founding of it by Aella to the Ruine thereof.

HE next Kingdom that was founded by these New Planters in Britain, Sect. 4. was that of the South Saxons in Suffex by Aella, who as we have already faid with his three Sons landed in that Countrey, and for feveral years Sought with various success against the Britains. The place where he first landed is by the Saxon Annals called Cyrnenes ora, and Cambden tells us, that near to the Haven of Chichester is a place called Witering, where, as the Monuments of the Church testifie, Alla the first founder of the Kingdom of Suffex arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the Britains, who flocked to him at his landing, we have already faid, and still inlarged their Bounds, till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battel was fought at a place called Merix desburnanstede; where, though the Victory is said to have been doubtfull, and the Saxon Annals are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or fuch as did much weaken him, appears in this that he fent for new Supplies out of Saxony. Whereas he is faid in his first Ingagement with the Britains, to have beaten them into a Wood called Andredefleage; by the Annals the Reader must know that this Countrey in old times

delleage; by the Annals the Reader must know that this country in our times rey fall of was hardly paffable by reason of Woods. For the Wood Andridsfindle, or Comini & was fall of wood.

Andredsleage, in the British Language Coid Andred, having its Name from Ande-Suith Saxone: local five and the City next adjoyning, took up in this Quarter an hundred, and twenty her Widelieum Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vast Wood are (or savely were) appellicum: Remnants toward the West, the Forest of Arundes, St. Leonard's Forest, Word Nessure toward the West, the Forest or Market Language Forest. Forest, East Grensted, Ashdown Forest, and Waterdown Forest.

alii Wilden, sed falso vocitent : Nam Anglo Soxones Sylvam Walden ut nunc Germani, Wolden verò planitiem sive arboribus appellitabant; ut in nominibus Cotteswalden & Pothewolde apparet, Hac Lhuydut s. 13, b.

Ella King of 2. Alla found it feems fo much opposition, and was fo long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South Saxons, in the fourth year of Efc King of Kent; first of Anastasius the Emperour, A. D. CCCCXCI. In the third year after the death Hengift, Huntingdon tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Countrey, with which he went and befreged a most strong City called Andredeswaster, supposed to be that now called Nemenden in Kent, in Latin Anderida, as in the Notitia of the Provinces, and in Britis Caer Andred, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of Andredesse. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood Andredeswald, that took the Name from it; being separated from Sussex but by the River Rother. And lastly because the English Saxons seem to have termed it cambden in Brittenden, (as they also called Segontium an ancient Town of the Britains) or Cantio. the Vale of the Britains, whence the whole Hundred adjoyning is named Selbrittenden. The Romans to defend this Coast against the Saxon Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the Abulet. Hengift after his Artival being refolved to drive the Britains quite out of Kent, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Members by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, fent for this Alla out of Germany with a strong power of English Saxons, and while he gave a violent Assault to this Town state that, the Britains out of the adjoyning Wood where they lay in Ambulh, so steredy fell upon him, that at laderth states much Last on Well-State when he had divided his Army and rough. length, after much loss on both fides, when he had divided his Army and routed the Britains in the Wood, and at the fame time forced the Town by Affault,

Sect. 3. Who being

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The Countrey was hardly passable by reason of Woods. For the Wood Andradsivald, or Comiani & very still of Andredsleage, in the British Language Coid Andred, having its Name from Ande-Suith Saxones rida, the City next adjoyning, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty how Walden Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vast Wood are (or lately were) appellirant: Remnants toward the West, the Forest of Arundell, St. Leonard's Forest, Word Nesciones ta-Forest, East Grensted, Ashdown Forest, and Waterdown Forest.

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His King of 2. Ella found it seems so much opposition, and was so long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South Saxons, in the fourth year of Esc King of Kent, first of Analsalus the Emperour, A. D. CCCCXCI. If the third year after the death Hengis, Hintingdon tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Countrey, with which he went and befreged a most strong City called Andredeswaster, supposed to be that now called Newenden in Kent, in Latin Anderida, as in the Notitia of the Provinces, and in British Caer Andred, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of Andredesleage. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood Andredeswald, that took the Name from it, being separated from Suffex but by the River Rother. And lastly because the English Saxons seem to have termed it cambden in Brittenden, (as they also called Segontium an ancient Town of the Britains) or Cantio. the Vale of the Britains, whence the whole Hundred adjoyning is named Selbritthe Vac of the Bittains, whether the whole fundate adjoining is mained between the Band and Captain of the Abulet. Hengift after his Arrival being refolved to drive the Bittains quite out of Keni, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, fent for this Lalla out of Germany with a strong power of English Saxons, and while he gave a violent Affaille to this Town Anderida, the Bittains out of the adjustment Wood where the line is a result. joyning Wood where they lay in Ambush, so siercely sell upon him, that at length; after much loss on both fides, when he had divided his Army and routed the Britains in the Wood, and at the fame time forced the Town by Affault,

Sect. 4. his barbarous heart was so inflamed with defire of revenge, that he put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and levelled the Town with the very ground. The

place lying thus desolate was shewn (as faith Henry of Huntingdon) to those that passed by many Ages after. Till the Friars Carmelites newly come from Mount Carmel in the Holy Land, who fought for fuch folitary places, built them here a little Priory in the time of King Edward the First, at the Charges of Sir Thomas Albuger Knight, and presently after there rose up a Village, which in regard of the old Town demolished, began to be called Newenden, or the New

Town in the Vale. Thus Cambden in his Chorography of Kent.

3. Who when he speaks all in one course of Speech of Hengist his sending for Ælla out of his Germany, and his laying Siege to this Town, is to be understood with that distinction of time we have lately mentioned, not that after his coming he set presently upon it, as the uninterrupted course of words would feem to intimate; for that it was after the Auxiliaries came to him, which arrived in the third year after Hengist's death, Huntingdon plainly affirms, and the Saxon Annals do confirm. The faid Writer tells the Story with forme Ad An. and the Saxon Annals do confirm. The had writer this the coasy which could full with a People unwilling to be turned out of CCCXC, Circumstances, but such as well suit with a People unwilling to be turned out of Hap Æller Befieges An- their ancient Possessions to be utterly ruined. He tells us the Britains upon Guja ymnotice of his coming flocked to the place like Bees; by Day they overmatched bracon Anthe Beliegers by Wiles and lying in wait, by Night with Onlets; there was breserneither Day nor Night wherein some sorrowfull Message did not afflict the cercen, Saxons. But by each loss they were but the more provoked, and the City Jorgloson Saxons. But by each loss they were out the first providing the Britain they plied with continual Allarms and fresh Attacks; though the Britain they plied with continual Allarms and fresh their constant Showres of an inner fittil upon their Backs, and gored them with their constant shite are their care. Darts and Arrows. The Pagans therefore were constrained to intermit their ne reap's work at the Siege, and retire back upon them, who then being more nim- barne porble of Body than their Enemy, betook themselves into the Woods, and as con an the Saxons retired again toward the City, failed not to fall upon their Rere. Boye to By this means were the Besiegers tired with their work, and great Slaughters laye. were made of them, till fuch time as they divided themselves into two Bodies, that while one plied the Siege the other might divert and keep the

about, till the poor Befieged being weak with hunger, and more violently than ever charged, could not endure another shock, were with their Wives and Children all pitifully butchered, infomuch that not one escaped. And the Strangers because they had received so much loss, would not suffer the Town which is ta-ken and raced, a Monument of their difgrace to fland, but so destroyed it, that it was never after rebuilded: Onely the place of a most noble City is shewed to such as pass by; so the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who calls this Town a most fortified City, a most Noble City, though the Translatour of the Chronology or Saxon Annals hath interpolated the word Vrbeculam, for which he

other Britains in action. Hereby they did their work vigorously in both pla-

ces, no interruption being given, but each Party folely intending what it was

had no ground in the Text.

4. By the violence and severity in this place used by Ælla, we may conclude there was vigorous opposition made by the Britains, who it feems, notwithflanding all the endeavours of Hengist, kept some sooting still in these Quarters till after his death. This evidences that they were not eafily beaten out of their Inheritances, nor sheepishly quitted their Countrey, though perpetual Supplies to the very exhaulting of the places from whence they came, at length overpowered them: And pity it is we have fo small intelligence of so great and famous a Revolution. But, to return to Ælla, as he began his Reign with fo terrible a blow to the Britains, fo he followed on the course of valour and victory with such success, that as Beda testifies he had under his Power and Lib.2.c.5. Command all the Dominions of the English Saxons, being the first of these feven Kings he mentions who extended their Authority over all the Southern part of their Provinces, which was limited by the River Humber and the places adjacent. He Reigned twenty four years as the Fasti have it, or twenty seven as writes Henry of Huntingdon, and was then succeeded by his ciffs succeeds Son Ciffa, or Sciffa as some call him, who being mentioned the last of his three Sons which came over with him, it feems was the onely one that fucceeded him, or else for his Courage and Prowess was appointed his Succeffour, being indeed still named with him by the Annals in any great or dangerous undertaking. After his Fathers death there is little memorable of him, but that from him a little Village or Hill, called Cibury in Suffex, took

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Adelwold, &c. it's Name, where there is a Fort compassed about with a Bank rudely cast Sect. 4.

up, wherewith the Inhabitants are perfuaded that Cafar entrenched and fortified his Camp; but the Name of the place sufficiently testifies it was the work of this Ciffa; and that he built the City Chichester, which though in Latin it be called Cicestria, and in British Caercei, in Saxon is read Cigrancearzen or the City of cissa. It lies in a Nook of Sussex in a Champion Countrey. Yet before the Conquest it was of small or no Name, known onely by a Monastery of St. Peter, and a small Nunnery. But in the Reign of William the First, as witnesseth Dooms-day Book in the Exchequer, there were in it one hundred Hages; it was in the hand of Earl Roger of Montgomery, there being in it threescore Hages or Mansion Houses more than there were before. Fifteen Pounds it paid to the King, and Ten to the Earl. But afterwards a Vide Cambel-Decree being passed in the days of the said King, that the Sees of Bishops num in Suffer. should be removed out of small Towns to Places of greater Note and Resort, it was honoured with the Residence of the Bishop of the Diocese, which formerly was at Selfey, and by this and other helps began to rife to some degree of eminency, which had been greater but that the Haven is bad, and

somewhat at too great a distance.

5. After Ciffa Reigned some of his Posterity, but through the Vicissitude of Humane Affairs, or some defect in him or them, lost quite that Power and Reputation, to which Ælla their Predecessour and Founder of the Kingdom had arrived. By degrees their Dominions lessened, and after the Reigns of feveral inglorious Perfons, few of whose Names are now extant, they became a Prey to their Neighbour Kings, and were for the most part either fubject to those of Kent, or of the West Saxons. Indeed the second King that after Ælla had Dominion over all the other English Saxons, as far as Humber, was Ceaulin King of the West Saxons, by whose greatness and Neighbourhood it's more than probable that the Fortune of these South Saxons was curbed and much abated. Then when the fortune of Ceaulin abated, grew Ethelbert the Kentish King, and their Neighbour on the other side, to that great Power whereof we have spoken, that Beda makes him the third, ria Gristorum whose Arms and Authority extended as far as to Humber. By this means wel fant oblying betwixt fuch potent Neighbours, the Kingdom of Suffex so dwindled, Sura recondite that after Ciffa fearcely is any of their Kings mentioned, except Adelwold, Adelwold qui whose memory continues upon this Account, because he was the first King jure adduce no that imbraced the Christian Religion. After him Brentius is mentioned: men haber, Aldwin the And Aldwin was the last; whom Ina King of the West Saxons despoyled both nonen Christic last King, de-prived of Life and Kingdom. For after the decay of Ethelbert's greatness, and agnosis. Henand Kingdom that his Son had made Shipwreck of that great Power he had, and could the training by Ina King hardly defend what Hengili left them; this Kingdom of the West Saxons got Quantum ground, and though it received some Checks and Rebukes, at length prevailed Huntingdoover all the rest, as in due time and place will be discovered.

## SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the East Saxons in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. From the founding of it by Erkenwin, to the conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Three Hundred and One Tears.

1. HE next Kingdom in order after that of the South Saxons, was the other of the West Saxons; but, forasmuch as this swallowed up all the rest at length, though we affign it here its place, it's most convenient in the last place to speak of it. The next after it was the petry Kingdom of the East Saxons, in Esex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. It was begun by Erkenwin, in the fixteenth Erkenwin. Year of Otho King of Kent, the first year of Justinian the Emperour, the Consulflip of Mavorsius, and the year of Our Lord DXXVII. This Erkenwin was the Son of Offa, he of Biedcan, he of Sigewolfe, Sigewolfe of Spoewz, he of Gefac, Gesac of Andesc, and Andesc of Saxnat. After Erkenwin succeeded his Son Slede according to Huntingdon, who by the Monk of Malmesbury, is made the first of these East Saxon Kings, and the tenth from Woden. He married Ricula the Daughter of Ermerick King of Kent, and Sister to Ethelbert, by which Lady he had a Son named Sebert. This Sebert first received the Christian Faith at the preaching of Mellitus, and his Monument they shew to Passengers in St. Peter's Church at Westminster. He dying, his two Sons Sextus and Seward (Beda faith he left three) being always Pagans in their Hearts, banished Mellitus from his Cure, but not long after ingaging with the Geniss, or the West Saxons in Battel, they and all their Men were cut off. Sigbert sirnamed the Little, the Son of Seward, succeeded them; and dying, left the Kingdom to Sigebert the Son of Sigebald, who was Brother to Sebert. This Sigebert being in amity with, and often using to visit Offei King of Northumberland, was perfuaded to relinquish his Idols and be baptized, which done, he caused the Christian Religion to be restored in his King-

2. Having imbraced Christian Religion, he was murthered by two of his Kinfmen (two Brothers) for obeying the Christian Doctrine, which bids us pass by In- Vide Bedam juries, and forgive our Enemies, they which confessed had angred and provoked them in the to commit the Fact. After him reigned Swidhelm, the Son of Sechald, said by Malmes. desirables are bury to have been his Brother, who also was baptized by Bishop Ledda. He being dead, Sigher the Son of Sigebert, firnamed the Little, and Sebba the Son of Seward, held the Kingdom jointly together. Sigher died first, and lest Sebba fole King, who reigned Al. Sebbi. thirty years, and at his death took the Habit of Religion upon him. He left two Sons, Sighard (who by Beda it should seem was a Monk) and Snefrede, both Beda I. s. cit. who fucceed him, rhough how long they reigned, or what they did we are ig. Namifain orant. They both being dead, Offa the Son of Sigher, a young man of a please of the fant Countenance, sprightly wit, in the flower of his Age, and extraordinarily be Rein of the Rein of lieved by the People, for some time governed this Kingdom; but as Beda writes, of mutal left his Wife, his Lands, Kindred and Countrey, and going to Rome, there lived and Sighard a died in Monastical life; Malmesbury saith, that by the Counsel and Advice of frare Suffice. Kinefwitha, Daughter of King Penda, whom he had fought in Marriage, being request, &c. taught to breathe after Celetial loves, he went to Rome with Kenede, King of the Mercians, and bleffed Egwin, Bishop of the Willii, and there being shaven, at his time passed to the heavenly Kingdom. To him succeeded Selrede Son of Sigebert, firnamed the Good, and reigned thirty eight years. He being flain, one Swithede reigned over the East Saxons, and in the same year that Egbert, King of

the West Saxons conquered the Kingdom of Kent, was by him also driven away Sect. 6. and outed of his Royalty. Yet was London, and the parts about it, subject to the Kings of the Mercians so long as they continued. But such end had this petty Kingdom of the East Saxons, which most commonly was under command either of the Mercians or West Saxons, in the same year that the Kentish Kingdom was subdued, as writes the Monk of Malmesbury, but the Fasti continue it four years longer, and make it to be united to that of the West Saxons, in the year of our Lord DCCCXXVIII. fo that according to this account it, must have continued (in this mean condition) the space of three hundred and one years. Of the extent of the Reigns of the Kings there's little certainty, as also of those of the Kingdom of the East Angles, therefore it is that no certain years can be assigned.

## SECT. VI.

The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain. From the Founding of it by Ida to the Conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Eighty One years.

HE Kingdom of the Northumbrians was founded by Ida, in the one and twentieth year of the Emperour Justinian, in the days of Childebert King of the Franks, the fixteenth of Ermerick King of Kent, and the thirteenth of Kenrick King of the West Saxons, A. D. DXLVII. His Ancestours are thus reckoned, Eope (or Coppe) Esc (or Ese) Inguim, Angenwit, Alock, Beonock, Brand, Beldet, Woden, Fredlelaf, Fredeulf, Fin, Godnulf, Heata.

2. It must be remembred that Hengist after he had fixed his footing in Kent, sent to Otha his Brother and Ebusa his Son, Men of tried experience in military natters, under a specious pretence of repelling thence the Pills and Scots, to seize pon the Northern parts of Britain. They being there arrived, at length with nuch labour and travel performed that for which they were sent; for very often ngaging with the Britains in Battel, at length they brought them under, and for-ed them quietly to submit unto their yoke. But if their two were Off a and Eofa he Son, and Brother (for fo it ought to be, and not the Brother and Son as we reade i in Malmesbury) of Hengist, of whom Geoffrey of Monmouth writes; that at such tme as Ambrose took and flew Hengist at Coningsbourgh shut themselves up in tie Cities of Tork and Dunbritton, others tell other Tales concerning them Galfrid Mon-Goffrey writes that after they had surrendred themselves, Ambrole granted to them Mulb. 1.8.c.9. part of the Countrey lying near to Scotland. Matthew of Westminster, from those Butish Writers, saith, that Ambrose having laid siege to York, Ostabeing of opinion that he could not hold the place against such a multitude; took advice with thate that were with him, and with the Nobility that accompanied him, came out of the Town and spake to this purpose. My Gods are overcome; and I am coment that thy God reign who compells so many Noblemen to come to thee. Take us, and if thou wilt shew no mercy, bind us and use us as thou wilt, for we are willing and really. With these words Ambrase was moved to pity, and shewed himself mercifull to them : And by this pattern Eofa and the rest were moved to come in and submitted to Ambrose, who gave them a Countrey near to Scotland, and made a League of Friendship with them. Though he tells us of this Country, beflowed upon them here, yet in another place, and nineteen years after, he tells us another flory, that their Keepers being corrupted, let them out of Prison, where they idem ad Ar. had led a miserable life, and fled with them into Germany, whence with a great 509, Fleet they returned, to the destruction of Britain. Hereupon his Uther Pendragon committed the Army of Britain to one Loth, a Conful and a most valiant Man. But though he often gave Battel to these Strangers, instead of driving them out, they got ground of him; for the Britains would not obey him.

3. After

Selved . Swithede, Sect. 6. 3. After this Viber Pendragon falling fick, these Rovers ranged about the Island and made havock of all things without controll. This exceedingly provoked the King, who grieving that Church and State should thus goe to ruine, fent for the Nobles, and accusing them of pride and idleness, vowed he would lead them against the Enemy though in that condition wherein he then lay. He caused a Litter to be provided, and marched with the Army towards Verulam, where the curfed Saxons at that time lay. Otta and Eofa having word brought of the approach of the Britains, and how their King was carried in a Litter, they distained to go out and fight him because he came in such a posture; they betook themselves into the City, and out of scorn left the Gates wide open. Uther presently caused the Town to be besieged and the Walls battered, by which entring, his Men made great flaughter of the Saxons till they unbethought themselves. In the Morning they came out in order of a Battel, challenging the Britains to fight, who courageoully grappled with them, and many fell on both fides, but after much contention and bloudshed the Victory fell to the King of the Britains, and they that fcorned him in his Litter, found his Orders and Commands fo effectual and deadly that there they two lost their Lives, and when they were dead, their Men fairly betook them to their Heels. With this Victory the King was fo overjoyed (and well he might) that whereas before he was not able to stir Hand or Foor he could now rife with a very little help, and was in a manner recovered. This Story fuits not very well with what Malmesbury and others write, that fo good an account was given of their pains in subduing the Northern Parts of Bri-

tain. But whether this end befell them, or that the Britains were forced to quit to them that Countrey near Scotland, which feems to be inwrapped in the Story of Ambrofius, their endeavours, or the labours of their followers at length effected

what they intended, at least in a good measure. 4. For, the Captains of the Saxons in these Countries still more prevailed a-

gainst the Natives, yet notwithstanding would they not doe any injury to the Name of Kings by affuming that Title, but still devolved the power in the same form of Mediocrity, faith Malmesbury, upon their Successiours; and in this kind of establishment they continued for an hundred years lacking one, satisfying themselves with the common name of Captains or Dukes, and truckling under the patronage and command of the Kentish Kings. But no longer would Ambition bestinted; either for that humane nature ever inclines to the worst, or for that this Nation naturally was high and lofty. Therefore in the year of our Lord DXLVII and LX after the death of Hengist, the Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom, to which Ida was first promoted; a Person doubtless of most noble extraction, and in the flower of his age and strength; but whether he invaded the Sovereignty, or by the confent of others came to the Government I determine not, faith the Monk, because the truth it self is obscure. But it's certain that hi His character. Descent was high and very ancient, and that by his unspotted Life and excellen Morals he added much to the luftre of his Birth. In War he was unconquerable yet at home tempered his Royal feverity with an uncounterfeited mildness and se renity of mind. I could (so he proceeds) in this place set down the lineal de fcent both of him and others, but I am unwilling by the harsh found of barbarot words to difgust the Reader. But thus much I shall note, that whereas Wods had three Sons, Weldeg, Withleg and Beldeg, from the first the Kings of Kent &rived their Pedegree, from the second the Kings of the Mercians, and from the third the Kings of the West Saxons and the Northumbrians, besides two which ve shall name hereafter. So this Ida, as I absolutely find, being the ninth from Bildeg, and the tenth from Woden, continued fourteen years King of the Northun-

5. Thus much William of Malmesbury concerning Ida, by which we may obferve the incertainty of the Pedigree derived from this Woden, for whereashe will have him but to have had three Sons, the Continuatour of Florentius Wigornius fis Pag. 688. I. mentions feven, from whom he draws the Genealogies of our English Sexon die France Kings, which the Reader may there confult if he think it worth his while to at family and an area of the state of the stat tend to these incertainties. And whereas he writes uncertainly concerning hisad-Marth Fire vancement, the Archdeacon of Huntingdon delivers it for a truth, that he was legim cut-chosen to this Dignity by consent of the great ones. He reigned with great commendations for the Vertues lately mentioned, and for his courage and diligence, with twelve years, and built a Town called Behanburgh, which first he fenced with a Pallifado, and afterward with a Wall. From Beda, it should feem, that he called High Light it so from his Wife, for he writes that it had its name from one Queen Bebba.

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ida, &c. CHAP. II.

> It is at this day called Bamborough in Northumberland ( not Dunstaburg, as some Sect. 6. have imagined) being in the days of Honeden, as he writes, a most strong City, but small, containing the space of two or three Fields, liaving one hollow en- Cambden. trance raifed with stairs, in a wonderfull manner, on the assent of an Hill. It had a very fair Church, and Westward on the top there was a well set out with marvellous Art, fweet to the Taste, and most pleasant to the Eye. At this day it is counted a Castle rather than a City, yet so big and large, that it may seem to match with some Cities. In it did William Rusus Besiege Mowbray, who lurked in it, and at length escaped. It was much defaced in the Civil Wars by Breffy a Norman, who fided with the House of Lancaster, and fince that has been almost quite ruined, partly by time which confumeth all things, and by the Winds which have driven an incredible deal of Sand of the Sea into the Fortress. To it adjoyneth Humildon, where was born John Duns, by mistake called Scotus, the subtile Doctor, who falling into a fit of an Apoplexy, and in his Man's absence buried for dead, came again to himself, and dashed his Brains out against the stones, be-

6. Ida by his Wife had fix Sons, Adda, Ethelrick, Theodorick, Atherick, Ofmer and Theofrede, and by his Concubines other fix, viz. Oga, Alrick, Eccha, Ofbald, Segor and Segother, all who came into Britain (Matthew Florilegus tells us)

with forty Ships, and landed at a place called Flemsburg; fo that according to ban, this Ida must not have been the Son of any of these Captains that Governed Nor-The Kingdom thumberland before it had a King; but a mere stranger chosen for his Merit. The same Matthew writes, that after the death of Ida, the Kingdom of the Northumbrians was divided into two, whereof that next to England, and on this fide the River Tine, as we have already faid, was called Deira, or the Inhabitants thereof Deiri, and the other lying beyond that River as far as Edenbrough Frith had the name of Bernicia, as the Inhabitants Bernicii. In Deira, or the hithermost Province, Ælla fucceeded, the fon of Iffi of the fame flock originally, but in a \* feveral Line descended from Woden: In Bernicia succeeded Adda the Son of \* Stemmaejus Ida, where he Reigned feven years, being as little memorable as most of those open Foren. Princes that came after him. Ella was a very industrious Man, and by his great higher. Ella Labour much inlarged those Territories, to the Government of which he was filius isti cu-

promoted for the space of thirty years. After his death, as Malmesbury writes, in majores wallsfrea, Ethelrick the Son of Ida, having spent most of his Age in poverty, and now Wilgelfus, gray, obtained the Kingdom, but therein continued not long, dying when he Walena, Seagray, obtained the Migdolli, but therein continued not long, a sill with melius, sater-had Reigned but five years a miferable Prince, and who would abfolutely have melius, sater-been buried in Oblivion, had it not been for the eminency of his Son Ethelfrid Seaballas, siga young Man in years, but old in discretion and behaviour. In this mean time geotus, Suebin the Kingdom of Bernicia, another informs us that Adda, the eldest Son of Ida, rus, Weadequs

Reigned seven years, after him Clappa five, Theodulf one, Freethulf seven, Theo Woland drick seven, and Ethelrick two, Alla yet living. He being dead, and his Son Wigom. at Edwin driven out of the Kingdom, he Reigned sive years over both the Pro-Ann. 559.

The feveral

7. Æthelrick once dead, Æthelfrid his Son succeeded him in both Provinces, as both his Birthright and his Pains required; for by his Valour and Conduct, Eadwin the Son of Alla was expelled, who lived in exile with Redwald, King of the East Angles, till fuch time as by his means he was to be restored. The same Math Floriset. Authour tells us, that Athelfrid Married Acca the Daughter of Alla, and by ad Ann. 595. her had feven Sons, viz. Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswin, Oslack, Oswide, Osa and Offa; to which Sons another adds a Daughter named Libba. Æthelfrid, having Florens. ad obtained the Kingdom first with earnestness, defended and secured his own, then Ann. 593. fell upon what belonged to others. Many Wars did he prudently undertake, and as successfully end, being neither given to laziness nor yet temerity; but keeping a Mean betwirt the Extremes, yet ever acted by a desire of Glory. Of this is wittwho solution ness sufficient, saith Malmelbury, Degsestan, or the stone of Degs, a place famous Degestias seem Angl.

who had not noted in those Quarters wherein Eda the King of the Scots, who envying the prosperity sum Angle of the Scots, who envying the prosperity sum Angle of the Scots, who envying the prosperity sum Angle of the Scots of of Athelfrid, forced him even against his mind to Fight, was not without great danger of the Conquerour himself, beaten and driven to flight. For Tedbald the Brother of Ethelbert, out of defire to approve his Industry and Valour to his Brother, putting himself into extreme danger, left him a forrowfull Victory, being flain with his whole Party. The City Legio, now fimply called Chefter, is witness, which being to this time possessed by the Britains, harboured a People full of Pride and Contumacy against the King, which when he resolved to Besiege,

ing hence faid to have been twice dead, but once buried.

the Inhabitants refolving to endure any thing rather than a Leagure, and trusting

Ida the first

Scot. 6, to their Numbers, went out thick and threefold to give him Battel, but fell into the Ambushes he had laid for them and were defeated; but the Monks especially

felt his Rage and Fury, who had flocked thither to pray for the fuccess of the Army. Of their incredible number still in our Age, are sufficient marks, the ruinous Walls of the Churches of the Neighbouring Monastery, fo many turnings of Cloysters, so great heaps of Beams and Rafters, as can scarcely be seen in any other place: It's called Banchor, at that time a famous receptacle of Monks, and now turned into a Bishoprick. Erhelfrid, having all things succeeding thus ac-Bankheth Ed. cording to his wifhes, and defirous to remove all occasions of domestick Broils and civil Quarrels, banished Edwin the Son of Alla, a young Man of good worth, who wandering up and down, and in his adversity, as generally it happens, Who flying to finding but finall incouragement, at length came to Redwald King of the Eaflern Redwald King of the Eaft Angles, to whom deploring his prefent condition, he was kindly received; but Angles, is pro- prefently after him arrived the Ambassadours of Ethelfrid, requiring the Fugitive to be given up, or upon refufal, War was denounced. Redwald, being by his Wife Thence a war carnelly moved never to break his Faith given to the diffressed Prince, got ready wherein E- an Army, and unexpectedly fell upon Ethelfrid, who abfolutely furprized was slain, while he mansfully made resistence, and fold his life at a dear rate, killing Reiner the Son of Redwald before he fell. To this end came Ethelfrid, after he had Reigned twenty four years, a Warriour inferiour to none of the highest emineffey, but utterly ignorant of the true Religion. By Acca his Wife, the Daughter of Alla, and Sifter of Edwin, he had two Sons: Ofwald, a Child of twelve years old, and Ofwin but four; who when their Father was flain, were by the care of those that brought them up speedily conveyed out of the way, and carried into

> Scotland. 8. Thus much Malmsbury tells us of Ethelfrid, in short, which as he confeffeth he had from Beda. This Authour indeed calls him a most Valiant Prince, and Qui plat omone most desirous of Glory, who more than all the Captains of the English, ha-nibus Angloraffed the Nations of the Britains, so that he might feem comparable to Saul the bus general King of Ifrael, onely he was ignorant of the true Religion. For no Captain, no wastabat Bri-King ever subdued more of their Countrey, and by rooting out or conquering Hist. 16. 1. the Inhabitants, made them either be possessed by the English, or Tributary to c.14 them. To him might that be applied which the Patriarch when he bleffed his Son, spake as to the Person of Saul, Benjamin is a ravenous Wolf, in the morning Gan 49.27 he shall devour the Prey, and at night he shall divide the Spoil. Hence by his fuccesses, Edan King of the Scots, which inhabite Britain, being moved, came against him with a vast and strong Army, but being overthrown, fled away one-ly with a few in his Company. For in that most famous place which is called Degsestan or the stone of Degsa, almost his whole Army was cut in pieces. And in this Fight Theodbald (Malmsbury hath it Tedbald) the Brother of Ethelfrid was flain, with all the Party of which he had the Conduct. This War was finished by Ethelfrid, in the DCIII. year, from the Incarnation of our Lord, and of his Reign, which continued twenty four, the twelfth; the first of Phocas, who was then Emperour of the Romans. Neither from this time forward to this very day, durst any of the Scotish Kings offer to fight against the Nation of the English. So much Beda, concerning this War betwixt Ethelfrid and Edan, as for what he writes concerning the Siege of Chefter, and the flaughter of the Monks of Bangor, we must speak of it in our Ecclesiastical matters, because of a question wont to be moved about it concerning Augustine the Archbishop of Canterbury. As for what he fays, that none of the Scotish Kings durst fight against the Nation of the English, to that day, it is to be understood till the year of our Lord DCCXXXI, where at ending his History in another place thereof, he also fignifies that the Scots which inhabited Britain, being content with their own limits, practifed nothing against the Nation of the English, by crast or fraud. But farther, as to the death of Ethelfrid, Matthew of Westminster, writes that Red-Ad Ann. 617. wald challenged him to fight, and they met in the Countrey of the Jures, Eastward of the River, which is called Idle. Thence faith he, came a Proverb at this very day in use, that the River Idle was defiled with the Bloud of the English. He adds, that Edwin had lived in exile with Redwald seventeen years. As for the place of the Battel, it was fought upon the faid River Idle; which fpringing in the Forest of Shirwood runneth into the Trent, near to Idleton in Notinghamsbire. And whereas Matthew the Flowergather placeth this River in the Countrey of the Jutes ( which we know not how it should be so called, except the Brother and Son of Hengift, when they were fent into the North, here planted some Colony)

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edwin. the Archdeacon of Huntingdon writes, it was on the Borders of the Mercians, which Sect. 6.

fuits well with this place in Notinghamshire now mentioned.

9. Ethelfrid being flain, Edwin came to the possession of his Hopes and Wishes, viz. the two Kingdoms of the Deiri and Bernicii, in the seventh year of Heraclius the Emperour, in the days of Clothair the fecond King of the Franks, in the first year of Eadbald King of Kent, A.D. DCXVII. Being of sufficient years, and taught large Experience by his long Afflictions, he first settled his matters very well at home, and then began to look towards his Neighbours, all whom he compelled to truckle under him, and so far extended his Power or Authority, that of these seven Princes, which during the Heptarchy till the time of Beda, commanded the Southern Parts from the River Humber, he is reckoned the fifth Beda, lib. 2. in order, being in this respect superiour to them all, as well as others hereafter to 6.5.89. be mentioned, that whereas Limits or bounds to their Power were fet by the River Humber, the Border of his Paternal Dominions, and they never pierced into his Power, reached through the extent of their Territories. Beda, to explain what he faid of the extent of his Power, affirms, that with greater might than any other before him, he ruled over all the People which inhabited Britain, as well Britains as English, these of Kent excepted; he subdued to the Command of

the English Nation, the Mevania Islands of the Britains, which lye in the Sea his Dominion betwixt Britain and Ireland. Now whereas the present Copies of Beda reade it; Nevaniæ, Camden tells us, that Menaviæ is the right reading, and that Beda callethis two Mands by that Name, whereof one he terms Menavia Prior, which is Monaor the Isle of Anglesey, and the other Menavia Secunda, which is the same with that called Mona by Casar, Monoeda by Ptolemy ( that is as one would say Moneitha, or the more remote Mona, to put a difference between it, and the other Mona, viz. Anglesey ) by Pliny Monabia, and by Orosius Menavia, the same which we call the Ile of Man, being known to the Britains by the Name of Menow, and by that of Maning to the Inhabitants. As for what Beda writes of their lituation,

The Situation betwixt Britain and Ireland, The first Mona, or of these Menavia now called Deiis Beda Anglesey, fince it was conquered by the English, but anciently Mona by the Romans, lib 2 c. 9, by the Britains, Mon and Tir-Mon, or the Land of Mon, and Tiris Dowil; that is a que at all Shadowed or dark Island; and by the ancient English Saxons Mones, lyeth over a - tum of S fitte gainst the County of Caernarvan (which took Name of the chief Town therein, amplior, of frigum proas the Town from the Island ) being separated from the Continent of Britain, ventu atque but by a small narrow Strait, and on all parts else is beaten upon by the surging ubertate falland boiltrous Irish Ocean. As for the other, or the Isle of Man, it is stretched out tarum sexajust in the Mid-level, as Giraldus Cambrensis describes it between the Northern ginea familia-Coasts of Ireland and Britain, and about it, namely to whether of the Countrum mensus tries it ought of Right to apperrain, there arose no small controversie amongst ram justa afthe Ancients, which was decided at length by this evidence, that it fostered ve-Angieum, nemous wormes carried thither for trial, whereupon by a common censure it was faring the adjudged to belong to Britain. Yerdo the Natives both in Language and Manners trasspation come nighest to the Britains, yet so as therewith they also savour of somewhat tenet. derived from those of Norwey.

10. But more of these Islands upon farther occasion, let us farther inlarge up on what Beda faith in short, concerning the Greatness and Power of King Edwin. The Monk of Malmesbury tells us, that the stiff-necked Northumbrians having submitted themselves, the sudden death of Redwald was added to the heap of his The East An felicity. For the People of East England, during the time of his Exile among them, gles swear obe having had good experience of diligence and vigous, unanimously swore obedidence to him, who suffered the Son of Redwald (as less he could not doe out of gratitude ) to enjoy the bare and empty. Title of King, but he managed all things at his pleasure. At that time all the Hope and Help of the English were in him, neither was there any Province in Britain, which observed not his Orders; and were ready to obey him, but onely those that inhabited Kent. Them he suffered to enjoy their freedom and repose because he had a great desire to marry with Ethelburga. And with E-the Sifter of Eadbald their King, which Lady having long been a Suitour to, at the buggs and length he obtained, whereby the two Kingdoms, became most like, both as to mother neigh. Government, and the manners of the People. For upon this occasion by the bouring Pro-vince obey preaching of Paulus Edmin, after mature Deliberation, as we shall show in its proper place, imbraced the Christian Religion, and procured it to be received by his own Subjects. After this fo great Bleflings were heaped upon him, that not onely the Nations of Britain, as the English Saxons, Pills and Scots, but the Illands Orchades, and the other called Menavies, both feared his Arms, and adozed his Pow-

Of Man.

Scct. 6 er. Then was there no publick Robber, no domestick Thief, all such as laid wait for the violation of conjugal Modesty were removed afar off, the Invader of another Man's Inheritance was not to be found, a thing extraordinary, as to his Commendation, and in our Age. His Empire was so far propagated to this effect, that Justice and Peace flourished together, and most happy might the State of the Commonwealth have continued, if immature death, the Step-mother, as the Monk terms it, of temporal happiness, after a kind of ugly Sport, had not deprived his

11. His sudden death as we are informed by Beda himself, was brought about upon this occasion. When he had ruled the Nation both of English and Britains. most gloriously for the space of seventeen years, whereof five of them he had A Rebellion. fought under Christ his Banner, Caedwalla the King of Britains rebelled against him, who had drawn into his affiftence a most stout Captain, viz. Penda then King of the Mercians. They ingaged in a great and bloudy Battel at a place called Hethfield, where Edwin on the fourth day of the Ides of October, in the year of our Lord DCXXXIII. was flain, being feven and forty years old, and his whole Army was either flain or routed. In the Battel before him a most courageous Son

In which Ed- of his called Offrid \* fell, another called Eadfrid, necessity compelling him, went \* Cum God. over to Penda, who afterward in the Reign of Ofmal flew him, contrary to his baldo Rege Oath. To this end came this most valiant and prudent Prince, being as Malmef Greddening and Malmef aut Math. bury writes a milerable Spectacle of humane Variety, or that Vicifitude which Floringar Ad is incident to humane Affairs, a Prince whom the Course of his Actions and Ann. 634 great Success, speak great both in the one Capacity and in the other. As for the

His commen- Halcyon times which this People enjoyed under his Government; it will not be amis to note what Beda himself observeth of them. At that time, faith he, fo Lib. 2.c. 16. great a Peace is reported to have been in Britain, whithersoever the Empire of Ring Edwin reached, that (as yet the Proverb is) If a Woman with a Child in her Armes newly born would travell through the whole Illand from Sea to Sea, the might doe it without any Let or Moleflation. The faid King moreover to much confulred the Good of his People, that whereever he beheld any Fountains or Springs by the High-ways, there for the refreshment of Travellers he caused Posts to be erected, and brazen Dishes to be hung upon them; neither would any body touch them except for their present use, either for the greatness of the sear they had of him, or of the Love they bare unto him. He was of fuch efteen in his Kingdom, that not onely in Battel were Banners born before him, but in time of Peace as he rode through the Cities, Towns or Provinces together with his Attendantsan Enfign-bearer was wont to goe." Nay when he paffed along in the Streets in all places, that kind of Banner which the Romans call Tufa, and the English Thunf, were wont to be born before him.

12. Edwin being flain in Battel, the Provinces of the Northumbrians were in a most fad Estate. Of the two Captains that overthrew him, the one being a Boda lib 2 c. Pagan, and the other as he terms him a Barbarian, both Religion and all things ult. The Conque- civil went to wreck; while the one raged against the Church, and the other atour's Cruelty, gainst the Laity, of which he spared neither any Sex nor any Age or Condition, jubiecting as well Women as Men, innocent Babes, as those of ripe years to death, and most cruel Tortures, which continued no small time; for Cadwall studied how together with their destruction, he might root the whole English Saxon Nation out of Britain. And though a Christian he was himself, yet did he not shew any respect to their Religion, the Custome of the Britains, faith Beda, being at this very day to let at mought the Faith and Religion of the English Saxons, neithis very day to let at fought the fath and Heigion of the English Saxons, netther will they have any thing to do dewith them more than Pigans. The head of
the flain King was brought 80 Tork, and there deposited in the Church of St.
Peres, which he kingstill add begins, and officer deposited in the Church of St.
Peres, which he kingstill add begins, and officer deposited in the Church of St.
Peres, which he kingstill add begins and officer of rafety any where to be
expected. It is a state of the research of the state and Guind, the Kings Settle into France to the King her friend to be brought up; and there they berilded in their Infance.

13. But after the death of Edwin, Of ick the Son of Efficient in Uncle by the Beautiful.

Fathers field, obtained we've King of the Warr, from the Province of whom he has a was infast, and had necessarilly fit will be blitth. On the Kingdom of

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Ofrick. 149

the Bernicii feized Eaufrid the Son of Edelfrid, who in like manner was iffued Sect. 6. out of this Province. For during the Reign of Edwin, the Sons of Edelfrid, with many more of the younger fort of Nobility lived in Exile, either with the Scots or Pills. Both these Kings abjured the Christian Religion, which they had learnt, and professed in banishment, and were shortly after cut off by Cadwalla the Britain,

Both flain by who now thinking the time might be come to drive the English Saxons out of their once unjustly obtained possessions, and to restore the Island to its ancient Owners, omitted nothing that might rationally tend to the bringing of this about. In the very Summer following the death of Edwin, he fell fuddenly upon Ofrick, when he never expected him, and cut him off with his whole Army. After this he raged like a cruel Tyrant in these provinces for a year, at the end whereof, when Eaufrid came to him, but with twelve in his Company to treat of peace, he treated him in the felf fame manner. That year, faith Beda, is still at this day accounted unlucky and hatefull to all good Men, both in respect of the Apoflacy of these English Kings, who renounced their Baptism, as for the less Tyranny of this British King. Whereupon it was agreed by all, that computed the times of these Princes, to abolish the memory of these perisdious Kings, and to assign the said year to the Reign of blessed King Oswald, who after the death of his Brother Eaufrid, coming with a small power of Men, but fortified by faith in Christ, that cursed Captain of the Britains, with his vast Army which he boasted Who was af nothing could reful, was flain in a place which in the Language of the English is

who was a strong Cont. The Brook of Denis. The place, faith our Authour, is thewn at Vide defined by Offende this day, and had in great Veneration, where Offende being to fight erected the fign later Secret. of the Crofs, and kneeling down, befought Almighty God that he would Succour first coercuit. his Servants in this day of their Necessity. He himself laboured at the Erection of Huntingd. 13. the Crofs, which finished, he spake aloud to the whole Army: Let us kneel down and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent living and true God, that he would mercifully defend us from the proud Enemy, for he knows that we undertake a just War for defence of our Nation. The place is in the English Tongue called Heofonfeld,

or Heavenly Field, lying near to the Wall which the Romans built from Sea to Sea, for the restraining the insolent Inrodes of Barbarians.

14. It's still at this day for the same reason, as some would have it, called Hatedon near to Scilicester, in the Wall in the County of Northumberland, where was a Church built in Honour of St. Cutbert and Kind Ofwald, but the Name of the King hath so obscured the light of the other Saint, that the old Name being quite gone it's now known onely by that of St. Ofwald. For the place where Cadwalla was flain, the present Printed Copy of Beda hath it Denisesburna, and King Alfrede's Translation Senigrerbunna, but Camden read it in Beda, Devilesburn, a little River running into Tine, which gave to a Mansion House upon it, the Name of Divelston, as in old Records it's found written, now called Dilston, belonging in his time to the Ratcliffs. After this Wictory atchieved, Ofwald governed his Dominions with great Justice and Tranquillity, being so humble, so tender hearted and bountifull to the poor, that he behaved himself indeed as a true Father of his Countrey. This his Goodness is faid to have been crowned with remarkable Success, so that his Empire, he extended farther than any of his Predeccssours; for as some write all the Nations \* of Britain submitted to his Command, not onely the \*Denique on-English and Britains, but the Fists and Scots themselves, which good Fortune did not puff him up, but he continued as humble and mercifull as ever. But that neither Britishia, he nor any other good man might place his happiness in this world, at last an altera-que in quant tion was made, and an end happened to him, contrary to his beginning. By his or linguas, id fill industry and Prudence the Provinces of the Deiri and Bernicii, which formerly historians. had difagreed were lovingly and fast united together. But in reference to his torum, Anglo-Neighbours abroad, matters flood in another posture, who, however they might func in divise for a while fubmit unto him, and acquiefee funder his most mild Administra non accept, tion, yet it seems either counting this subjection, how mild foever it was, a sia. Sec. Panda and his very, or provoked by the Rulers of the Britain, and especially Penda the King Bedshibs 26. Morian reof the Mercians, they were periwaded (a great Party at leaft) to revolt from
their professed obedience. The matter flew to high, that Penda led his Pagan
Subjects the Mercians forth against him, and they met at a place called Masenseld,

where a great and most bloudy Battel being fought, he had the same ill fortune his line conflict Uncle Edwin had (whose Nephew he was by his Sifter Avs ) being with Mul- Unde diction titudes of his followers slain upon the place on the fifth day of August, in the Campu Mesathirty eighth (or the thirty seventh, as King Alfred's Translation hath it ) of cathaires fibra. his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the Ancient Annalists reckoned, Hantingd. 1.3.

Sect. 6. but in this Number must be included that year which, as we formerly said, the Apostasie of the English Kings, and Tyranny of the British rendred so odious to them, as that they would not assign it to them, but rather abolish its memory. Feuda the cruel Pagan after he had flain him, contented not himself with his bare death, but having killed him, tore his Body in pieces and fixed it upon three Stakes as a Spectacle of terrour. The Place is at this day called Ofwester or Ofwalstre, in British, Croix Oswalds, a little Town upon the West Frontier of Shropfbire, not far from the River Severn. It was not long fince inclosed with a Ditch and a Wall, and it had very good Traffick, especially of slight and thin Wellb Cottons. It seems to have had its first Original from Devotion to this King and Saint. But it was built by Modoc the Brother of Mereduc (as Caradoc Apade Camble. of Lancarvan wrote) and the Fitz Allans being Normans and Earls of Arundell, numin Shanfi who afterwards came to be Lords of it, walled it about. The Eclipses of the Sun in Aries have been most dangerous unto it, for twice when that Luminary was in that Sign, did it suffer very great Calamity by fire.

15. Ofwald dying in this manner, Ofwi his Brother succeeded him in the King-

dom of Bernicia, a young Man of about thirty years of Age; but Oswin the Son

In Bernicia

In Deira Of of Ofrick obtained that of Deira in the third year of Ercombert King of Kent, in the Reign of Dagobert King of the Franks, A.D. DCXLIII. These two Kings being thus as it were Partners in the Throne, agreed, as is usual in such Cases. Differences were ever arifing betwixt them, and at length grew to fuch an height, as one could not subsist if the other continued. They raised Forces on each fide; but Oswin perceiving he was overmatched in Number, thought it not fit to fight, but to reserve himself to better times; he therefore Disbanded his Army, commanding every Man to repair to his own Home from a place called Wilfares Dun, or the Hill of Wilfare, about ten Miles South-West from the Village Cataracto. He himself withdrew, with one onely faithfull Souldier in his And Ofmin by Company called Tondhere, to the House of a Count named Hunvald whom he esteemed as most sure to him; but it proved far otherwise, for by him he was betrayed, and slain by command of Ofwi together with his trusty Tondhere, on the thirteenth of the Calends of Semptember in the ninth year of his Reign in a place His Character. called Ingerlingum. This Ofwin was a Man of a beautifull Aspect, tall of Stature, Affable, Courteous, and very Bountifull, which Endowments both of Mind and Body procured him fuch Reputation, that he was by all men beloved, and many most Noble Persons out of all the Provinces thought themselves happy if they could but get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and fingular Madefty were remarkable, whereof Beda gives us this Instance. "Ofwin beltowed an ex-Lih3,614 " cellent Horse upon Aidan the famous Bishop of Lindisfarne, but the Bishop " when a Poor Man asked Almes, gave him the Horse with all the rich Furfiture " upon him. The King hearing of this, as they were going in to Dinner, faid to \*Domine An-" him: My \*Lord Bishop, Why would you give that Royal Horse that was for eister, qued " your own Saddle, to a Poor Man? Have we not many worse Horses and other Rev African things which would ferve the Poor, instead of this Horse I made choice of the Bifa-"for your own Person? The Bishop instantly replyed, King, what do you say? of Basel in Sthat Son of a Mare more dear to you than that Son of God? With that they sa familiar survey surv " went in to Dinner, the Bishop to his Seat; but the King being come from Sacredumnion went in to Dinner, the Bishop to his Seat; but the King being come from sacredumnion went in to Dinner, the binop to his Seat; out the rang being come nor the Dinner.

Hunting, fate him down by the Fire with his Attendants. But remembring fathnam his what the Bishop had faid, he rose suddenly up, and giving his Sword to Huster and his Servant, went hastily to him, at whose feet he fell and befought him fig. que come not to be angry, affirming he would never after speak or concern himself, sellation had been not to be angry, affirming he would never after speak or concern himself, sellation had directly a wifed him jun, telling him he was "wonderfully amazed, and rifing halfily, raifed him up; telling him he was very well pleafed if he would but fit down to Dinner, and be chearfull. The King then at his Request began to be merry, but the Bishop began to be " very fad, so as he shed Tears, of which his Priest taking notice, in their own " Language (they were both Scots) which neither Ofwin nor his Servants under-" flood, demanded the reason. I know (saith he) that the King will not live " long: For till this time I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, " that he will speedily be taken away by Death; for this Nation is not worthy of " fuch a Governour. Not long after was this fad Prefage of the Bilhop fulfilled in the Murther of Oswin. And Aidan lived but till the twelfth day after his Death, dying himself on the last of August.

16. Ofwi having removed his Equal, whom he much grudged, yet did Sect. 6 not find himself freed from trouble by that unworthy Act. He found continual fears and trouble from the Mercians, Peuda their King never ceasing to cast Ofmi and Pen- one Rub or other in his way. Yet passed there several Acts of kindness and indearment, as one would have imagined betwixt the Families. Peuda had a Son Beds, lib. 5. called Peada, who being a young man, for his good Endowments accounted 6.21. worthy of a Kingdom, was by his Father appointed to the government of their Nation. He came into Northumberland to Ofivi, defiring his Daughter Alkflede in Marriage, which he could not obtain except he and his Subjects received the Christian Religion. He upon hearing what was preached concerning the promife of an Eternal Kingdom, the hope of a Refurrection and Immortal Life, professed himself a Believer, though he never should obtain the young Lady, being much induced to this Belief by the Perswasions of Alfrid the Son of Oswi, his Friend and Kinsman, who had Married his Sister Cyniburg the Daughter of Peuda. Notwithslanding these Alliances, Beda tells us, that Ofwi suffered frequent, most thid lib 3. bitter and Intolerable Eruptions from the faid King of the Mercians who had 6. 24. flain his Brother. Necessity often inforcing him, he often prefented him with Gifts innumerable, therewith to purchase Peace, and prevent the utter ruine of his Dominions. The perfidious Prince did not conform himself to his Defires. but resolved to root out and destroy all his People little and great, which Ofwi perceiving, betook himself to Divine assistence, vowing, in case he obtained the Victory over him, to Confecrate his Daughter as a Nun to perpetual Virginity, and to pass over twelve Possessions for the building of Monasteries. Armed more by Faith than any Carnal Hope he could have of Victory, he gave Battel to the Enemy, who is faid to have brought into the Field thirty times as many men, thirty Legions whereof each was headed by a skilfull Leader. These Forces he and Alckfrid his Son ingaged with a very small Army. He had another Son Egfrid by Name, who was at this time an Hostage in Mercia with Cinoife the Queen.

17. Ethilwald the Son of Oswald who rul'd in Deira, though he ought to have been affifting to them, as good Beda observes, was at this time on the contrary fide, and commanded a Party which was to ingage against his Countrey and his Uncle, but when they came to fight he withdrew himself, and in a fafe place expected the event of the Battel. When they joyned, thirty Pagan A Battel en- Captains were foon flain or routed, and all the Auxiliaries in a manner cut off; Penda is flain, amongst whom was Adilhere the Brother and Successiour of Anna King of the East Angles, who had blown the Coals betwixt the two Kings, and been the great Regi Alfreds

Causer of the War. The Battel being fought near the River Viaved, which then Pingace. through excess of Rain was overflown, it happened that more perished by the Waters than by the Sword. It was fought by King Ofwi in the Countrey of Loidis In Regione rers man by the Sworth. It was totight by sing by in the Country of Lording on the feventeenth of the Calends of December, and the thirteenth year of his Lording Reign, to the great advantage of both the Nations. For he both freed his own of Sa Loi-People from the Hostile Invasions of the Pagans, and the other of the Mercians dighacte. and the Neighbouring Provinces, *Peuda* their Head being now cut off, he reduced quickly to the Christian Faith. This *Loidis* is that eminent Town in the West Riding of Tork/hire, now called Leeds, which became an House of the Kings when Cambodunum was burnt to the ground, a rich Town (so lately it was) by means Cambolan. of clothing. The very place of the Fight Writers call Winwidfield, which Name we may suppose was given it of the Victory; like as a Place in Westphalia where Quintilius Varus with his Legions was flain, is in the Dutch Tongue called Winfield or the Field of Victory, as Ortelius hath observed. The little Region or Territory about it, which Beda mentions, was in old time called by the Name of Elmet: and was conquered by Edwin the Son of Ella King of Northumberland, after he had thence expelled Careticus the British King in the year of our Lord

DCXX. 18. The death of Peuda, who had been the death of fo many Kings, caused in all places out of his own Territories very great rejoycing, which as well the Affinity and Confanguinity wherein feveral were conjoyned to them he had flain, may perfivade us to believe, as the Song that was made upon this occasion. Of we in Winned fo plied his buliness and followed on the stroak of his late Victory, that he brought amne vendi-

Anne, esdet Regum Sigeberi & Egrici, cedes Ofivaldi & Edwins. Sie Math. Floriby, ad Ann. 645, at vero Huntingdon hoc mode ; In Winwed anne vindicata est cades Anna, cades Regum Sighers & Eognice, cades Regum Ostvald & Edwine,

Log els lineda 16. Ofwi

The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain, PARTIV

Sect. 6. to his beck all the Kingdom of Mercia for three years after the death of Feuda, together with all the other Southern Provinces (as his Brother before him had done) and the greatest part of these belonging to the Pids. Yet was he so good natur'd as to bestow on Peada the Son of Peuda, because he had Married his Daughter, and was his Kinfman, the Kingdom of the Southern Mercians separated from the Northern Mercians by the River of Trent, whereof the Southern in those days con-Peads his Son tained five thousand Families, and the Northern seven. But the Eifter following

Feada was murthered, and that as was reported by Conspiracy of his Wife. Three years being completed after the death of Peuda, Immin, Eaba, and Eadberht, advanced to the Throne Wulfhere his Son a Youth whom they hid from danger, which done they revolted from Ofwi, whose Governours driving away, they valiantly defended the Liberties of their King and Countrey. Of Ofwi there's not much more remarkable. His good demeanour to his People in great measure obliterated that bloudy Crime of murthering Oswin; but this Beda testifies of him, Translate er

that with very great pains he maintained his Dignity, which is not onely applica. So of civilia ble to the great Industry he used for attainment of that power, at which he are the state of the state o rived (he being the feventh of the most powerfull Kings amongst the English Regni terre-Saxons, as his Brother Ofinald is by Beda reckoned the Sixth) but in relation to a fame you the perpetual troubles and dangers he underwent, not onely brought upon him by One income Peuda the Mercian King, but by Athilwald the Son of his Brother, who by some riginaciniis faid to have succeeded Oswin, nay his own Son Athfrid; this being the ordinary & per annum, Is faid to have fucceeded Office, has a his own and painfully twenty and eight viginis also labridified.

Lot and Portion of men of bloud. He reigned most painfully twenty and eight viginis also labridified. years, and died on the first of March in the fifty eighth year of his Age.

19. Of wi being dead, Egfrid his Legitimate Son succeeded him in the third Beds, lib3. vear of Constantine the Emperour of Constantinople, the seventh of Egbert King c.14. of Kent, during the Reign of Childerick the Second, King of the Franks, format A. D. DCLXXI, or the year before, as Beda placeth it. His Father being 673.

fickly toward his latter end, could not profecute Wulfhere, who had fet up for himself in Mercia, and therefore left to him a War as Hereditary, which he

Wilfere the fo profecuted, as that he drove Wolfhere out of Lindfey, and recovered it again to Lib 4-612. Wulfere the 10 Projectited, as that he drove welfare that of Limity, and Technology Mercian for his Paternal Territories. Thus much is onely hinted to us by Beda; how long Edhadas in he kept it is utterly uncertain. For Malmsbury falling foul upon him for his Im-provinciaLinpiety, shewed in the malitious prosecuting of Bishop Wilfride, adds, that towards disfarana, humble Suppliants he was proud and harlh, a Disease wherewith all Tyrants are me Rex Estiinfected; that on the contrary against Rebels he was sluggish and lazy, and de-du, facing the Triumphs of his Father lost the Empire of the Mercians, and being bea-naw which the Empire of the Mercians, and being bea-naw sluggish. ten in Battel by Ethelrede the Son of Peuda, lost also his Brother. In the iecond desimurar, year of the Reign of Egfrid, there was a wonderfull great Fight of Birds, many ordinator E. thousands of them being killed, and the Foreigners seemed to be worsted. This Math. Flori-Fights Æthel- 1night feem to betoken that great Fight which was fought eight years after near logur ad Am.

same Authour Beda tells us was slain, Esewin the Brother of Egsfrid, a young man very much beloved by the People of both the Provinces, whose Sister by Name Offrith the faid Athelrede had married. This Battel it feems did not, together with the young Prince's life, put a Period to the Controversie. For Beda writes that more new matter of a more sharp War and longer enmity arose betwixt the angry Kings and their People, till Theodore the Bishop by his Diligence and Intercellion took up the Quarrel, and prevented the dreadfull mischiefs which thereupon would have followed; making this Agreement, that Bloud should not be re-

made betwist quired for the Bloud of Elsewin, but his Brother should be contented with a certain Sum of money to be paid by Athelrede. And the Peace made upon this occasion continued a long time betwixt these Kings and their Kingdoms.

he was of so reliters an humour, that finding no work in Britain, he must needs transfer his Arms over into Ireland, in the year of our Lord DCLXXXIV under Command of one Berht, he fent an Atmy over thither, and miserably wasted that Nation, which was both innocent, and always most friendly to that of the English, neither Churches nor Monasteries being any whit spared. The Ilanders or Scors did what they could, both by repelling force with force, and putting up their Prayers to Heaven for Divine Affiftence. And although, faith he, Curfers cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, yet was it believed that they who were now deservedly cursed for their Impiety, were suddenly punished by the just judgment of Almighty God. For in the year following this King Egfrid, without any mature advice, leading out his Army to waste the Countrey of the Pids,

though his Friends earnestly laboured to disswade him, and amongst others, St. Cath- Sect. 6. And is there Bert, who was newly then ordained Bilhop, he was by the cunning Enemy, who flain with his counterfeited a flight drawn within the fraits of unpallable Mountains, and whole Army with the greatest part of the Forces he brought along with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, on the thirteenth day, be-

fore the Calends of June. As I faid, faith-Beda, his Friends advised him against this War; but as the foregoing year he would not hear the most Reverend Father Ecgberht, when he dehorted him from offering violence to Scotland, which had nothing hurt him, as a punishment to him for that fin, it came to pass that now

he would not hear them who strove to prevent his utter overthrow. And from Ex quo temthis time it was that the hopes and valour of the English Empire began to decay pit & virus and dwindle. For both the Picts recovered the Land of their Possession, which the Regni Angloand dwindle. For both the rate leading, held, and some Part of the Britains ob rum fluere ac English and Scots, that inhabited Britain, held, and some Part of the Britains ob rein subjustings

tained their Liberty which they still retain for the space of forty six years. At referri. Bed., mongst many others of the English Nation, which were either slain by the Sword; 1. 4 c. 26. condemned to bondage, or fled for their lives from the Land of the Pids, Trums win the most Reverend Man of God; was one who had been a Bishop amongst

them, but now came back with those that belonged to him in the Monastery of Ebbercarnig, which stood indeed in the Countrey of the English, but hordered upon the Frith, which separated their Territories from those of the Pills. These be

the words of Beda, who diligently diffinguishes in several places, the Scots that inhabited Scotland, from the Scots that inhabited Britain, but when he

mentions Scotta or Scotland, he means onely one Countrey thereby, and that is

Alfride fuc- 21. Egfrid being flain, Alfride or Aldfrid his Brother, and the Son of Ofwis fucceeded him, in the first year of the Emperour Justinian the younger, the first

of Edrich King of Kent, in the Reign of Theodorick King of the Franks. A. D. DCLXXXVI. Malmsbury writes, that Qivi had but two Sons, whereof the fpurious being rejected, the legitimate fucceeded him in his Kingdom, which was Egfrid; yet a little after, he tells us that Egfrid in the Battel fought with Ethel-

rede, the Son of Penda lost his Brother, and after this he writes, how the news of his Death flying all over, at last came to the Ears of his Brother Alfrid, who being base born, although the elder, was by the Nobility thought not fit to Reign, and either by constraint, or out of indignation, went into Ireland, where being

fecure from the harred of his Brother, and having leisure sufficient to follow his Studies, he much bettered his mind by the precepts of Philosophy. If he reti-The occasion red in this manner into Ireland, then from all these passages we may guess that of Egfrid's the indignation and jealousse of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is invaling fre- the indignation and jealousse of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is land.

that we may fetch the account of his fending an Army into that Island. Therefore they who formerly refused him, now when they had need of him, and confidered his worth, betook themselves to Intreaties, so well satisfied was he with the present condition of his Life. But when he had once undertaken what was offered, he gave them no cause to repent them of their choice, being a Man mighty in the Scriptures, and so carefull of the Duty incumbent upon him, that for nineteen years he Governed his People in great Peace, and with as great Applause,

having no other flaw in the whole course of his Administration, but what they find concerning his Perfecution of Bishop Wilfride. Yet was his Kingdom contained within much narrower Bounds, than in the days of his Father and Brother. For the Picts making an infolent use of their Victory, set upon the English, whom long quiet and ease had rendred less fit for resistence, and made bold to justle them

out of some of their Territories lying toward the North, or to subdue and bring them under their Yoke, though they still inhabited these Countries. And never after could they recover their liberty, and reunite themselves with the English

their Brethren, by the Pitts coming to be subject to the Scots, though their Language at this day sufficiently discovers their Original. 22. After Alfrede his Son, Ofrede was made King in the fixth year of Tiberius Ofrede made

Aphmarus Emperour; the twelfth of Withrede King of Kent, in the days of Childebert the second King of the Franks, A. D. DCCIIII. He was but a Child of eight years old, but shewed himself soon enough to be of sufficient Age to be vitious. He Reigned but eleven years, and was famous for nothing, infamous for his uncleanners, which could not be kept within the bounds of ordinary voluptuousness,

but extended to the very Cloysters, where he violated the Virginity of those that were, as their Relations imagined, secured against such attempts by a Religious

Egfrid fuc-

Fights Ethel- inight redn to betonet that Egfrid and the faid King Athelrede; where, as the 671.

20. But though Egfrid had peace with the Mercians, and on this fide the Sea,

He Invades

Veil. These courses brought him into such hatred, even of his own kindred, that to prevent one fin, they committed a greater by taking away his Life, when he hoped he had fearcely spent one quarter of it. Yet had they that removed him out of the way to take his place, supplied as well the want of Eminence and Vertue, as of Royalty, they might have been more excusable, at least it would have partly covered and concealed the blackness of the Parricide; but Kenred, who Kenred fucwent after him took the Throne, and therein fate for two years, and after him 0/2 Then Ofric.

ric, who Reigned eleven, did nothing memorably, or which could call them worthy of that Dignity to which they advanced themselves. Ofric indeed in this, had the advantage of the other, that he did not first leap into the Chair of the mur-Next Ceolwulf, thre'd Prince, and before his death, adopted Celwulf or Ceolwulf the Brother of Kenred for his Successour. This is that Ceolwulf to whom Beda dedicates his Ecclefiaftical History, at the end whereof he fignifies, that this King was embraced with great difficulties, and how he would extricate himself, or what end they would have, was utterly uncertain. What these Difficulties were, he tells us not, either because he would not burn his finger by medling with matters of his own time, or for that his design was to write an Ecclesiastical History onely, which feems to have been his drift, for else he might doubtless have given up a more large account of what he has left, but a mere fcantling, a few remarks, and those but by the bye, as they were necessary to be brought in for making way to, or Illustrating some other matters relating for the most part to the Cloyster. As for Ceolwulf, we are told he was fo edified with what he read in the History of Beda. that desirous to be of the Number of those Kings who had exchanged their Crowns for Cowls,he at length refigned his Kingdom and betook himself to a Monaftery. Or rather he was wearied with these difficulties he found in reigning, and however his Crown feemed glorious to the eyes of the Beholders, felt the weight of it fo great, that he was not fatisfied till he was eafed of his burthen, which

he cast off from his Head after he had governed eight years, and in the Monastery of Lindesfnare, took upon him the Monkish Habit. He was not descended Math Florishfrom the Loins of the late Kings of the Northumbrians, but in another Line de-gui, Huntimed. scended from Ida. He was the Son of Cutha, whose Fore-fathers were Cuthwin, Lethewold, Egwold, Aldelm, Oga and Ida. 23. But he quitted not the Government before he had provided his People of

Egbert made another King. This was Egbert his Uncles Son, as Mainesbury calls him, but Huntingdon King. Huntingdon tells us he was the Son of Ecca, who was Son to Lethwold or Led. Egbrids the wold; and as he, as the Flowergatherer hath it, was Son to one Ceolwolf, so that he rilege Edd. could not be of that Line, but now mentioned, yet he calls him his Kiniman too. Whoever he was, he began his Reign in the two and twentieth year of Leo Ifaurus the Emperour, the thirteenth of Edbert King of Kent, the thirtieth of Selrede King of the East Saxons, in the days of Theodorick King of the Franks, A. D. DCCXXXVIII. We can tell the Reader that he Reigned, but what he did particularly in his Reign, he as well as we must still be ignorant, Beda having told us but little of these Civil Matters; but after his time no one of any tolerable Abilities, having taken any care to transmit any thing of moment to posterity, fo that we have little more than the bare Names. But that he laudably governed, Malmesbury tells, treading in the steps of good Princes. He had a Brother Habuit frabasely born it seems, and of his own Name in his time Archbishop of Tork, who are against as Alcuin the Schoolmaster of Charles the Great left in writing, did very much alcome the second section of the second sec

Who turning for the advancement of learning, and others add, that it was in Conjunction with, rai, qui of Monk leares his kingdom to Ofmile. The King did fo well agree with fine premain to Ofmile. The Archbishop, and so emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop, and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious of the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be a considered him the Archbishop and for emulated him in Religion. too, and more Religious, having his Crown shaven and turn Monk after he had dem illum it He is succeed. Reigned twenty years, leaving his Kingdom to his Son Ofwelfe. He being not general manufactures and the second se able to steer the Helm, was, though an Innocent, thrown over-board to make vii, & Miles way for Mollo, when he had born the Name of King little more than a year. meth. Lith 1. Mollo held it fourly and laboriously eleven years; but was then served in the fame manner, as he or others for him had used his Predecessour, by the Devices Then Alrede of Alrede who got his Place. Alrede so ingratiated himself with the People, and fo plied his work that he held it for nine, but in his tenth was compelled by them that now faid they were not his Subjects to give way to Ethelbert the Son of Mollo. But he was but a King of the second Head neither; in the fifth year they Next Erbel-Loyally failed again, and out they drove him.

24. Then

Then Colmold. 24. Then was Celivold proclaimed King, who was Brother to Alerede, and Sect. 6. he made a shift for eleven years to make good his Hold. But the People were now fo used to making and unmaking Kings, that after these years he tasted of their perfidious humour being with Innocency fent to Heaven as his fa-

mous Sepulchre at Higulftade, and the Miracles which they faid they faw fufficiently testified to that then repenting Age. To his merit sure it must be ascribed, that his Nephew Ofrede the Son of Alerede succeeded him, but being got in, he could not keep Possession; for scarcely had he enjoyed his Royalty Who was out one year, but Ethelhert (or Athelrede, or Ethelwald) the Son of Mollo drove him out, and recovered his Seat after twelve years of exile, which he held for four more, which once past, he could not escape the common calamity of his Predecessours, but was miserably slain. Some said he was justly punished for the unjust putting of Ofrede to Death, with whose Resignation he ought in conscience to have been contented; but many Bishops, and Noblemen who had more sense than their Neighbours, were so weary of these perpetual Disturbances and Murthers, that they left thereupon their Native Countrey. Nay, Charles the Great was so incensed, that as Alcuin wrote, having delivered Letters and Presents to Messengers, to be delivered to this Ethelrede when he heard how he was murthered, he exclaimed against this perfidious, perverse Nation, the Murtherers of their Lords, affirming they were worse than Pagans; and if Alcuin had not interceded, whatever good he could have hindred, or mis-chief he was in a capacity to doe, would have been performed against them. So great a terrour did this curfed custome strike in all the Nobility, that he being dead, no Candidates appeared for the Kingdom; for confidering the fresh example of others, they chose rather to sleep in a whole skin and live in obfcurity, than venture upon fo dangerous, nay pernicious Royalty; most of the

An Interregunm for thirty odd

Northumbrian Kings having come to an untimely end. Therefore was the Countrey without a King, for the space of thirty and three years, and became a derision and a Prey to all the neighbours. The Danes had before this begun to make Inrodes and Depredations in those parts, and such as had once been in them, shewing the great booty they carried back to their Countreymen, and telling them of the baseness and sluggishness of the Inhabitants, so, ftirred them up with the greatness, yet easiness of the enterprize, that the Barbarians flocked thick and three fold, and feized on those Quarters untill the time lately mentioned. For they had a King (rather a Regulus) of their own feveral years, who yet truckled under the King of the West Saxons: and At length Eg- the forementioned thirty three years being over, King Egbert obtained this together with the other Countries. 25. Thus have we presented the Reader with what the Histories of these Times

afford concerning this Kingdom of Northumberland; more we could not, except instead of a true Account of things, we should take the trade of Writing Romances. Concerning the limits of this Kingdom in general, and the Deiri and Bernicii betwixt themselves to that short Account we have already given, The limits of we shall farther add that as to its Northern Border it was terminated by that the Kingdom Southern Pert of Scotland, which on the East and West is limited by the GerBraisii. man, and Irish Seas, on the South by that Bay called Assistance Solviacum, or Solman, and Irish Seas, on the South by that Bay called Astuarium Solviacum, or Solway Frith, and the River Tweede. Northerly by the Frith of Dunbrittan, and that of Edenburgh; for that this Kingdom extended it felf to both these Friths, whereof the one limited the Kingdom of the Scots, and the other that of the Pills, is most evident both from the Writings of Beda, and other most certain Teltimonies. But to the Diffinction of the Provinces of Deira, and Berni-Videt Uprimm in Addend. 6 cia, amongst themselves Authours do very much differ. Ralph of Chefter from Emandand. Alphred of Beverly affirms, that the Kingdom of the Deiri reached from the Primord. River Humber to that of Tyne; and the Kingdom of the Bernicii from the Ri-1003. ver of Tyne, as far as the Scotish Sea, with whom agrees the Monk of Malmefbury, onely adding to the Scotch Sea this note, Where now stands the Town of St. John of St. Johnston. But Richard the Prior of Hagulftade, in the beginning of his Book concerning the State of his Church, hath these words. Deira beginning at Humber, ended at the River Tees: and of this opinion was Humphrey Lhuyd that excellent Antiquary. Cambden fometimes affigns the River Tees, fometime the River Tyne, as the common limit of these Provinces; and John of Tinnuth in the Life of St. Oswald seems to reconcile the Controverse in this manner. The Kingdom of the Deiri anciently extended it self from the X 2 River

Sect. 6. River Humber, to the River Tyne: that of the Bernicii from the River Tyne (rather Tees) as far as the Scotch Sea, which in the Scotch Language is called Forth. For all the ground which lay between the Rivers, Tyne and Tees in those Days was onely a waste or Desart, and therefore was under the Jurisdiction of nei-

ther, being onely a Receptacle, and Habitation of Wild Beafts. The same thing is

observed in the Scotch Chronicle of John Fordon.

26. Indeed we we reade in the Ecclesiastical History of Beda, That Eata Lib. 4 Cc. 12. who governed the Province of the Bernicii had his Episcopal See in the Church of Hagu- 27. stald or Lindisfarne. Therefore that not onely the Church of Durham (to which after the death of Beda the See of Lindisfarne was translated) but that of Hagufald on this fide the River Type may not be removed out of the Province of the Bernieri, wherein Beda, and not he alone placeth it; we are forced to affign the River Tees rather than Type, as the common limit of these two petty Kingdoms. By this means the Bilhoprick of Durham, and that we now call the County of Northumberland, must be assigned to the Eastern Part of Bernicia; and to the Western, all that Kingdom of Cumberland, which after the Eversion of this of the Northumbrian Angles, was settled betwixt the River Derwent, and the Frith of Dunbrittan, by the Cambrobritains or Welfbmen. For Cumbria, or Cumberland took the Name of the Inhabitants who were true and Natural Britains, and called themselves in their own Language Kumbri and Kambri: and Histories testifie that here they remained a long time in despight of the English Saxons, however they fretted and stormed thereat. Marianus himself testifieth as much, who terms this Countrey Cumbrorum terram, or the Land of the Cumbri, or Britains, and to it bear mention the British Names, which in this Tract very many places still bear, as Caerluel, Caerdronoc, Penrith, Penrodocke, and the like. Late it was, as we faid, e'er it was fubject to the English Saxons, and when their state became fore shaken by Danish Wars, and was run to ruine; it had peculiar Governours called Kings of Cumberland, till the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVI, at what time King Edmund by help of Lealin Prince of Wales (who herein was unnatural) wasted all Cumberland, and having put out the Eyes of both the Sons of Danmail 'King thereof, granted it to Maleolin King of Scots, whereupon the Eldest Sons of the Kings of Scotland were under the English Saxons, and Danes, both called Prefects, or Deputy Governours of Cumberland. But this is by way of Anticipation. To put a period to our Discourse of the Kingdom of Northumberland, King Egbert reduced it under his obedience in the DCCCXXVIII. Year of our Lord, and the eight and twentieth of his own Reign, in the feventh of Michael Traulus Emperour of the East; the fourteenth of Ludovicus Pius the Western Emperour, the year preceding the like fate of the Kingdom of the East Saxons.

SECT. VII.

#### SECT. VII.

The Kingdom of the East Angles in Britain. From the first Founding of it by Usta to the Conquering of it by Edward King of the English Saxons.

The space of Four Hundred Forty One years.

I. NExt after the Kingdom of the Northumbrians, followed that of the East Sect. 7.

Angles, which was begun by Uffa, in the tenth year of the Emperour Justin the younger, the fifteenth of Ethelbert King of Kent, the seventeenth of Alla King of the Northumbrians, about the beginning of the Reign of Chilperick King of the Franks, A. D. DLXXV.

2. Of Uffa there is little or nothing more extent than that he begun this King-

dom, (how and in what manner is utterly unknown) and that from him the succeeding Kings were called Uffinge. After him his Son Tityllus or Tytulus, of whom there is onely remarkable, that he was Father to Redwald, the most potent King of the East Angles, the same who received Edwin, and upon his account slew Ethelfrid King of the Northumbrians. The Monk of Malmesbury, as contrary to the fense of others, he makes this Kingdom to have begun before that of the West Saxons, though after the other of Kent, mentions this Redwald, as the first King being the tenth from Woden. Of these seven Princes said by Beda, to have had Dominion over all the Southern Parts lying on this fide the River of Humber, him he mentions as the fourth. In another place he tells us, that he was Noble Lib. 2. c. 15. as to his Birth, but Ignoble as to his Actions. For being perswaded by Edwin to receive the Christian Faith, he was baptized; but returning home was perswaded

Afterwards

by his Wife and others about him to fall off again, fo that he living betwixt two, like the old Samaritans, feeming to serve both Christ and Idols, having in the same Chapel an Altar for Christ, and an Altar for Divels, which Chapel Adulf King of that Province, who lived in the time of Beda, testified that he himself had seen when a Boy. But Eorpwald his Son, being perswaded also by Edwin, was not onely almost but altogether a Christian and was slain by a certain Pagan called Richbercht. Three years after the Province lay in confusion and errour, till Sighercht or Si-Vir per omnid gebert obtained the Kingdom, a Man, faith Beda, most Christian and most Learned Christianissithroughout, who while his Brother yet reigned living in exile in Gall, was there muse a Dalif-baptized, and when he came to reign made all his Province partaker with him of his Faith. As a means to propagate and confirm Religion, aswell as to culti- Idem. lib. 3. vate otherwise the minds of his People, he erected Schools by the affistence of cap. 18. Who turning Faelix the Bilhops, and furnished them with Masters and Teachers, according Kingdom to to the Custome of those of Kent. At length he relinquished his Kingdom to Egrick his Kinsman, who before that held some part of it, and took upon him the

Monastical Habit.

3. When he had for a good space continued in that condition, it happened that the East Angles had war with Peuda, that common Enemy of Christians, then King of the Mercians. Finding themselves too weak for their Enemies, to incourage the Souldiers, they defined Sigebert to be prefent at Fight, and when he flatly refused, they drew him by force out of the Monastery, and placed him in the Battel, prefuming that the Souldiers under the Eye of him, who had lately been a most valiant and Martial Captain, would not dare to think of Flight. But Who were been a more variant and relative beautiful of his profession, and in the midst of great Arms would onely beat with beat a Rod in his Hand, and in that posture was slain, they be well in the profession beat a Rod in his Hand, and in that posture was slain, they have presented beat and the state of the state of the profession beat and the state of Penda Ring of King; and their whole Army was either flain or dispersed by the pursuing Pagans. the Merciant. After him An. In the Kingdom fucceeded Anna the Son of Enus (Brother to Radwald, as some na, who had write, but Beda onely fays he was of the Royal Race) a Person good himself,

and a Father of as good an Off-fpring. Of him Beda faith he should speak more afterward, but we do not find him to good as his word, it swell he tells us at present, that he also was slain by that furious Peuda. By the Off-spring he means the three Daughters that this Auna left, whereof Etheldritha was married to two Husbands yet died a Virgin, Edelburga was first a Nun, and then Abbess of her House at Brigæ or Bruges a Monastery in Gall, as Malmesbury terms it, and Sexburga was the Wife of Ercombert King of Kent, after whose death she took the weil in the same Monastery with her Sister Ethelreda, being accounted a Saint It feems he had no Son, for his Brother Ethelberius succeeded him, who (by necesfity doubtless was forced to doe it; for we cannot think he would doe it of choice) joined with Peuda the Mercian, against Ofwi the King of Northumberland, and was flain with him in the Battel heretofore mentioned. Ethelwald his Brother took his Seat, and by continued Successions devolved the Kingdom upon the Sons

wald.

Then Adulah and Elwold.

governed by Guthrum a After him

Laft of all Edward who expelled the

4. These were Adulph and Elwold, after whom one Beorna was King, to whom succeeded one Ethelrede. His Son was Saint Ethelberht, whom Offa King of the Mercians deceitfully flew, and adjoined this Kingdom of the East Angles to that of the Mercians. After this time faith Malmesbury, few great Men reigned in News St. Ed East England, because of the violence of the Mercians to the time of St. Edmund, who in the fixteenth year of his Reign, was flain by Hinguar the Pagan. From that time for the space of sifty years, the English ceased to reign in this Countrey. For during nine years, the province was without any King still exposed to, and haraffed by the Pagans. Afterward in East Saxony, as he calls it, Guthrum the Danish King, reigned twelve years in the time of King Alfrede. Guthrum had for his Successiour a Dane too called Eoleric, who when he had governed or tyrannized four-teen years was slain by the English for the incivilities he offered them. Yet could they not for all this recover their Liberty, the Danish Officers either oppressing them themselves, or using them against the West Saxon Kings, till Edward the Son of Alfride, expelled the Danes, and delivering the English from their Tyranny, joyned both Provinces to his West Saxon Empire, in the fiftieth year after the death of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and of his own Reign the fifteenth. This is the short Account we have of this Petty Kingdom of the East Angles, for which we cannot but complain of the lettered men of those times, whereof we write, that they should not take notice of, and transmit to posterity those several remarkable Passages, transactions of very great weight, of which we have scarcely the Mens Names. This they omitted out of heedleiness, or rather because they were so mightily taken up with Monastical lives, that little else could they think on, nothing elfe feemed worth their while. But by the History of the Mercians and West Saxons, several things may be more largely explained which have relation to this Kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

# SECT. VIII.

The Mercian Kingdom of the Angles in Britain, from the first completing of it by Peuda, to the Conquest of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Forty Wine Tears:

r. THE Kingdom of the Mercians was completed by Peuda, a most valiant and hardy Souldier, but as Malineshury terms him, a Fanatick and impious Person, after he had till the fiftieth year of his Age conquered several places,

and continually warred against his Neighbours, in the CXXXIX. year after the death of Hongist, in the sixteenth year of Heraclius the Emperour, the tenth of Eadbald King of Kent, and the tenth of Edwin King of the Northumbrians, when Sigebers the Little was King of the East Saxons, and Earpwald of the Eastern Angles,

A.D. DCXXVI. The Saxon Annals derive thus his Pedigree. He was the Son of Wibba, who had these Ancestours, Crida, Cunewald, Enebba, Icele, Eomere, Angel-

geat, Offa, Weremund, Wightleag, Woden.

2. This Kingdom as we faid was completed by Peuda; but others laid the Foundations of it, though he, for the cause alledged, be generally accounted the first king of this Province. For both Matthew of Westminster, and others write, that Ad An. 383. the first beginning of it was effected by Creedda a Saxon, whom in the Genealogy he calls Crida. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon names him Crida, who having, as far as can be known by any writings, first, saith he, obtained the Kingdom of Merce, died and left for his Successour his Son Wipha. This Wipha or Wippa, was followed by one Cherle or Keerle, who was not his Son but his Kinfman, but he either dying, or which is yet unlikely, relinquishing the Kingdom to him, Peuda succeeded when he had now consumed the best of his Years, as having completed the Number of Fifty. This Kingdom being by him inlarged and strengthened, obtained the Name of Mypcaanic and Meanelone, but for what reasons is not agreed, a pair of the greatest Antiquaries differing about it. Humphrey \* Lhuyd is of opinion it was named from the River Merse, which indeed \* Sextum Anrunning betwirt Cheshire and Lancashire, was the North-Western Bound of the glo-Saxo-Mercians. But Cambden + deriveth it from Meanc an old English word which fig-tannia Regnified a Limit, for though it was by far the largest Kingdom of all, yet all the num quosa other bordered and contined upon it. Neither of these opinions are improbable, Marcinum whether the River took Name from it, or it from the River; yet are not they to dicebatur conprobable, but that of Wolfgangzius Laus is as ridiculous, who in that work of his fittuner, fal. concerning the Migrations of Nations, affirms these Mercians to have been Mar + in Cornacis comanni, and their Kings Peuda, Offa, and all the rest to have reigned in the lower Germany; whereas nothing is more certain by confent of all Histories than that never was there any such Kingdom there, and that these Kings and People inkabited that part of Britain; which we formerly affigned them. But the good Man going about to declare the Genealogies of the Kings of England, of the Norman Race doth it fo pitifully, so confusedly, so fallly, that it appears, he neither ever in any good Authours either read the order of them, their Actions or their very Names, but received his home Intelligence from some filly fellow, as a certain eminent Mathematician in the Geographical Chart of this Island also did to their no fmall disparagement. And besides them Jeronymus Rigcellus in his Ptolemy, printed at Venice an hundred years agoe, labouring to reconcile the ancient Names of places to the new, confounds several, that are an Hundred Miles distant from each other. Of these Strangers therefore the Reader is to take notice, and beware. As for this Kingdom of the Mercians he may observe, that it being setled, all the

feven Kingdoms of the English Saxons were now begun,

3. Penda

not to be parted, but by the darkness of the Night; and with the next Mor-novium, Bri-

not to be parted, but by the database or nings light, were about to renew their malitious fury, but that more confidera-tamini Carries Carries

moved by any Religious pretences, affilting one Christian against another, and & Circum in

even, above all other tinings, which others as nearly the Son of Edwin, who fun julie am Sacred. This appeared in his perfidious killing Edfrid the Son of Edwin, who fun julie am opin

3. Peuda, as we said, had spent the best of his time before he came to be King, but the great things he performed afterward shewed, that the greatest of his Labours and Travels he had not passed. No sooner had he got the Power into his Hands, but he improved it first the Moldiation of his Neighbours, thinking it no fault at all to diffurb the World, to ruine Families, overturn Kingdoms, and deitroy a Multitude of innocent Souls, and all to gratify the humour of one fingle Man, to tickle his fancy with the pitifull thought of domineering; the true gie man, to tieke ins lancy with the planta mought of dominiering; the rule account of the Actions of Gooquerours (or, as that lither one sold the greated of their) those publick Priares who rop with whole Armies and Fleets, whose Powers makes their Murthers and Robbergs lawfulls and Albusticiditing in the from those puny ones, to, which the Halter is appropriate. About the fourth or Inages with fifth year of his Reign, he indertook a Wan against America and Theolar the the Kings of Kings of the West Saxons, and with very great Forces on both sides, they met at a place called Cirancestre, as we read it in Huntingdon, where they fought Prolemac Coa most bloudy Battel, both the Armies as he fays having abjured Flight, and were nine Durces.

ble thoughts interposed, and they came to an Agreement. The next Adventure Ceri, Anglo-The widthe Northumbrians. Herein herjoyned with Cadwalla the Britain, and thewed that he Cylen with the Royne of the no more regarded his own Lineage than Strangers themselves, neither yet was hade Greefer

making, use of that great Antipathy which their skeligion could not re-skeletelin, and construct move, to gratify his ambittous and bloudy Defigns, which were prevalent in thin, at Combination were, above all other things, which others as Heatherith as he have accounted Complishing

had fled to him for Succoun

4. Moreover Eorpwald the Son of Redwald King of the East Saxons, whom select Me others write to have been killed by Rickbercht, is faid by the Archdeacon of cum a Britbouring Kings. Huntingdon, to have been flain by him. How he killed Ofwald the King of the ramin capille Huntingaon, to have been train Northumbrians, in the Battel of Maserfeld, we have shewed already. Raging Conditions Wellscanner thus, and breathing nothing but flaughter, even where he wanted Provocation, Regime no wonder if every little fault committed against him was a Crime, it was so at least as to the measure of its Punishment inflicted by him. Cemualch the King of the West Saxons, having his Sister to wife put her away, of which opportunity glad, after two or three Attempts he drove him out of his Kingdom, not being able to relist him as his Father had done, and in exile he forc't him to continue for three years. But this Profecution extended not to bloud, after which he thirsted asmuch as after drink in the greatest extremity of Summer, having one would think, as Malmesbury expresses it, a sense of some imminent slaughter, and the quality of a Raven which follows Armies, as having some present tense and smell of the dead Carkasses which shortly are to fall. Therefore set he upon Egbert King of the East Angles, and made a stout meal of Royal bloud, at this bout killing both this King and Sigebert formerly King, though now a Monk, who would not by taking a Sword into his Hands defend himself, but like a Monk died in the Crowd without refilence. Another meal yet he made, and that was uron poor Auna King of the East Saxons, his Sword making but one bit, in one moment Huntingdon words it, devouring him and his Army, of which fearcely one Man remained. Yet still he had not done, with the same Ease he destroys also Edelhere his Brother and Successour, as the Archdeacon relates, though elsewhere believes another Account of this Prince which we have already communicated to the Reader. Having foundly Phindred the Countrey, being now fielhed with the flaughter of fo many Kings, he wend into Northumberland to hunt after another, but there at the River Wenned met with his match, being dealt At left is flain withall by Ofire as he had dealt with others, being flain in the place after he had by Offic King Reigned thirty years. A front Souldierthe was, and well deferved the Sirname of Northura. of Strenuss which was given him; yet is he not reckoned by Beda amongst those feven Princes, which Reigned in effect over all the Kingdoms on this side Humber. But his Power must have been Great in the several Kingdoms of Northumberland, and East England, the Kings whereof he flew, as also in Westfex, whereof he drove the King into exile. This they observe of him with

much regret, that his Arms be onely turned upon his own Countreymen, fuffe-

ring the Britains to enjoy what they had left, nay affifting Cadwalla in the At-

ับกลุ่ง ราการ คือ การพ่อ เป็นสู่สุดที่ คือ การเกรียดกา**tempts** 

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp.

tempts he had made to recover Britain, fo strong is Interest, or Humour and Malice, stronger than the strongest Bonds of Consanguinity.

Peada fuc-

5. Peuda being Dead, his Son Peada succeeded to the Title, in the Sixteenth year of Ercombert King of Kent, and the Fourteenth of Osivi, King of the Northumbrians, A. D. DCLVI. Betwixt his Family, and that of Osivi there was a double Match. He Married his Daughter the Sifter of Alfrid, and Alfrid the Son of Oswi Married the Sister of Peada, and Daughter of Peuda, which yet could not bridle the extravagant humour of this Furious Pagan, who refused all offers made him, having refolved utterly to exterminate the Nation of the Northumbrians. Yet what if we say there was some Generosity in the Pagan, and that what he did was to restore Ethilwald the Son of Oswald to his Father's Kingdom? For this Chronicon Ethilwald, as Beda calls him, or Dilwald as others, the Son of Oswald, who as Joh Bromeon they say ought to have affisted his Uncle, was on the other side, and having led Mercionim. an Army of Pagans against his Countrey when the Battels joined, drew off, and expected the iffue in a fafe place. But how little foever Peuda was moved by the Maimes, Hum-Alliance we now mentioned, Of it has heved how great a fense he had of it, when Chron. Johan. having now Conquered the Kingdom of the Mercians, and held it for three years, Bromton. after his Death, as some say, he bestowed on Peada his Son-in-Law the Southern Merciaus, which as we have formerly faid were separated from the Northern by Who is made the River of Trent. However kind he was, his Daughter was as unnatural, for away by his Peada when he had fcarcely Reigned two years, was by his Wife's means they

Then Wul-

fay made away, after which for three years more the Mercians were subject to OwiGoverne, Ofwi, and by him brought over to the Christian Faith. These years being expired, the Nobility Rebelled against him, and set up for King Wulthere the Son of Peuda. He is faid to have Inherited his Father's Valour, and being endowed with excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind, to have by all means laboured to discharge himself well of the expectation the People had of him. At the beginning of his Reign he was hard fet by Cenwald King of the West Saxons, whom at length yet he overpowred, and after a great overthrow in a pitched Field invaded, wasted his Kingdom, and marching through it with a great Army, took Taking from from him the Isle of Wight, which he kept not long in his hands, giving it to Ethelwald King of Suffex, whom having persuaded to embrace Christianity, he took up from the Font, as the Phrase of the Ancients was, or, as we say, was God-De Sacro forfather to him. One tells us, that together with this life of Wight, he gave him inde Suscepton in token of this Adoption a great Province of the Pari belonging to the Wef-diffus. tern Saxons as one now hath it, whereas in \* Beda, from whom he took it, is In cujus adop read, The Province of the Meanvari, or as some Copies have it, the Mevari included But Meanvari feems to be the better Reading, these being a People that Inha-, fibi Vectam & bited a Part of Hampshire, not far from Portsmouth, but farther within the Land, tem Parorum Their Habitation as yet having scarcely changed the Name at this day, is divi-provinciam ded into three Hundreds, called Meanf-borow, East-mean, and West-mean: and a-occidentalium mongst them there mounts up an high Hill, invironed on the top with a large Chronic, Joh. Rampire, and they call it Old Winchester; at which by Report there stood in Bromton. Old Time a City, but now nothing remaineth of it: fo as a Man would eafily \*Lib. 4 c. 134 judge it to have been a Summer-standing Camp, and nothing elfe.

6. Wolfere Married Ermenilda the Daughter of Ercombert King of Kent, by his Wife Sexburga the then Heir apparent of her Father's Kingdom; and by her pious Care and Infinuations two good things were brought to pass, viz. the Jutes of Kent, and the Angles of Mercia became in Friendship as it were one People after her Father's Death, though we know another fucceeded in the Kingdom, and the Paganish Superstition was abolished throughout their Territories. By her he had a Son named Kinrede, and Werburg a Daughter, who became a Nun. He Reigned nineteen years, and had gone with a clear report from off the stage, but that he Is accused of is noted to have been the first King of the English Saxons that committed Symo-Symony, and such as the Bishamiak of Tanka (which at this time therefore was in ny, having fold the Bishoprick of London, (which at this time therefore was in Ethelrede suc- his Power) though Seated in the Kingdom of the East Saxons, to one Wina an ambitious Man. To Wolfere succeeded Ethelrede, or Adelrede another of Peuda's Sons, in the Second year of Lotharius King of Kent, and the fifth of Egfrid King of Northumberland, A. D. DCLXXV. Malmsbury Writes, that he was more famous for Religion than Fighting, contenting himself with one eminent

Expedition into Kent, to make known his valour to the World. The rest of his time he spent without Action, only Egfrid King of the Northumbrians ambitiously passing the Bounds of his own Kingdom, by a Battel, and therein the Death of his Brother Elfivin, he admonished, and taught more moderation and sobriety. So

Marries.

Rockester.

Sect. 8. the Monk with his onely's makes notable exceptions to what at first he laid down. as a general Remark upon this King. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon tells us with more circumstance, that Edelrede the New King of Mercia rose up against Lotair King of Kent: that Lotair dreading his Grandfather's and his Father's Valour, turned aside, and would not make any opposition, so that he destroyed the City of Rochester, (as we must take it) and ranging all along the Province of Kent, carried back with him an unspeakable quantity of Booty. As to what happened betwixt him and Egfrid he adds, that in the Third year of Centwin King of the West Saxons a Comet appeared for three Months together, shining every Morn-Fights Egfrid him) and Edelrede fought a mighty Battel near to Trent, and there was flain

ing like another Sun. That in the year following Egfrid (or Egferd as he calls Alwin, Egferd's Brother, a Young Man, much beloved in both the Provinces. This enmity roseamongst them though Edelrede had Married their Sister Offrith; and being once rifen it was hard to get it down, this bloud adding to its vehemence, as Oil to the flame. For every day offences and misapprehensions were multiplied betwixt these two sierce Kingdoms, threatning destruction to them both, but the endeavours of Theodore the Bilhop at last took up the quarrel by this accommodation, that no bloud should be required for the bloud of the King's Brother, but onely a sum of Money paid him. This he might the better doe, because as Malmesbury tells the flory, he was the Aggressour.

Turns Monk, ceeded by

7 Ethelrede after the twenty ninth year of his Reign, turned Monk in Bardney Abby, whereof at length he Died Abbat, and there was Buried. In his Kingdom succeeded Kenrede, or Coinrede his Kinsman, the Son of his Brother Wolfere, in the fifth year of the Emperour Tiberius Apfimarus, the eleventh of Withrede King of Kent, the ninteenth of Alfrede King of the Northumbrians, A.D. DCCIII. As he succeeded him in his Kingdom, so in the Monastical Life,

who anumes for when he had Reigned but five years he went to Rome and there turned Monk, taking along with him Offa the Son and Successour, if he had thought good of Sigebert King of the East Saxons, who also was enamoured of, and assumed the Then Cetrede. Habit. After him Reigned Ceolrede or Celrede the Son of his Uncle Ethelrede, who as he was wonderfull for his valour against King Ina, fo was miserable in

his judden death, for having reigned no more than eight years, he was buried at Who was bu- Lichfield, leaving Ethelbald his Heir, his Nephew by his Brother Alwi. Ethel-

ried at Lieb bald is characteriz'd a valiant and a vehement Man, yet did he govern, faith Malmesbury, both a long time and in great peace and quietness. But for all this Chronic. John Peace we are told by others, that Adelard King of the West Saxons endeavoured by Bromon for force to conquer his hingdom, and to that purpole fought a Battel with his Son print. Oswald, who having sustained his fury a good space, when he saw he was utterly unable to bear up against so numerous Forces betook himself to a fair Retreat, and

thereby preserved his Father's Territories. After this Ethelbald the most valiant Who Besege King of Mercia with a terrible Army laid stege to the Town of Somerton, the in-Somerron, and habitants whereof receiving no fuccour he quickly became Master of it, and from this time forward became so eminent for his Arms amongst his Contemporaries, that he caused to submit to him all the Provinces Southward of Humber, with their Kings. This Somerton flanding upon the River Parrat had indeed formerly a Caftle of the West Saxon Kings, through the Walls of which Ethelbald is said to have forced a Breach. But now Time hath, so gotten the Mastery of it, that there is no appearance at all of it, and the very Town it felf would have much adoe to Cambden in keep the Name, were it not for a Rair of Oxen and other Cattel, there kept from Belgin Palm Sunday till the midft of June, with good Refort of People, the Countreymen thereabout being yery great Grafiers. Yet being famous in Ancient times, and of all others most frequented, it gave Name to the Shire which Afferius every where calls Somertunensis. Some indeed have thought it called Somersetshire, because the Air is Mild and Summer-like there; and in that sense the Welsh Britains at this Day call it Gladerhaf. But this Name they borrow from the English Tongue: and however in Summer time it may be a Summer-like Countrey, in Winter it may as truly be called Winterfet; fo wet, fo miry and moorish it is, as Travellers to their very great trouble and inconvenience do find.

8. But Ethelbald growing proud upon his fuccess, and preferring Violence before Justice, between such time as Ceolwulf King of the Northumbrians had for laken his Crown for a Cowl, and the fuccession of Egbert, took his opportunity, and in an hoftile manner invaded that Kingdom, whence having got vait plunder, he returned, finding none to refift him. This proud Etbelbald again, faith our Writer, when Adelard the King of the West Saxons was dead, often diffurbed his SuccesCHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelbald.

Quarels with four and Kinsman Cudrede, sometimes with open hostility, and otherwhiles by Sect. 8. Cadrate King firring up his Subjects to Seditious Attempts. Various was their fuccels in the Field, fometimes the one and now the other having the advantage, and now would they conclude a Peace, and then again violate it by hostile Acts. At length in the fourth year of Cudrede, they seemed so heartily accorded, that with joint sorce they fet upon the Britains, and defeated them, though their multitudes were innumerable. Yet again they fell at variance, and Cudrede not able to bear the Exactions and Infolence of Ethelbald, in his thirteenth year took courage, and met him at Bedford, trusting much to the skill and courage of Edelhim a stout Captain he brought along with him. Ethelbald the King of Kings, befides his Mercians and other Forces, brought along with him the Eastern Saxons, the Angles, and the Kentish Men. The Battels being formed and ready to join, Edelhim leading on the West Saxons, and bearing the Standard of Cudrede which was a Golden Dragon, called upon the Standard Bearer of Ethelbald, challenging him But is worsted it seems to a Combat. Hereupon the West Saxons shouted and were much encouraged, and the Armies joined. A most bloudy Contest began and a long time con-

tinued, the fuccess being doubtfull. But God who resisteth the Proud, as our

Authour observes, was pleased abate the haughtiness of Ethelbald, insomuch that he himself first of all ran away, and from this time to his Death suffered he nothing he undertook to prosper. Yet in the second year after this Battel having recruited himself, he would again try his fortune, and fought another most

In the next

Secandune, Repandune.

bloudy Battel with the West Saxons at a place called Secandune, where being forely diffressed, and disdaining as formerly to flye, he was slain, and Buried at Repandune. And so faith Bromton, this most valiant King when he had Reigned one and fourty years (not in such profound Peace surely as the Monk of Malmsbury writes) was punished for his excessive Pride, and from this time the Kingdom of the West Saxons became stronger. This Secandune though it flourished in the Times of the Saxons is now almost quite gone, and at this time is called Seckinton in Warwickshire. Repandune from a great and fair Town is also become a poor and small Village, at this day called Repton upon the River Trent, where it takes in the Rivolet Dove. This it is, though in former Ages it was famous both for the Burial of Ethelbald, of other the Mercian Kings, and the Calamity of Burthred the last of them, who here was deprived of his Kingdom, as we

shall see in its due place.

9. But whereas by the Chronicle of Bromton it would appear that Ethelbald was flain by his Enemies, it is generally affirmed by other Writers, that being a good King he loft his Life by the Treachery of his own bad People, for he was in the Army stabed by Beared or Beornrede, who immediately usurped, taking the title of King upon him. But not long he enjoyed the title. For as he began, so he continued his Reign like a Tyrant, which so incensed the People, that Noble, and Ignoble together, they united themselves, and under conduct of Offa a most valiant young man prefently unking'd him, fome fay by driving him away, others by taking away his Life, and bringing him to fuch an end as the murther Upon whose of Ethelbald had deserved. Offa for his pains was made King, in the eighteenth

Death Offa is Year of Constantinus Copronymus, the tenth of Edilbert King of Kent, the first and last of Ofulf King of the Northumbrians, A. D. DCCLVIII. He was the fifth in Vide si places descent from Peuda, as Malmesbury writes, yet others in his Pedegree, which they in Ann derive from Woden, make no mention at all of Peuda. He was a Prince of extra-DCCLV. ordinary conduct, courage and fuccess, which for a long time he managed and in Huntingdo enjoyed together. The first Action of him we meet with was his subduing by nenfi & Chro-Arms a certain People called Hestings, concerning whom we know nothing, and Bromon. Who engages therefore can fay nothing farther. Much about the fame time he fought with with Alrick Alrick King of Kent, at a place called Ottanford, now Otford, in Kent upon the King of Kent. River Darent, more famous afterward for an overthrow of the Danes, and longer

after that for an House of the Kings. What success he had at this place the Annals do not tell us, but it feems it was fuch as encouraged him the year following her Cyneto engage against Kinwulf King of the West Saxons at a place called Binsinton, pully J Opwhich Town he took. It is that which is now called Benson, standing upon the ra geruh-Thames in Oxfordshire, by Marian, said to be a Royal Village, who reports that con ymb

Ceaulin took it from the Britains in the year DLXXII. and that the West Saxons Bynjingun Weft Saxon. held pollestion of it for two hundred years, till Offa thinking it would be both for nam cone his commodity and honour that they should have nothing on this side the River, run. wone it and subjected it to his own Kingdom. At this day it goes for a Village onely, and not long fince had an House of the Kings hard by, called of certain

Scct. 8. Elmes, Ewelme, commonly New Elme, fometime a fair place, but suffered to go to ruine, being not very wholfome by reason of a foggy Air arising from a stand-

ing Water adjoining.

10. As to the rest of the Actions of Offa, we may take that observation of the Monk of Malmesbury, who when he compared them with those we have related, and with others, remained doubtfull, whether he should approve of or disprove his course in general. In one and the same man, so many vices were palliated with vertues, and to many vertues succeeded vices, that you would think you had to deal with a very Proteus. Ingaging with Kinwulf, King of the West Saxons, in open War, he eafily obtained the Victory, though that Prince was no contemptible Warriour. This same man, saith he, imagining that treachery would doe him most service, having by great allurements of fair promises, drawn to his Court King Ethelbirht, Bebeads Ethel- on a fudden, and when he never could imagine fuch Villany, caused him to be bers, and fee- cut shorter by the Head, and unjustly seized on his Kingdom of the East Angles,

wherein he built a Castle for bridling the Inhabitants, the Ruines whereof may be feen upon a clav Hill, at the Town still from him called Offton in Suffolk. After this he commends him for shrining the Reliques of Sr. Alban, and blames him for robbing feveral Churches, and amongst others, that of *Malmesbury*, which makes the Authour nota little concerned. Finding his carriage in these affairs, and his handling of his People to be of perilous consequence, to fence himself against the worst occurrents, he courted much his Neighbour Princes. To Brithrick His Alliances. King of the West Saxons, he married his Daughter Ethelburga, Charles the Great alfo, King of the Franks, with frequent Embassies he made his Friend, though difficultly could he bring him to what he defired; for formerly there had been mif-

understanding betwixt them, and so high it had flown, that commerce was forbidden on both fides. The English in these times travelling to Rome, were very much molested, not onely by the Saracens, who possessed the straits of the Alpes, but the Subjects also of Charles inhabiting both Gall and Italy. Hereof he complained, and with much adoe procured a Peace and friendly correspondence, which the furmm of Charles his Letter, wherein he ftiles himself King of the Franks Apul Mathe and Lombards, and Patritian of the Romans, directed to the Reverend man, and his meth de Ghi and Lombards, and Patritian of the Romans, doth fufficiently tellifie; in what Espenian most dear Brother Offa King of the Mercians, doth fufficiently tellifie; in what Espenian

year written it's uncertain, but probably about the time of Offa's death. 11. "Herein after thanks given to Almighty God, for the fincerity of the Catho-" liek Faith which he found in his Papers, he gives leave to fuch as go on Pil-"grimage to Rome, to pass freely and peaceably through his Dominions. But in "case any be found among them, who go not upon a Religious account, but for

"that of gain, at convenient places, they must pay their Tolls. He grants also that "Merchants have lawfull Patronage, promiting them Redrefs of their grievances upon application to him or his Ministers. And his Epiftle he concludes with "acquainting him, what \* gifts he had fent to the Churches in his Dominions, \* Manura fie acquainting mm, what guts he had lent to the Churches in his bollimoids, expended "together with one Belt, an Hunnish Sword, and two filken Vests unto himself, interpretate Such was the kindness at last procured betwirt Charles and Offa, which stood pricinguishment in such steed that procured between the high steed that procured between the high steed that procured beautiful to the steed that procured the high steed that the steed th him in such stead, that notwithstanding, he had many Enemies, who ceased A Combatan not to attempt much against him, yet he spent his time in great ease and pro- fa, mucro, 40-Makes his Son fperity, and made his Son Egfrid, whom he left his Successour, to be accounted makes his Son to the King before he died. But of all his Actions, none is more memorable than the initialist Classified on.

ningdom. He is famous making of a Ditch, which with admirable work and labour, he caused to be ment, faring cast from the mouth of Dee unto Weymouth, for the space of sourcore and ten rebel. Miles, to separate the Britains from his Angles or English Men. Hereupon in tropolations. British it is called Claudh Offa, or Offa his Dirch, and a + Town some seven Miles eraal against from Radner, from this Dirch which lies under it, had the British Name of Tre- Type member fy Claudh, afterward changed into Trebuclo, in English called Knightan. To what manere was we have already faid of this Work, we shall add, though by way of anticipation, what John of Salisbury writes in his Polycraticon. Harold ordained a Law, bindingonith that what Wellhman Gover thould be found without a Warner of the Control of th that what Welfbman foever should be found without a Weapon on this fide the limit he had set them, that is to say, Offia's Dike, should have his right Hand cut na, nr sgum addit unit. off by the King's Officers. 12. For the main, Offa so carried himself, that he may be accounted of the silur.

His Character, first Rank of these English Saxon Kings, during the Heptarchy. The grand flaw in his Escutchion, is the Murther of Ethelbert King of the East Angles, and yet Authours of good credit fay, that coming to woe his Daughter, he was to bafely made away by the procurement of Queendred, Offa's Wife, a Woman that more valued the Countries of East England, than the honest and honourable match of her Child. But by his Martyrdom (fuch it was esteemed) great accession Sect. 8. of Wealth and Reputation came to the City of Hereford, for being registred in the Catalogue of Martyrs, there he had a Church built and dedicated to him by Milfrid, a petty King of the Countrey, wherein when a Bishops See was established, it grew very rich, first through the devout liberality of the Mercians,

was buried at fa being dead, after a Reign of thirty nine years, was buried at Bedford, in a Chapel without the Town, on a Bank of the River Ouse, in a Royal manner. But it's a constant Tradition, saith Matthew the Flowergatherer, of all the Countrey Ad Ann. 797. to this day, that the faid Chapel, by long wearing, and the violence of the River, was overthrown, and by its rapacity, together with the King's Sepulchre, thrown down into the water. Whereupon, till this present time, the said Sepulchre, by fuch as wash themselves in that place, seems to appear deep in the water, and yet at another time, although it be most diligently fought after, as if the

Egfrid Reigns thing was fatal, cannot be found. Egfrid his Son, who had been Partner with him in the Kingdom, for the space of eight years, upon his death became sole Possessour of it, being commended by Churchmen for treading in his Father's steps. For he confirmed whatsoever he had given to pious uses, and what out of covetousness he had taken away, he freely caused to be restored. And more he had done, had he continued any longer time. For on the hundred and forty first day after his Father's decease, he departed this life, to the exceeding great grief of all his Subjects. Being fo well inclined, and dying in the flower of his Age. Alcuin a Man famous in those days, an English Man, and the moderatour of the Studies of Charles the Great, in an Epistle to Ofbert a Patritian or Nobleman, wrote Malmesh. quò that he did not believe he died for his own fins, but because his Father had supra.

fhed much bloud to establish his Kingdom. 13. To Egfrid succeeded Kenulfe or Ceolwulfe, as the Saxon Annals call him, de-

scended in the fifth degree from Kenwalch the Brother of Peuda, in the last year of Conflantinus Porphyrogenitus the Emperour, who was deposed, and had his Eyesput out by command of his Mother Irene, the first of Cuthrede King of Kent, the fecond or third year after the death of Ethelrede, the last (in reality) King of the Northumbrians, A. D. DCCXCVI. The Monk of Malmesbury describes him to

His Character, us as a great Man, as one whose Vertues were greater than his Fame, who never did any thing which malice could justly tax, was at home Religious, in War victorious, a man whose Praise deservedly will mount on high so long as there shall be found a fit Judge thereof in England, to be commended not onely for the sublimity of his Throne, but the humility of his mind, which in his greatest prospe-He invades rity was eminently remarkable. Against the Inhabitants of Kent from Offa he re-

Kent, feizing ceived a fucceffive Enmity, which caused him in the first year of his Reign to invade that Countrey, wherein after much waste made, he took Edbright sirnamed Pren, and carried him bound along with him. To this Relation of Malmesbury Roger de Howden adds, that he commanded his eyes to be plucked out, and in great Pride and Cruelty his hands to be cut off: This done, he laid the Kingdom of Kent to his own Dominion, fetting upon his own Head a Crown, and holding a Sceptre in his Hand. Yet Malmesbury affirms, that not long after being touched with mercy to the Captive King, he fet him at liberty. For at Winchelcombe (faith he) where he built a Church, which at this day standeth, on the day of the Dedication thereof, he manumitted or fet free the Captive before the Altar, there exhibiting a memorable Spectacle of his Clemency. At the Solemnity was Cuthrede present, whom he had made King over the Inhabitants of Kent,

and then and there applauded his Royal Munificence. The Church was filled with Applause and rejoycing, and the Streets were thronged with People. Forasmuch as in a Meeting of thirteen Bishops and ten Dukes, none that desired to taste of his bounty was rejected, all went away with their Pouches full. For befides the Gifts he gave to the Nobles, which both for value and number were inestimable in Utenfils, Garments, and choice Horses, to such as had no Land he gave a Pound of Silver, to Priests a Mark of Gold: To Monks one Solidus a piece, and many things to all the Inferiour Multitude. And when he had indowed the Monastery with fo great Revenues as at this time may feem incredible, in the twenty fourth year of his Reign he honoured it with his own Funeral. His Son Reuelme a very

Kensime his Child and Innocent being murthered by his Sifter Quendrida, obtained both the the formular Mane and Honour of Martyrdom, and there also resteth. So much Malmesbury, et and buried The place he mentions is Wincholouble a great Town and well inhabited in Glos ed and buried a buried and buried and a Winchel Combe, a great Town and well inhabited in Glo-Cambden.

The place he mentions is Winchel Combe, a great Town and well inhabited in Glo-Cambden. cefter fiber. Indeed a Man would scarcely believe how much this Abby was fre-

Sect. 8. quented in ancient times for the Relicks of this Kenelme, a Child of feven years old, whom his own Sifter, to get the Inheritance unto her felf, fecterly made away, and our Fore-fathers registred in the Rank of Holy Martyrs. The Territory adjoyning was of old reckoned a Sheriffdom or County of it felf, till fuch time as Edric, sirnamed Streona, that is the Getter or Gainer, who first under King Atheldred, and afterward under Caute or Canute governed as Viceroy the whole

Ceolwulfe

made King.

Kingdom of England, adjoyned it to the Shire of Glocester. 14. Kenulfe by his Wife Alfritha had this Son, thus murthered by his own Si-An Account ster Quendrida, and another Daughter called Burgenilda. The manner how the Murther was committed, and how it was discovered, was this, which you must take upon the trust of William of Malmesbury and Matthew the Flowergatherer. "The Boy was committed to an Attendant, who carrying him into a Wood un-der pretence of Hunting, cut off his Head and hid his Body in the Thickets. "A wonderfull thing it was that a thing done so privately in England, should be known at Rome, but so it came to pass by Divine Revelation. For upon the " Altar you must know of blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles, a white Dove let fall a certain Paper; which in order discovered both the death of St. Kenelme King and Martyr, and also the place of his Burial. The Schedule being written ning and martyr, and and the place of his buriat. The otherune being written in English in Golden Letters, the Clerks that were present at the Command of the Pope attempted to reade, but in vain. But as it happily came to pass an Angel flood by and Interpreting it in Latin, caused the Roman Prelate by an Epiges of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongst the to give notice to the English Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. "tile to give notice to the English Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongst other things this was found written in the Paper. In Clene kon bath Keinelm kyne-bearne lith under thorne heaved by reaved: That is, In the Compassive Keneline Son Dunelon, he of the King lies under a Thorn beheaded, by the head: The Body of the blessed of the King lies under a Thorn beheaded, by the head: The Body of the blessed of the Kings, in a great Assembly of Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to Winchelcombe, and Riggi by Or Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to Winchelcombe, and Riggi hip Pariciale (fait she) or rather Fratricide (his Sister) being vexed at the sing-Bern, his ing and noise of the People which rejoyced at the sing of great a Martyr, held by read, put her head out of a Window, and by saying a Psalm backward indeavoured to inchant and disturb them. But as she was singing both her eves fell our of her

inchant and diffurb them, but as fire was finging both her eyes fell out of her Head upon the Book she held in her hand. Still to this day, he adds, the Pfalter it felf fet in Silver, and besmeared with the bloud of the Eyes, gives testimony of this Punishment. So much of this Boy, Ring, and Martyr. Thus much we may be certain of, that the Murtherer, however the Villany was discovered, reaped not the fruit of her Ambition as she intended. For after this Keneline, Ceolivulfe his Uncle, the Brother of Kenulfe, fucceeded in the Kingdom of the Mercians, which henceforth was in a tottering condition, and little or nothing memorable, or which deferved notice, afterward is to be found concerning it, befides the mere

Names and Successions of a few Kings. Ceolwulfe reigned but two, some say but one year, and then was driven away by Bernulfe. This Bernulfe in the third year of his Reign, yet durft adventure to graple with Egbert King of the West Saxons,
Who was de- with whom he fought a bloudy Battel at a Place called Estandame, but was desca- Sax Annal Who was de-with whom he rought a bloudy Datter at a react cancel chandrant, when was delated at Electric at Electr landame by it hath taken its latter Name, and imparted it to the whole Shire, called Wilifbire, Ellen Suns. Ellen Suns. Ellen Suns. Ellen Suns. Ellen Suns. Ellen Suns. The Washington of the William of the William of the Washington of the Washingt of the West of which it some time was the Head. In the Saxon times it mightily sourished.

The Danes forely distressed it, yet fell it not so much to decay till the Bishops of Salisbury turned another way the common Road, which formerly lay through it into the Western Countries. Then by degrees sell it to ruine, and now is but as it were a small Village, having nothing to boast of but a Mayor and a very fine House of the Earls of Pembroke, raised out of the Ruines of the old Monastery. But most overtopped it was by Sorbiodunum, and now by Salubury, which arose out of the Ruines of this last mentioned City. But as for its Name of Ellandum, one Cambden rationally conjectures, that this River Willey is the fame with Alan, which Ptolemy

mentions in this Coast of the Countrey.

15. The defeat received by Bernulfe at Ellandune, was but a prelude to a greater Mischief, which happened to him the same year. Offa as we have said had feized on the Kingdom of the East Angles, whither he now repairing as to part of his Dominions, the Inhabitants met him in the Field and flew him, then doubting what might be the Consequence, for fear of the Mercians they submitted them-Next to him felves both King and People to the Sovereignty of Egbert. After him was King one pep Luc-reigned Lude- Ludecan, who keeping in his mind the Infolence of the East Angles, after two can Mercan.

J hiju calcopmen mon ortloh mie him. J jigler reng to pice. Ad Ann. SCCCXXV.

CHAP, II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Alfrede, &c. 167

years Reign prepared to be revenged on them, but failed in the attempt, being slain Sect. 9. with his five Captains, or as the Saxon hath it, his Aldermen. To him succeed-Then Wiglaf ed one Wiglaf or Withlaf, who was presently expelled by Egbert, and three years

continued in Exile. At the end thereof being touched with Compassion, Egbert fuffered him to return, but to hold the Kingdom of him as his Tributary Vassal, paying him and his Son the thirteen years he reigned a fum of money. In the fame Capacity reigned Berthulfe his Successour, and just so long a time, who at Berthulfe.

last by the Danish Pirates was driven beyond the Seas. After this Burhede having Married Ethelsuida the Daughter of King Athulfe the Son of Egbert, by so great an Alliance comforted himself both against his Tributary Estate and the frequent Depredations of the Pirates. But after two and twenty years he was constrained by them to quit his Countrey, whence he betook himself to Rome, and there died, and at the English School in St. Mary's Church was buried. His Wife he left behind

him, but she afterward followed him into Italy and died at Pavia. Then was the Kingdom of the Mercians by the Danes delivered to one Selvulfe the Servant of Burbrede, but during pleasure. After a few years Alfrede the Nephew of Egbert obtained it. He Married Elsteda Sister to Edward the Elder, who after her death laid the Kingdom of the Mercians to his own Dominions; Then this Principality which (faith Malmesbury) by the madness of a Pagan man suddenly flourished, through the miserable sluggishness of half a man utterly withered and

Burbede.

# SECT. IX.

came to nought: In the Eight Hundred and Seventy Fifth Year of our

The Kingdom of the West Saxons. From the beginning thereof by Cerdick, to the Death of Egbert the first English Monarch.

The space of Three Hundred and Eighteen years.

THE Kingdom of the West Saxons, than which (faith Malmesbury) Britain never faw any more magnificent or of longer continuance received its beginning from one Cerdick, and presently arrived at an high pitch of Greatits beginning from one Cerdick, and prefently arrived at an high pitch of Greatness. This man being by Birth a German, and Nobly descended, as the Tenth from Woden, having by homebred Consiliets molded his Mind to a wastlike Temper, resolved to quit his Countrey and become famous by his Arms abroad. Having fully seled his Resolutions, he communicated his mind to his Son Grack, who was in all glorious Actions no farther behind him than that reading in his steps he seemed to tread upon his Heel. He cally consenting to the Expedition into British son Contain, they came with their Forces in five Reels, in the Four hundred and ninety than, they came with their Forces in the Reels, in the Four hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, which was the fifth of the Expectation into British with the self the self the source Analolistic, the eighth of Esk King of Kent, the fifth of Alla King of the Sourth Saxons, in the days of Clodoneus the First King of the Franks, in the Consulting of Almilian and Viator. His Pedicree is thus drawn from Walden Realle Republic Pethogan and Viator. His Pedigree is thus drawn from Woden; Bealdeag, Brande, Fithogar, Freawine, Wig, Gewiss, Esla, Elesæ, Cerdick or Certick.

2. What entertainment they found at their Landing we have already told the Reader, and how by degrees they advanced and got ground. But this is to be farther observed, that the place where he Landed was not within the Bounds of that Kingdom which he afterward founded, and whereof we write. For Cerdicefore, or Cerdicsbore, which is still by the Inhabitants called Cerditesand, lay near to the old City Garianonum, which being decayed, and no Garrison lying

The place

near the West side of the River Tare (by the Britains called Guerne, by the English

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there, as formerly to defend the Coast, Cerdick there landed, and after he had made fore War upon the Iceni, or that part of this people especially which inhabi-Scct. 9. ted Norfolk, failed thence to the Western parts, where he erected the Kingdom of the West Saxons. And not long after, the Saxons getting ground every where, instead of Garianonum founded a new Town in that moist and waterish ground

Saxons Gern and Jere) which from it they named Capmu's and Liepmu's. After the arrival of Port and his two Sons, which was in the feventh year, and not till then, Cerdick seems to have quitted these Eastern parts, and incouraged by intelligence received from him of his success to have bent his course Weltward; to be Thence they Portsmouth,

He over-

throws the

fure the Battel fought with Nazaleod the Britain, Authours place after the coming of Port. But whereas it's storied that Portsmouth from this Port received its Name, this was founded upon often erring Tradition. That famous Creek near which it flandeth being by *Ptolemy* termed Μίρας Λιμόν, or the *Great Haven*, in respect of its wideness, like as that Portus Magnus in Africk, as Pliny witnesseth. Yet probable it is that thereabout Port landed, who possibly might take a Sirname, or Nickname from the place, and not the place from him. This makes it more probable that as Portsmouth is in that Province we call Hantshire, the landing of Cerdick in the Western parts, after he had quitted the Eastern, was also in this fame County. For hard by its Western bounds, where the River Avon entreth into the Shire, it meets with the Ford of Cerdick, or Cerdicksford, afterward called Cerdeford, and now by contraction of the word Chardford, so named of Cerdick that valiant English Saxon. For here, faith our Antiquary, in a set Battel he so daunted the Britains, that he not onely inlarged the bounds of his Empire, but also delivered an easie War to his Posterity, having in the year of our Salvation Cerdicksford. DVIII, after great Conflicts in this Tract, vanquished the most mighty King of the Britains Natanleod, called also Nazaleod by others, with many of his People. Of whose Name likewise a small Region reaching to this place was termed Natinleod, as we reade in the Annals of the English Saxons: which I fought very curiously for, but hitherto could not find so much as any small sign or token of that Name, neither can I guess who that Natanleod should be. But most certain it is , that Aurelius Ambrofius at the very fame time fought in this Tract with the Saxons, with alternative Fortune, and yet these Chronicles of the English no where made mention of him; as who (a thing that I have observed) being over-

3. Concerning this the Reader must call to mind what we have already said, and farther take notice that Cerdicesbore and Cerdicesford are two several places at a great distance, the one in Norfolk and the other in Hampshire, when he reads of them in the English Annals. And where he finds the Saxon Annals, and from them Centicer the Archdeacon of Huntingdon relating how Stuf and Witgar the Nephews of Certic hopa Cen arrived at Certicesore, he may conclude that Certicesford is rather to be read, for oice 100% e'er their coming he had quitted the Eastern parts and had fought the great Battel with Natanleod, except we imagine that they knew not of his quitting the Coast of Norfolk and came thither to find him, which not being able to doe, after a Victory obtained over the Britains they betook themselves again to their three Reels, and followed after; but Huntingdon writes as if by the Victory they obtained over the Britains, at their landing, made the Name of Cerdic terrible, fo that it must have been fought in conjunction with him. However, after this their uniting with him he became much stronger and victorious, and got such ground of the Neighbouring Britains, that at length the Territories he had conquered feemed to him capable of receiving a Royal Title; yet was not this till three and twenty years after his coming into the Island; fo valiant, nay pertinacious were the Britains, that they did not eafly quit their Counties nor give them up, being not discouraged by one or two Defeats received, but were overpowered at last by Assumes the Numbers, however the Saxon Writers have concealed the particulars from us. But 7 1100 at 1 then did he by affurning the title of King, which was devolved upon his Pofferity, picra con

much affectionate to themselves, reported onely their own fortunate Battels and

Victories, but never mentioned their Foils and Overthrows. Thus Cambden.

begin the Kingdom of the Welt Saxons, fo called from their fituation in the Island, per reas as Geguyjir from Gewie his great Grandfather, a Kingdom which at length became cyne beam the Kingdom of Kingdoms, conftraining all the reft to filbmit unto it. The bedge, in ginning thereof fell in the fecond year of Justin the Elder Emperour, the Conful-Chronal Linguistics. Thip of the Emperour himself and Eutharicus Cilica, in the days of Childebert King ad An DAR of the Franks, the Eighth of Otha King of Kent, A. D. DXIX, seventy one years Ground after the first coming of the English Saxons into Britain, twenty seven after the

beginning of the Kingdom of the South Sixons, seven before the beginning of Sect. 9. that of the East Saxons, eight and twenty before that of the Northumbrians, and an hundred and seven before the beginning of Peuda the first King (worth notice) of the Mercians. By degrees it grew upon all, and at length swallowed up the rest; though by its Antiquiry therefore it preceded several of them, yet thought we fit to close their number with it, together with this caution to the Reader.

And gives it to his Son

PART IV

Hence another Engage Cerdic and his Saxons.

4. Though Cerdic had assumed the title of King, and gave it as appears from the Saxon Annals, to his Son Cynric, yet were not the Britains therewith affrighted, but more provoked to disposses him of what they thought they had a better right than he. In the very fame year they endeavoured to unking him, for though the Annals tell us that he fought against the Britains at Cerdicesford, yet it should rather be faid that the Britains fought against him, for they came to him, not he to them, this being the place of his first landing in these Parts. Henry of Huntingdon tells the Story with great advantage on the fide of the Saxons, though upon what ground we know not, the Annals onely affirming that from this day forward, Royal Off-spring (meaning his) reigned over the West Saxons, and indeed that he had the better is probable enough, as that thereby he made fit fast on his head the Diadem, which he had assumed in the City of Winchester, as tells us the greater Chronicle of Thomas Radburn. Seven years he spent, for any thing we Lib. 2. c. 1.

can find, in fortifying the Places he had already gained; but in the year that followed he fought another Battel with the Britains, in another place from him al-A Third.

Dies.

better, their Annals never use to be filent. Yet this must make us think on the other fide, that fometimes they are modest, because after this Battel he very much inlarged his Bounds. For after two years he and his Son conquered the Isle of Wight, and slew many men in the place called Wihtgarabirig, as the Annals or Saxon Chronology affirms. Others tell us from these Annals, that being Ad An the first English Saxon, that subdued the Island, he granted it unto Stuffa and Cambdon Whitgar, who jointly together flew well nigh all the British Inhabitants (for few there were of them remaining) in Whitgaraburg, a Town fo called from

fo called Cerdicks Lea, with what fuccess we are ignorant, but good ground

there is to believe the Britains here victorious, because where the Saxons had the

Whitgar, and now by Contraction shortned into Caresbroke. 5. But as the Annals call the Island by the Name of Wiht, and this Man Wihtgar I cannot but suspect this Name to have been the Name of his Office, and that he was made by his Uncle Cerdic the Keeper or Guarder of the Island, first, and Bellows it on then four \* years after, and that wherein he died bellowed it on him, and his Brother Stuffe (his two Nephews) as a Legacy, for this gift they mention the very

year they speak of his death. From him this Town which seems to have been the place of his Residence, received its Name as he had his Title from the Island. DXXXIV. This same year Cerdic died, after he had reigned sixteen years, leaving all his \* Mea fenten: Kingdom except the Isle of Wight, as Malmesbury observes, to his Son Cynric tiaacceditistiand Comic reigns This Cynric the Annals ever join with his Father, fo that he feems to have reigned Huntingdojointly with him before, but now came to the fole Management of that Power, nenfis: Eanhe left him in the ninth year of Justinian the Emperour, in the Consulthip of fulam, que scil. Belisarius, the fourth year of Iremerick King of Kent, and about the ninth year Latine dici-

For matters of War he is faid no whit to have been inferiour to his Father, yet polynum at his beginning do we hear little of him, his great care being to preferve what the beautiful to the mission when the mission which will be mission when the mission which we will be mission when the mission when the mission which will be mission when the mission when the mission when the mission which will be mission when the mission which will be mission when the mission when the mission when the mission which will be mission when the mission when the mission which will be mission where the he had, his Father had got already rather than by striving for more, when what tibus saids saids. he had was not yet confirmed, he being in danger of losing all. In his fourth wingar ver-2 Ecliples of year the Annals mention an Ecliple of the Sun, which fell out on the fifteenth of batim With a February, whereon that Luminary was darkened from Morning to Evening fenfor. Gard Two years after it was so darkened again on the fifteenth of June, that Stars ap- & Wardidem, peared till past three of the Clock. Four years after, died Wightgar in the Isle of non semper Wight, and by his burial there gave Name to Wightgarabirig, as in those days turid, it in

6. At length we hear again of Cynric at the eighteenth year of his Reign, of multis aliss. his giving battel then to the Britains, as a place called Seapobypig, where he put DXXXVIII. to flight the British Welsh, as the Annals now term them, they being by this lidem ad An. time most of them either killed or driven into Wales, or other foreign Countries. DXL. This Searobyrig called Salesbirig, being the same which the Saxons also termed Seanythypis, the vulgar Latinists Sarum, Sarisburia and Salisburialia, the Name of Searesbirig, having proceeded from Sorbiodunum, by addition of the Saxon word

after that Erkenwin had begun the Kingdom of the East Saxons, A. D. DXXXV. tur Vetta de-

Bypig, which fignifies a Burge or Town instead of Dunum, which the Britains and Ad An. DLII-Galls

Sect. 9.

Gives them feat at Beran-

Galls were wont to add to places feated on higher Ground, fuch as this Sorbiodunum was. For Sorniodunum is by Interpretation the Dry Hill, and upon an high Hill this City is mounted. Kinric was the first of all the English Saxons, that forced it after he had got a notable Victory over the Britains, which fo much incouraged him, that four years after this he and his Son *Ceaulin*, ingaged with them again at a Place called *Beranbyrig*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, wherefoever he had his Collections, tells the flory with various Circumflances. The Britains faith he to take off that War which lay with fuch Confusion upon them. and they had endured for five years, gathering together a numerous and well instructed Army, put themselves into a posture of fighting at Beranburi. And when they had formed nine feveral Battalia's, which Number in War is most convenient, three in the front, three in the middle, and three in the Rere, having appointed to each Body its fitting Officers, and placed their Archers, those that used Darts conveniently with their Horse according to the Roman Custome, the Saxons in one Body fell most boldly upon them. Their Standards they cast down and defaced, and breaking their Lances fought it out with dint of Sword, till the Evening approached, the Victory being still very doubtfull. Neither need this feem wonderfull, they being Men of extraordinary Stature, Vigour and Courage, although in our Days the Armies as well of the one as the other at the first onset are easily put to flight; consisting now of such Men as both in respect of their Stature, Vigour and Courage are inconfiderable; fo much he. As for the Place of the Battel, this Beranbyrig is that Town now called Banbury, fituate upon the River Charwell in the County of Oxford. About this Town are found Coins of the Roman Emperours, which argue for the Antiquity of the Place. Now the fame of it is for Cheefe, Cakes, and fuch like things, and lately it could fhew a Castle built by Alexander Bishop of Lincoln (for to the See of Lincoln it belonged, as did many other good Houses, and Manors now swallowed by the iniquity of times) who defiring to dwell stately, rather than quietly, by his vast Structures of this kind brought himself into many troubles. 7. Cynric died after he had reigned fix and twenty years, and was succeeded by

To Cynric

mong the

beginning of the Reign of Clothair King of the Franks, the same year that Ethelbert became King of Kent, the third of Alla King of the Northumbrians. A. D. DLXI. Ceaulin was a Man of fuch metal of warlike Enterprizes, that, as Malmesbury phraseth, it to the English Saxons he became an object of wonder, to the Britains of hatred, and to both of them the Authour of Destruction. Now had these Saxons been in Britain for the space of an hundred and twenty years, all which time they had been so employed in chusing and setling their new Possessions, that having space enough (a little seems much to them that have none) they agreed well enough amongst themselves, and united upon occasion against a- them, whom their Interest had made their common Enemies. But now having pretty well fecured their new ( however got ) Possessions, they had more leifure to be proud and idle, and having much, began to think they had not enough, and to envy the Conditions of one another. In the West and North they had still indeed work enough to defend their own, and still provoked by ambition, and Covetouiness to wrest more out of the Hands of the Poor distres-

Ceaulin his Son in the five and thirtieth year of Justinian the Emperour, about the

fed Britains, but toward the South-East the Coast was clear, not a Britain left either to disturb or be disturbed, so that these Princes having nothing else to work upon, must needs find work amongst those of their own Nation, not enduring to be idle while they were fo employed, to be mere Gazers upon the Actions of others, and to hear every day of their Conquests, Trophies and Spoils, now began to feel and perceive they had bounds to their Dominions, and however their Clothes seemed to be wide in the Infancy of their Kingdoms, now they complained they were strait laced. The first that betrayed this restless humour, Ælla King of Was Ælla King of the South Saxons, who as Beda tells us was the first of these Lib. 2. 6.5. Kings, that commanded all the Provinces of the English, lying Southward of the Saxons begins. River Humber. His Kingdom was not large, and his work was narrow, having quickly dispossessed the ancient Inhabitants, so that having time to look about him, and leifure enough to attempt any Enterprize, he awed the rest who still all of them except the King of Kent, had work enough, time and strength little enough to be employed against the Britains, to win and settle those Possessions which they had already obtained, and either convenience or ambition still provoked them to obtain. They were forced to give him good words, and admit of his Superiority, obey his Commands without opposition. Not one blow can we find, this procured amongst them.

8. He being dead and gone, and his Posterity degenerating, some twenty years Sect. after Ethelbert came to be King of Kent, who receiving from his Ancestours a quiet possession of that Canton of the Island, grudged himself thus confined unto a Corner. Wealth and Idleness pricked him, and begat the Itch of ambition, which was vehemently provoked by this reflexion, that he was the Great, Great Grandchild (as we improperly speak, rather he his Great, Great Grandsather) the Heir and Successour of Henzist, that great Captain the first Leader of the Saxons, the first that gave them opportunity of obtaining this Wealth and Honour, to whose Sceptre it was but just and fit, that they should truckle and submit. This was a fair pretence where there was a sharp Sword to back it, but Interest and present Possession afford deaf Ears to matters of Right, much more of Honour and Reputation. Ethelbert could eafily give Laws to the South Saxons, the Western were the great object of his Envy, which was increased by that opportunity, which the nearness of their fituation suggested to him. While Ceaulin was busied in the settlement and inlargement of his own Kingdom, in which Em-

who invading ployment he had now spent Eight years, he invades his Territories. Ceaulin his Ceaulin is 0- Affairs requiring he should ever be in readiness, was not unprepared for him, but speedily made head against him, and with Cutha gave him Battel at a Place called . Wibbandune, where he gave him a great overthrow, Oflac and Cnebban, his Ealdor- Annal. Saxtmen or great Officers, being flain together with a great multitude of the inferiour nic. ad Ann. fort, and drove him back into his Kentish Quarters. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon observes, that this was the first War which the Kings of the English Saxons waged amongst themselves, the first Battel fought on the account of a Civil

9. Ceaulin did not pursue him into Kent, or revenge the Injury and Violence at this time, his main concerns lying at home against the Britains. Notwithstanding all the Attempts of him and his Predecessours, still they continued and held Ceaulin over- many Places on every fide him. Yet the first ingagement we meet with in the Annals of those that happened in his time, was that of the eleventh year of his Reign betwixt Cuthwulfe, whom Huntingdon calls his Brother, and confounds him with Cutha, at Bedanford which Huntingdon interprets of Bedford, which Ad An now faith he is the Head of the Circumjacent Province. He came off with Victory, as an effect whereof he took in four Towns, Liganburk, Eglesburk, Benningtun and Egonesbam, that is such as afterward received these Names from their New Masters, for Saxon they are and not British. But Cuthwulfe survived his Victory not long, dying the very fame year that these things happened. For fix years after this we hear of no Action, as if Ceaulin by his Brother's death was destitute of a Commander. But fix years after he took his Son Cuthwine with him in his flead, Ad and again made War upon the Britains, of whom were flain three Kings, Comail, DLXXXVII. And takes fe- Condidan and Farinmail, at a place called Deorham, which done they subdued three veral places, as notable Cities, viz. Gleawancestre, Cyrencestre and Bathancester. This Deorham is

a little Town in Glocestershire, not far from Severn, at this day called Derham,

where are yet to be seen huge Rampires and Trenches, as Fortifications of their Camps, and other most apparent Monuments here and there of so great a War. Gleawantesfire. Gleawantesfire is that we call Glocester, in Antonine named Glevum from Glaw in British, which fignifieth Fair or Goodly, the Britains still calling it Caer Glaw. Being built by the Romans as a Curb to the Silures, it was thus wrested out of the Hand of the Britains, first by Ceaulin. Afterward the Mercians won it, under whom it flourished in great Honour, and Ofrick King of Northumberland by permission of Ethelrede the Mercian, founded there a great and stately Nunnery, where Kineburga, Eadburga and Eva Queens of the Mercians, were successively Prioresses one after another. And Edelsteda that most Noble Lady of the Mercians, adorned it with a Church. Cyrencester, that we now call Circester and Circiter; called Corinium by Ptolemy, and by Antonine, Durocornovium, from the River Corin (now Churn) upon which it standeth, fifteen Miles distant from \* 4k aground Glevum or Glocester, upon the Roman High Street. Bathancester, is that we now sense coarm call Bath in Somersetshire, on which we are told, the Saxons for a long time durst durat, acque not fet, but left it to the Britains, till Ceaulin had defeated him at Deorham. Then loco quadrat it yielded after a furious assault, and within few years recovering some strength is maxime grew up again, and therewith got a new Name of \* Akmancheffer. For Osbrick in fallows, qui arthe year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the thun list do the year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the thin list have the control of the con

Mercians had got it under them, King Offa built another Church, both which in rane quos nor Mercians had got it under them, King Uffa Duit another Church, which the time of the Danifh Broils were overthrown, and out of the Ruines of them daglies Structure of the Danifh Broils were overthrown, and out of the Ruines of them daglies Structure of the Passember, being "June 401". both arose another Church, wherein Eadgar sirnamed the Peace-maker, being dicimus,

Sect. 9. crowned King bestowed upon the Citizens very many Immunities, the Memory of which they yearly celebrate with folemn Plays. But thus were the Britains difpossessed of these Countries for ever by this King of the West Saxons, though afterward all these three Places with the Territories about them, fell into the Hands

of their Neighbours the Mercians. 10. No other Battel do we reade of that was fought betwixt these Nations, although probably many Contests and Skirmishes happened till the seventh year after, when Cearlin and Cutha ingaged with the Britains, in a place called Fethanleage. Here Cutha loft his Life, but the Annals tell us, that Ceaulin took Towns, not a few, besides Plunder without measure, yet in great wrath and indignation he returned home. Here one would suspect it were for the death of Cutha; but Huntingdon writes that a most dreadfull fight being fought, Cuthwine was oppressed by the multitudes of his Enemies, overpowered and slain. The English were overthrown and put to flight; but Ceaulin coming in, in good time, caused Another Vic. them to rally, and fetting on afresh, conquered the Conquerers, which done, in tory over the the pursuit he became Master of many Territories and innumerable Spoils. Thus flourished he, seeming not to court but to command Victory, while all, as well Enemies as Friends, ifood wondering and looking on. But extraordinary Profperity cannot be called Felicity, ending most commonly in extraordinary Misery.

His Brother he loft, and as Malmesbury tells us, his Son of the same name was killed before his face. His great Success and Power, as it procured fear, so envy and hatred, while all that heard but of him, suspected presently their own Eflates. This made not onely friends but foes to agree in this, to put a stop to his formidable greatness, so that Britains and English conspiring together, gave him Battel at a place called Wodensbeorlige, where io great a flaughter was made of his last is defeat. Men that he was totally defeated, and he who so lately commanded all on this fide the River Humber, was now forc't in a forlorn condition to hide his Head, and lurk in some obscure place, a banished Man from his own Dominions, a miserable spectacle of the inconstancy of sublunary things. This Wodensbeorlige is now called Wodensburge, a little Village in Wiltsbire near to that Ditch of wonderfull work, which being cast up for many Miles together, divident the middle of this Shire from East to West. The People dwelling thereabout, call it Wanfdike, and upon an errour generally received, they talk that it was made by the Devil upon a Wednesday. But in the Saxon Tongue it is called Wodenesdic, or the Dike of Woden, who here perhaps was worshipped by the Pagan Saxons, or being a thing of great consequence was dedicated to him. Malmesbury writes, that this great Battel was fought at it, not mentioning Wodensburge, and it's very probable that the Saxons made it to divide the two Kingdoms of the West Saxons and Mercians afunder, this being the very place of Battel between them, while they strove one with another to inlarge their Dominions. For besides this Battel betwixt Cesulin and the Saxons, and Britains, who joyned together; at this Dike, to fay nothing of other accidents, Ina the West Saxon afterward, and Cealrede the Mercian joyned Battel, and departed the Field on even terms. It was their custome to make such Ditches, such was that of Offa, of which we have already spoken. Others are also to be seen among the East Angles in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, wherewith they bounded their Territory, and defended themselves from the Inrodes and violence of the Mercians.

11. Cegulin being thus driven into exile, when he had Reigned one and thirty Ad. An. into exile dies, years, died shortly after, in the second year, say the Annals, and together with DACHI him perished Cuichelme and Crida, the same year that Ethelfrith began his Reign over the Northumbrians. This his Catastrophe, was the high advancement of Ethelbert King of Kent, who for the reasons but now alledged, having high defigns in his Head, was hitherto hindred from bringing them to perfection by the greater abilities and fuccess of Ceaulin. By this time he had well ripen'd his Ambition with more general observation and experience in war, and what he formerly, when raw and unpractis'd, had attempted, now fuccesfully attained, and by degrees brought all the other Kingdoms between Kent and Humber to be at his Devotion, that of the West Saxons the firmest of all, being now in a very low condition: this gave him the main advantage, being humbled to his hand; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories and the Terrour which they procured, his Reputation being farther strengthened by his Marriage with Bertha, Daughter to a King of the Franks. But to return to the King-Is succeeded dom of Westsex , in its deplorable estate, Ceolric the Nephew of Ceaulin, by his Brother Cutha undertook its protection, and as he could in fo. ticklish times, or-

Thenfollowed dered the affairs thereof for five years. After him followed Ceolwulf his Brother, Sect. 9. who for all the fourteen years he governed, was perpetually employed, either against the English, Britains, Picts or Scots, and came off with advantage. Yet have we nothing particular concerning these great attempts; onely this is mention'd, that the same year that Ethelfrith warred against the Britains of Chester, pon. he made war upon the South Saxons. It must be remembred that Ethelbert of Kent outlived him, and therefore he having all his Life the fuperiority over all the

other Kings, he durst not attempt any thing against him, it must have been against his fellow Vassals; and as for the Piets and Scots, he lying at such a distance from them, his warring against them, must have been in giving affishence to the Northemorians their next Neighbours. He dying after he had Reigned fourteen years, sylr reng. Cynegils the Son of Ceelric (or, as the Annals call him, Ceel) succeeded him to pice on The Translatour of the Annals talks of his, and Quichelm taking the Govern-perc Scaxment upon them in the same year. But the Annals themselves say no such thing, um 7 heols and Huntingdon writes, that he took his Brother Kichelm in the fourth year of his XXXI. pin-

Reign, to be his Collegue in the Kingdom. 12. Cynegils began his Reign in the fecond year of Heraclius the Emperour, negily par the two and fiftieth of Ethelbert King of Kent, the twentieth of Ethelfrith the Cool Cufierce King of the Northumbrians, A.D. DCXII. The Monk of Malmesbury writes, paning that Cinegifle and Quicelm, the Sons of Celric, put on the Enligns of the King- Cynnung. dom with equal Authority, they were both flout Persons, and contend betwixt Ad. An. DC XI. themselves in the mutual Offices of Piety which should exceed, insomuch, that in respect of their Concord, not usual among Kings, they may be propounded as a Miracle to the present, and an Example to future times. Many Wars they waged, one cannot diffinguish whether with greater valour or moderation, either a-gainst the *Britains* or *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, a Man exceedingly dextrous in the surprizing seats of War, who having passed beyond his own Bounds, while he labours to get Cirecester into his hands, was not able to bear the shock of these unanimous Kings, but with a few in his Company ran away. Quicelm is not a little blamed, for hiring an Affaffinate to murther Edwin King of the Northumbrians, a Man of approved wildome. But if that gentile faying be confidered, Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, he will easily find excuse having done nothing unusual, and led by a defire to remove out of the way by any means he could, one who studied his own destruction. For from the Kingdom of the West Saxons, he had before this wrefled much, and at that time irritated by the injury recieved, the old grudges now coming to remembrance, practifed many things which tended to their great damage. But the Kings escaped, to whom not long after, by the Preaching of Binnus the Bishop, the Heavenly Doctrine was revealed, in the twenty fifth year of their Reign, and the fortieth after the coming of St. Augustine, the Apostle of the English. Cinegisle was presently won, and abasing his Royal Loftyness, willingly submitted himself to the Priest in Baptism. Quicelm wrinched a little, till by the health of his Body, admonished that he should not neglect the Salvation of his Soul he imitated the devotion of his Confort, and died the fame year. But Cinegifle, for fix years after, enjoying long quiet and repose, ended his Life in the one and thirtieth of his Reign.

Who beat the 13. Thus much Malmerbury in general, concerning the joynt Government of Britains at these Kings, we shall add what particulars we can light upon in these obscure Bandone in times. The first is the Battel which is the standard of the constant of the standard of the constant times. The first is the Battel, which in the third or fourth year of Cynegils they Hen Cynefought against the Britains, at a place called Beamdune, where were slain of the grif of the dry of faid Britains, two thousand and six and forty. Huntingdon here tells us, that chelm gethey were frighted at the very fight of their Enemies, and at the first onset threw Function on down their Enfigns and fled. Others write, that it was a doubtfull and dange. Beamsune. rous Battel, each one uling his conjecture, rather than having any thing certain Joffrogon from the Monuments of Antiquity, whereon to fix this. We may eafily believe that this Reamdone was that Town of Possething (furter upon the Birge Reams) Declar J that this Beamdune was that Town of Dorfetsbire, situate upon the River Frome, XIVI which at this day is known by the Name of Bindon. As for that attempt which Ad. An. DC. Av. Quichelm made to take away the Life of Edwin, we must remember that this Prince was the fifth, whose Authority extended it felf over all the Provinces of the English Saxons, greater in this respect than any of the other four, that their Territories were now subject to him, but his Dominions never had been in their Power, to which a bound was ever put by the River Humber. He had made bold in feveral respects, as well with the West Saxons as with others, and would give Law to them all. What therefore could not be done by fair, Quichelm refolved to effect by foul means; for foul it was, never to be excused or reconcileable

Scot. 9. with generofity, even in any Enemy. But the thing was this, as we have it from the Authentick History of Beda himself. A certain Assassinate named Eu- Bed.Hist.lib.2. mere, was sent from Quichelm the King of the West Saxons, to kill King Edwin. 6.9. Pretending a Message from his Master, he runs upon him with an envenomed weapon (that in take the freed did not, the poyfon might take effect) near the River Derwent, where flood at that time the King's Palace. This being perceived by Lilla a faithfull and loving Servant of the King's standing by, he interposed himself and was stabbed, the King also received a little hurt by the blow through his Body. The Affaffinate killed another Souldier called Forthere, and at last was killed himself and cut in pieces. The King was exceedingly disturbed at the villany, but his grief was a little mitigated by a Daughter, of which his Queen was brought to Bed the night following. He gave thanks therefore unto his Gods, which being overheard by Paulinus the Bishop, he exposulated it with him, affirming that the Queen through his Prayers had been delivered without much pain. The King well pleased to hear that, promised that he would believe in Christ, in case he would give him Victory over Quichelm, and as a pledge of his promise commanded his little Daughter to be Christened, which was done, the Name of Eanfleda being given her, and with her were Baptized twelve others of the Family. Then did he raise an Army and lead it against Quichelm, and beginning a War, either killed all that had been of the Conspiracy, or had them delivered up unto him. To this Matthew of Westminster adds, that Quichelm he slew in the place, which from him is called in the Language of the English Quichelmes haune to this day. In testimony of the Victory he gave this Name to the Place, and so in triumph returned home.

14. The Passage concerning the death of Quichelm is such as agrees not with other Authours, nor can we believe it true, being placed by the Flowergatherer before the Battel betwixt Kinegils and Peuda, at which other Writers unanimously affirm Quichelm to have been present. But he, and Florentius of Worcester, otherwife also differ from some of their fellow Historians about this Person, he calling him Quichelm, and both of them accounting him the Son of Kinegils, whereas others speak of him as of his Brother; but to say truth, the Annals make him his Son. Next after this Battel betwixt them and Edwin, that is placed by the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, which he affirms, they fought with the two Sons and Suc-They invade coffours of Sebert the King of the Eastern Saxons. He makes them to have been Select King the Aggressours, says, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortuof the Eastern and the Aggressours, says, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortuof the Eastern and the Aggressours for these young men were killed, and scarcely could any of nately. For both of these young men were killed, and scarcely could any of their Souldiers escape their flight, being intercepted both by the Mountains of dead Bodies, and the Torrents of bloud. In the third year after he placeth their

fight with Peuda King of the Mercians at Cirencester, where assembled very great War with War with Present on both fides, and (faith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, Penda King of Armies on both fides, and (faith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, the Merciani, till parted by the Intervention of Night and Darkness; and in the Morning when they were about to renew their fury, the Kings took up the Quarrel by a Truce, or fome other Accommodation. What Circumstances soever he may add concerning their Multitudes and the Intervention of Night, that fuch a Fight there was, and a Cessation thereupon we are assured by the Annals. That first Kinegils, and Ad. An. then Quichelm was Baptized the year after they also confirm; and moreover, that DCXXVIII. this very year Quichelm died eight years after the fight with Peuda, and three pCXXXV & years after the death of Edwin, who therefore could not kill him in the Battel DCXXXVI. lately mentioned, but yield himself he might into his Hands. Then lastly for .Cynegils, that he outlived him fix years the faid Annals make manifest, placing the Succession of his Son (for his Death they mention not) in the seventh year Ad. An. after the death of Quichelm. 15. Cenwalh the Son of Cynegils succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the Cenwalh discountry

gins his Reign. West Saxons in the third year of Ercombert King of Kent, the eighteenth of Penda dis Kennals King of the Mercians the same that Ofwi began his Reign over the Northumbrians, & Kentrally A.D. DCXLII. By Malmesbury he is described a Prince in the beginning of his central Reign to be compared with the worst, in the middle, and the end with the best of Kings. Coming young to the Government, by Luxury he grew Infolent, despiting the Example fet him by his Father, and lawfull Matrimony; but being by Peuda King Is driven out of the Mercians, whose Sifter he had repudiated, set upon with War, he was driven of his King- out of his Kingdom, and fled to the King of the East Angles; whereby being discidom by Pen plined by Adversity and the Perswasions of him that gave him Entertainment, he

confidered better of it, was fully perswaded in the Faith, and recovered his Kingdom; where, to his Subjects, he presented himself a welcome Miracle of alteration for the better, so valiant that he who formerly was not able to protect his own Sect. 9 Territories, now twice overthrew the Britains, who remembring their ancient liberty fretted at their present condition, and therefore often plotted how they might fuccessfully rebell; first in the place called Witgeornesbrug, and again by the Hill called Pene. Upon Wulpher also the Son of Peuda he revenged the Injuries received from his Father, taking from him a good part of his Kingdom. So Religious he was, that first of all Saxon Kings he built at Winchester the most beautifull Church of that time, the pattern whereof was followed afterward in founding the Epifcopal See, though in a more stately manner. So Munificent that nothing, even of his Patrimony, would he deny to his Kindred, as who bestowed upon his Brother's Son well nigh the third part of his Kingdom. These Royal Vertues of his were much excited by the Admonitions of Angilbert and Lutherius, fuccesfively Bishops of his Province.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Cenwalh.

16. That Cenwalh was by Peuda driven away, the Saxon Annals do testifie, the year before he was Baptized; fo that if he was not Baptized till his return out of Exile, as by the Annals it appears, he could not be abfent from his Kingdom three years, as both they and Beda affirm; but perhaps longer it was e'er he received Baptism. The King of the East Angles, to whom he fled, and who by his Advice brought him to a thorough understanding of himself was Auna, who afterward was slain by Peuda the Mercian, without any succour or assistance received Is kind to his

from him that we reade of. The kindness to his Relations appears from that great Ad An. gift he gave to Cuthrede his Nephew the Son of Quichelm, and Grandson of Cyne-DCXLVIII. gils, as in this place the Annals exprelly fignifie, which was three thouland Lands Hep Cen-(as the Saxon terms them) by £scefdune, which Huntingdon interprets of Villa. Palh gereal ges, or politibly they might be fo many Hides, as afterward were called the ordi-nary division of Grounds; but the expression used by Malmesbury of the third ge himmary of the Window Responsibility of the part of his Kingdom. Responsibility the same place of t part of his Kingdom, feems to hint at as great a quantity as that whereof Hun-rendo lontingdon speaks. As for the success which after his return he had against his Ene-der be Armies, Authours speak variously thereof; for though Malmesbury and others talk cerdune. of Victories, \* Beda faith expresly that he very often received most grievous Da-re Cuppese of Victories, \* Beda laith exprelly that ne very onun received mon greevous Data Per Crimages from them in his Kingdom. Four years after his Gift to Cathrede the An Jer Crimages from them in his Kingdom. nals make mention of his fighting at a Place called Bradanford upon the River Cuichelm Afene, but name none against whom he fought, neither tell they what the success Cynegilwas. Cambden tells us it had the Name of Bradanford from the broadness of the ring. Ford of Avon, which is there inlarged by receiving a little Rivulet; that it is \* Lib 3. c.7. now called Bradford in Wiltshire, situate upon the descent of an Hill. Here he faith Cenvalb King of the West Saxons imbrued his Sword with bloud in Civilwar against Cuthrede his near Kinsman. But he names no Authour from whomhe had it. If so it was, either Cuthrede was guilty of much Ingratitude, or Cenwalh

He over-throws the

of much overfight and Inconstancy. 17. As for the Battel fought against the Britains at Witgeornesbrug, there's none that makes mention of it beside the Monk of Malmesbury himself, and upon his mere Credit it must lye. But there might well be such a Fight; for when he was fetled after his Restauration he undertook a War against them, or rather they against him, if Huntingdon may be believ'd, who writes, that they knowing full well how he had been beaten by Peuda, and driven him from his Kingdom, defpifed him as one not able to defend himfelf; and getting together a great number of men, in the pride of their Hearts made War upon him. And in the first ingagement the Britains seemed to make the Saxons give ground. But the Saxons defiring rather to die than flie, so pertinaciously maintained the Fight, that the Britains were quite tired out, and their strength melted away like Snow, They gave then their backs to the Conquerours, were chased from Pen as far as Pedrede, and an incurable wound was made in the Posterity of Brutus in that day. These are the words. The Annals confirm that he fought against the Britains or Welsh as they term them, and that he chased them as far as Pedridan. Pen, Cambden tells us, is now an obscure Village not far from the River 3nel in Somerfetshire, though anciently famous, being ordained by destiny, as it may seem, to the overthrow both of Britains and Danes. For at this very place (faith he) Keniwalch a West Saxon had such a day of the Britains that scarcely ever after would they abide to enter the Field against the English Saxons. And many a year after that, King Edmund, sirnamed Ironside, gave there a notable foil to the Danes, as he pursued Canutus their King, then Usurping the Crown of England, from place to place. Pedridan is a Town also in that County now of no account, except for the Market or Fair there held, but formerly the Royal Seat of King Ina, now

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called Pedderton from the River Pedred, (commonly Parret) which here runneth

into Ivel and robbeth him of his Name. 18. Not long after Cenwalh took occasion to fall out with Wulhfere the Mercian; the Son of Peuda his old enemy, and gave him Battel at a place called Possentes Berig. Fabius Ethelward is fingular in this story, favouring much the Family of the West Saxons, from which he himself was descended. He writes, that he took him Prisoner; But the Annals saying that he fought at this place in Easter Holydays, add that Wulser haraffwed all as far as Alesdune, the same year wherein died Cuthred the Son of Quichelm and King Cenbyrht. That Wulfere wasled the Isle of Wight, and bestowed the Inhabitants thereof on Ethelwald the King of the South Saxons, to whom he was Godfather, and that Eoppa the Priest by command of Wulfhere, and King Wulfhere himself, first were Authours of Baptism to the Inhabitants of the faid Island, which how it agrees with another affirmation of Beda, we shall see in a more proper place. We have no more to say of Cenwalh,

than that he died after he had Reigned one and thirty years: we know not whe ther we should take notice of what the Archdeacon of Huntingdon thinks to be worthy special remarque. The year before he died happened a mighty fight of Birds in England, which that you may believe to have been no impossible thing, he tells you that in his time the very fame thing happened in Normandy, during the Aftrange fight Reign of Honry the First. About the City of Roven, such Combats there were of Birds in the that thoulands of them were found flain upon the Earth, and the strangers scemed to be put to flight. A fign he countrit of the Battel fought betwixt the faid Hesry then King of England, and Duke of Normandy, and the French King Lewis the Son of Philip. In which fight Henry remained Victor, and Lewis was routed and ran away. But as for Cenwalh, at his death, he left his Kingdom to the disposal of his Wife Senburgh. But the furviveded him not long, holding the Government but one year, which ended, the Nobility expelled her, difdaining, as Matthew of Weftminster writes, to fight under the Banner of a Woman, though Malmesbury says, 44. 4n. 671 the strenuously discharged all Offices of a good Ruler. It feems she took it to 19. Beds writes, that after the death of Cemvalh, very Petty Kings held the Lib 4 c.12

heart, for she died presently after.

Several petty Kings. As Sexburg.

Kentwin.

Ceadwalla.

Kingdom divided among themselves, and that for about ten years together, not Subm mentioning Sexburg. Others speak of Escuin the Son or Nephew of Cuthgist the Sie Malmah. Brother of Cynegils, who Reigned but two years, yet was not petty in his Ac-det Saxon elitions; for he dated to grapple with Wulfhere King of the Mercians, with whom it cound conhe fought a Battel at a place called Bedanhafde, and about a year after, both of the dervent. them died. Kentwin the Son of Cynegils, after him assumed the Title, or as Beda DOLXXIV. hints, Reigned at the fame time, being as the Monk notes as well as the other, of Annal, ad An. approved experience in War; for he defeated the Britains, as Escuin before him

did the Mercians. Of this defeat we have no other account from the Annals than that he drove them as far as the Sea, but whence or to what Sea, we are far to  $\frac{Ad}{DCLXXX}$ . feek. This they place five years after the beginning of Kentwin, and four years after this they tell us that Ceadwalla again began to Seize on the Kingdom of the West Saxons. Thus much Beda writes concerning this Ceadwalla, that he was a Lib 4, c.15

most valiant young Man of the Royal flock of the Geviff, and being banished his Countrey, came with an Army upon Edelwalch King of the South Saxons, whom he flew, and then cruelly with Fire and Sword haraffed his Dominions. Malmesbury affirms, that being descended from Cutha the Brother of Ceaulin, he was a young Vida ejunham Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occasion of exercising his Va- ma spind do.

Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occasion of exercising his Va- ma spind do.

Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occasion of exercising his Va- ma spind do. lour. Having by his reltless humour provoked the indignation of the Nobility, DCLASTAV. too powerfull a faction he excited against himself, and was driven to Banishment.

Being constrained at this time to submit to his Fortune, that he might make his County naked and defenceless, he took away with him all the youth, which exther for love to his vertues, or in commiferation of his fufferings, willingly followed him. The first that underwent the violence of his fury, was Edelwalch Servingon B. King of the South Saxons, who was fo bold as to grapple with him; but being Admistle King routed with all his People, procured, as the effect of his rathness, a late repentance, of the South

But Ceadwalla on the contrary, having by so great success incouraged his Men, speedily returned, and an unlooked for onset easily drove away his Emulators. After this, enjoying the Kingdom two years, he gave many evident proofs of his Military Abilities. Bearing to the South Saxons an irreconcileable hatred, he defroyed also Edrich the Successour of Edelmalch, who resused nor, but boldly gave

Soizes the Ille him Battel. The Inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, who in confidence of affiltence of Wight. of Wight. The initial state of Wight in the Mercians rebelled, he almost utterly destroyed. Over those of Kent he often

often obtained Victory, and revenged fufficiently upon them the death of his Brother. Amongst other things memorable of him, it's hard to say with what Piety he was endued, even before his Baptism; for the Tithe of all his Spoils, he gave to Almighty God. In which thing, as we approve his affection, fo we difapprove his example, according to that faying : He that offers Sacrifice of the Substance of the Poor, is as if he offered the Son in the presence of the Father. But that he went to Rome to be Baptized, was there Baptized by Sergius the Pope, Peter, and dies and called Peter, and as yet being in Albis ( or within seven days after his Bap-

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ceadwalla.

tism ) died, is more known than that it needs any relation from us.

20. So much doth Beda and Malmesbury write of Ceadwalla, which the Reader must take in the name of all the English writers. For the History of the Britains and the Annals of the English do not agree about this King. The Annals say, he was the Son of Cenbyrhr, descended from Ceaulin by Cutha, in the fourth degree, but the Britains affirm him the Son of Cadwallin their King, the same that slew Edwin and Oswald, the Kings of the Northumbrians. Of this Cadwallin, they tell a ridiculous flory, that being spent with Age, after a Reign of eight and fourty years, the Britains embalming his Body, put it into an Image of Brass, resembling him, which they fet upon a Brazen Horse, over the Western Gate of London, in memory of the great things he performed against the English: a lye which proceeded from some Monk of a brazen face, who could not be ignorant that London, long before this time, had been out of the hands of the Britains. Now they Math. Florifay also, that under the very Gate they built a Church in honour of St. Martin, legus ad An. wherein for him and the rest of the faithfull deceased, divine obsequies might be 676. for ever celebrated. In his Kingdom succeeded his Son Cadwalader, whom Beda calls Cadwalla, a young Man, whose Mother was Sister to Peuda King of the Mercians, and Married by Cadwallin, after a reconciliation made with his Brother. All this as a story attended with such ridiculous circumstances, we reject, betaking our felves to the Pedigree of Ceadwalla, which the Saxon Annals afford us, and the more fure testimony of Beda, who affirms him of the \*Royal stock of the Gevissi. From the same Beda we must add to what we have formerly said concer- De Regio g ning his killing £dilwalch King of the South Saxons, that though he had nere Gevisson that the had nere Gevisson that though he had nere Gevisson that the had never the had nev flain him, he was immediately driven away by Berchthun and Andhun, the King's Rex Alfredus Captains, who afterward held the Province of that Kingdom. Yet he farther adds, fie vertic: that the first of these Captains, when Ceadwalla came to be King of the Gevissi, perc Seaxna was killed by him, and the Province subjected to more grievous servitude than apalms subsequently before. In the following Chapter he writes, that after Ceadwalla was possessed at the subsequently sub the Kingdom of the Gevissi, he took the Isle of Wight, which before this time nes qui vel was wholly given to Idolatry, labouring by a tragical flaughter utterly to exter- mediceriter Saxonice calminate all the Natives, and to substitute in their rooms men of his own Province. lene fatis no From him it appears that one Arvald was at this time King of the Island, whose runn idem scil. two Sons having taken, and refolving to kill them, he permitted they should be Chro, Cafar, Baptized before they were put to death. But we cannot admit him for above a Regulus Princeps, Ju or Petty King, remembring that on this Adilwalch King of the South Saxons, ventutis Wulfhere King of the Mercians, his Godfather, bestowed this Isle of Wight, whom Prince. Edgar. Wathere Ring or the Intercans, ins Gounairies, become this like the like Etheling, Empart of his Dominions, which lay so conveniently for him. From this time for like an experience of the like the rings of the like t ward our Writers for a great while have not one word of Wight, till the year of num Angle our Lord, one thousand fixty fix, in which Toftie, King Harold's Brother, with rum ante Hacertain Men of War and Rovers Ships out of Flanders, in hatred of his Brother, tiam Gulielinvaded it, and after he had fleeced the Inhabitants of their Money, quickly again mum Normandeparted.

21. To what we have already faid concerning Ceadwalla, his Invasion of Kent, Beda Hill. (in the History of that Kingdom) and the Death of his Brother, whom Latin lib. 4. c. 16. writers call Mollo, but the Saxon Annals Mull, we can add nothing more that is material. He being gone to Rome to receive Baptisin, Ina the Son of Cenred, Amal ad whose Father was Ceolwald, the Brother of Cynegils, obtained the Kingdom of the West Saxons, in the third year of Justinian the younger Emperour, in the days of Theodorick King of the Franks, the third of Alfrid King of the Northumbrians, and the fourteenth of \*thelred (or \*Adilred) King of the Mercians. A. D. DCLXXXVIII. The Monk of Malmesbury is very fmart and pithy in his Description of him. He writes, that more in respect of the industry of his infitive Vertue than any Pedigree of a fuccessive Off-spring, he was taken to be Prince, the onely specimen of Fortitude, Image of Prudence, his equal for Religion you cannot find. By fuch like Acts, framing the course of his Life at home,

fing his Function, he waxed old, all along void of the fear of Treachery, a most holy Pander as it were of publick Love. His first expedition was against the Kentilb men, bearing still in his mind the burning of Mollo alive. For a little while they made relistence, but after their utmost effort, having left nothing unattempted, and finding every thing unfuccesfull, when they could find nothing in the breaft of Ina, which might incourage flothfulness, they began to consider of their Essate, and fairly yielded. With Gifts they make tryal of his Royal mind, they folicite him by Promises, and for thirty thousand Marks of Gold, they purchase their own quiet by his retreat. He having received the money pardoned what was past, and returned home. But not onely they of Kent, but the Inhabitants of East to buy peace, and returned house objects of his hereditary hatred, all their Nobility being Invades East England, were made objects of his hereditary hatred. Test this suffice to have first driven away, and asterwards deseated in Battel. Let this suffice to have been faid of the fuccess of his Wars. How great a man he was in the things of God, the Laws which he made to correct the Vices of his People fufficiently shew, which still remain as a living Mirrour of his purity. The Monasteries he built are evident Witnesses, structures of Royal Magnificence, especically that of Glassenbury. At length he declares how by the folicitations of Ethelburga his Wife, after all his Earthly Triumphs he arrived at the height of Glory and Perfection as he esteems it, and went to Rome, where he lived and died as obscurely as

he purchased favour and reverence abroad. And for eight and thirty years exerci-

he had defired. 22. As for his first Expedition into Kent, others write that Villred unwilling to

accessory to the burning of Mollo. This expedition the Annals place at the fixth year of his Reign, and are filent as to any other Act of his, till fifteen years after. Then they tell us that Ina and Nun his Kiniman fought with Gerend King of Wales, but where or how they leave us in Ignorance. With as much shortness and obscurity, fourteen years after this they inform us, that Ina and Ceolred King of the Merciaus, fought Battel at a place called Wodensboorke or Wodensburge, the same we have formerly mentioned to stand near to Wansdike in Wiltshire, or the Dike of Woden. Huntingdon from what Authority we have not, affirms that they fought horribly on both fides, so that it could not be known, on which the greater Number of Men was loft. But Ina, if not Victour, remained the Survivour, Ceolred dying the following year, who that year that next succeeded, was followed into another World by Ingild the Brother of Ina, whose Sisters the Annals take here occasion to mention. They were two, Cwenburk and Cuthburk; whereof the later built a Monastery in a place called Winbuman; the other was married to Alfrid King of the Northumbrians, but out of desire to be wedded also to a monastical life, Civil Wars at Was separated from him while he yet lived. After this time it seems that Ina was vexed at home by Civil Difcords, his Title having not been fuch to the Government, but that others thought their right as good as his. For the Annals at AndCCXXI the year which follows, tell us he flew Cynewulfe, and Florent of Worcester gives him the Title of Clyto, the same with Atheling, and given to none but those of the Bloud Royal. But no sooner was one cut off, but assoon if not sooner, another appeared, one Ealdbright who seized on a Castle which Ina had built at Tantune. Whom the Archdeacon tells us Queen Edelburk besieged, took the Castle and razed it, Ealdbright being fled into Surrey. He was purfued by Ina from Surrey into Suffex, where the Inhabitants undertaking his protection were overthrown in Battel, and Ealdbright himself was slain, all which the Annals allow. Three years after they tell us that Ina went to Rome, leaving his Kingdom after he had held it

hazard all for the rath Act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that had been

23. That Ina went to Rome at the folicitation of Edelburk his Wife, who also accompanied him, we have already related from the Monk of Malmesbury, and that fix years before his departure the was his Wife, the Annals do plainly fignifie. But elsewhere we hear another story of his marrying Guala, the Daughter of Cadwalader King of the Britains, from which Daughter we are told, that Countrey was called Wallia, which in ancienter times had the Name of Cambria. Moreover with this last Wife he received Cambria, Cornubia, and (with her they must all begin) the blessed Crown of Britain, which belonged to Cadwalader the laft King of the Britains. All the English which lived at that time, took their Wives from the British flock, and the Britains from the illustrious blond and stock of the English, that is the race of the Saxons. For this was done by the Common Council and affent of all the Bishops, Princes, Nobles and Counts with all the wife men, the Elders and People of the whole Kingdom, and that by Command of the aforesaid King Ina. Yet some English feecht their Sect. 9. Wives from the Bloud and Kind of the Angles of Germany, fome English from the bloud and kind of the Scots, and almost all the Scots from the best bloud and stock of the Angles of Germany. So at that time throughout the whole Kingdom of Britain, they were two in one flesh, and so did he constitute right Wedlock, destroyed Fornication and Uncleanness out of his Kingdom, ordaining right Judgment for the stability of his Kingdom, the strengthening of his People, with a benign Industry. And in this manner were they made one Nation and one People, by God's mercy throughout the whole Kingdom of Britain. Then did all call that the Kingdom of the English, which formerly had been called the

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ina, &c.

Kingdom of Britain.

CHAP. II.

24. All these People ever afterward for the Common Utility of the Crown of the Kingdom, stood unanimously together against the Danes and Norwagians, fought most fiercely against them, and waged together most cruel Wars. For, the aforesaid King Ina was an excellent Prince, bountifull, wife, prudent, moderate, stout, just, courageous and a perfect Souldier, both as to time and place, in the Divine Laws, in fecular Affairs, in writings and performing of all good works very glorious. His Kingdom he governed, confolidated and held in peace by his great wisedom and prudence, and where the Case required by force and strength of hand. This is the substance of a great Council, consisting of such great Men as lately were mentioned, faid to be held by King Ina, a little after he had married Guala the Daughter of Cadwalader King of the Britains, with which Wife he obtained all Cambria, and the Crown of Cadwalader, found amongst the Laws of Edward the Confesiour. But notwithstanding the Authentickness of the Laws among which it is found, there is no good Historian that makes mention of any fuch Marriage of his with Guala, or any fuch occasion of the Origination of the Name of Wallia. Who the English Saxons and Germans were wont to call Walls or Gualls, we have already shewn. Neither had he any other Wife than Ethelburk, a Saxon not Britain, as her Name demonstrates, who at such time as he went Goes to Rome, to Rome turned Nun, and became afterwards Abbels of Barking. After this he never married, for they both continued in the monaftical kind of life till death concluded it. As for the time of this pretended Council and its Authority, we are full as much in the dark. Some report Cadwalader to have reigned onely three years, others five, and Geoffrey of Monmouth twelve, fo that when Ina should have entred upon his Kingdom of Cambria is uncertain. Moreover he makes Ina the Nephew, Matthew of Westminster, and H. Lhuyd the Son, and this Council

the Son-in-Law of Cadwalader. But the Britains having feigned Ceadwalla to be

their King, could not make up the Romance without this story adjoined of his

turbed in his Government by Ofwald

25. The most noble part of Ina his Acts is yet behind, his Body of Laws which we must refer till we come to speak of the Saxon Laws in general. He went not to Rome till he had provided himself and People of a Successour. This was one Makes Ashel - Libelheard his Kinsiman, who though by the means of Ina, he first obtained the beard his Suc-Royalty, yet to confirm it was put to no little trouble. The first that created him, this troubles was Oswald the Son of Athelbald King of the Mercians, to whom the Annals give the Title of Atheling, and fay that in the very year of Athelheard's promotion they fought, but as to the fuccess they are filent, onely the year following they tell us of a Comet, which ushered in the death of Oswald in the fucceeding year, a natural death for any thing that appears either from them or others. Malmesbury observes that a check by him was often given to the beginnings of Athelheard, against whom he stirred up the People unto Rebellion. But not long after he being taken away by death, he writes that Athelheard held Thenext King the Kingdom quietly for fourteen years, and fo left it to Cuthrede his Kinfman. Cuthrede had grievous contests with Athelbald King of the Mercians. It seems this Enmity was too fevere long to continue; for, two years after, the fame Annals relate that \*\*Ethelhald\* and \*\*Curbrede\* fought jointly against the Welshmen, so that their private Interests and Grudges, at last they submitted to publick Concernments. Here again the Annals are filent as to the Success, but Huntingdon doubts not to assign them a great Victory over an innumerable multitude of Britains, using his ordinary way of expressing the greatness of a Fight. The courageous Kings and their most famous Souldiers laid so about them in their several Quarters, that the Britains not able to fustain any more their violence, gave their Backs to the Smiters, and their Baggage to the Purfuers. Which Victory obtained these Princes returned home, where (no doubt ) they were very joyfully received.

a fad Accident in his own Family. The Annals note onely, that Cynric the Ethe- Hen par

ling of the West Saxons, was slain. Huntingdon says he was his Son, terms him orplegen

the Glory of Arms, the destroyer of wild Beasts; tender in Age, but smart in Cynnic

martial matters, little in years, but great in vigour, who still pressing upon his retrieaxna

own Successes, and foliciting the fortune of War too much, his extravagance of An. 748.

mind, was punished by a death procured, by the mutiny of his Souldiers. That Hep Cu-

and that it proceeded from a Sedition of the Souldiers, that may as eafily perswade ning kep-

us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the fecond year after, that King Cuthred and pus A.

26. The Success and Prosperity of Cuthred, was three years after interrupted by

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Cynwulf. 191 (at a place called by the Annals Pruntesflodan) he was killed by an Hogherd be- Sect.

a Hogherd. longing to Cumbra, who thus revenged upon him his Master's death.

Cynivulf

28. Cymvulf began his Reign over all the Kingdom of the West Saxons except Hampshire, which Sigebert possessed for a little time till the death of Cumbra in the fifteenth year of Constantinus Copronymus, Emperour, in the Reign of Pipin King of the Franks, the seventh of Edelbert or Ethelbert King of Kent, the eighteenth of Egbert or Eadbert King of the Northumbrians, toward the beginning of the Reign of Offa King of the Mercians, A. D. DCCLV. Malmesbury, in short, says he was a Man famous both for the composition of his Morals, and his Martial Acts, being in one onely Battel overthrown at Bensingtune, by Offa King of the Mercians, in the four and twentieth year of his Reign, after which he was afflicted with many losses, and went out of the World in a vile manner. Huntingdon from the Annals writes of his being victorious over the Britains in many Battels, whom having fubdued on all fides, he refolved to banish Kineard the Brother of Sizebert,

the Story whereof we have at large out of the Annals themselves after this manner. About the one and thirtieth year from the first beginning of his Reign he had a defire to expell out of the Kingdom a certain Etheling called Cynekeard, who was Brother to Sigebryht. The King having intelligence, that attended with a small Hie fadd lapcompany of Men, he frequented the company of a certain Woman, at a place us Florikeus called Merantune, rode thither himself, and fearching about the Town, some of dum air Regen his Souldiers found out where the Etheling lay. The King perceiving it, behaved but fermionem

himself in a manner unbecoming his Person, till he got sight of him, which done a Kiniscate hashington, he rushed in upon him and wounded him fore. But all his Followers, together obstitute to the state of the sta with him, fell upon the King, and fought with him till they had beaten him oppression file. Ad Ann. down and killed him; which was done before the Souldiers that followed him 786 understood perfectly where he was. His Guard at length perceiving a tumult in this Womans House hasted thither, every one as he was most ready and could run fastest, to whom the Etheling promised Money and Pardon if they would submit unto him. But they utterly rejected his Offers, and fo long fought with the Followers of Cyneheard till they were all killed, one certain Britain an Hostage excep-

ted, who was most grievously cut and hacked. By the Morning the news of the Hic interpres King's death was fled to a place not far off, where many more Attendants had mild textum awaited his return, and with others Ofric and Wiverth, two Counts, hasted to dumbas werks the House whence the Etheling was not yet departed. The Doors were made fast ac hi ealle but they eafily got in, which he perceiving began to parly with them, labouring læsonbuwith great promifes to draw them off from revenging their King's death and to cananum accept of himself under that Title and Capacity. But they flatly refused to sell Bryccirtheir Master's Bloud, and resolving neither to spare him nor his Relations, for cum xirle, whom he interceded, put them all to the Sword, except one Youth, to whom Ine tonis interpretheir Leader was Godfather, and faved him upon that account, though grievously tatur. Quemo-

wounded. But fuch was the end of Cymwulf after he had reigned one and thirty is mon ecciAnd buried at years: And his Body was buried at Winchester. That of the Etheling, who in a deretar omniWindselfer. Male line was defeated from Conf. Winchester. Male line was descended from Cerdic, was interred at Acrean Minster, not at Re-bus suis occipandune, as the Monk of Malmesbury hath it out of a miltake of the Annals, which quent manet affirm not Cyneheard but Ethelbald King of the Mercians at this Repandune to have objes nift apud

29. After Cynwulf's Death, Byrbtric was made King of the West Saxons, accor-teribant. ding to the Fasti of Sr. Henry Savil, (which yet allot but twenty nine years to the Reign of Cymulf) in the fourth year of the Emperour Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, the twenty fifth of Alrick King of Kent, and the seventh of Alfwold King of the Northumbrians, A. D. DCCLXXXIV. He was, as Malmesbury describes him, a man more studious of Peace than War, being a very Artist in procuring Friendship, pleasing Foreigners with Courtship, and Conniving at the faultsof his People in fuch things as did not hurt the Government. To obtain greater Reputation amongst his Neighbours, he Married the Daughter of Offa King of the Mercians, at that time the most potent Prince, by which he had no Islue that can be known. Incouraged by this Alliance he drove Egbert into France, a young man, who alone furvived of all those that were of the Royal Stock, and therefore was a Person dangerous to his Interest. For both this Byrhtric and the other Kings which Reigned after Offa, though they bragged of their Pedigrees, being fuch as indeed did descend from Cerdic, yet were they descended in a good distance from the Royal Line. Egbert then being gone, he thought himself iccure, and that he might now take his ease, when a Company of Danes accustomed to live by Piratical Depredations, fecretly landing from three Ships, diffurbed the Peace of his Pro-

he was his Son we may easily believe, from what the word Etheling doth import, pres Cy-Cynric was flain in a mutiny of his Then a Civil

King of the

us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the record year after, that thing counter fought with that furious Captain & theblum. Huntingdon in his comment upon this opportunity, that having railed fedition against his Lord text, hath this inlargement upon it, that having railed fedition against his Lord dealeonment. though as to the number of his Forces he was far inferiour to him, yet long and An DCCL. resolutely did he maintain his rebellion: And when now Victory seemed to incline to his fide, at length a wound inflicted on his Body, and perjury in his mind procured the cause of the King to triumph. But this Rebellion seems of no larger extent than to be contained within the bounds of a Civil War. It raifed no new one from without, this Athelhun having no correspondence with Athelhald, that by virtue of that Peace and Alliance formerly made betwixt the two Kings, now again vanished into nothing. But in the second year after the Fight with Athelbun, we are told that Cuthred in the twelfth of his Reign, fought again with Athelbald, at a place called Beorgforda. Huntingdon's Copy hath it Hereford, though Huntingdon's Copy thelbald, at a place called Beorgiorae. Italian applications opposite the Battel was fought. Authours generally agree, it was Bedford where the Battel was fought. hun he tells us being now reconciled to the King, was his Captain and Councellour pane ad verin this expedition. He then tells a long tale in affected words concerning the Fight, and how the King and Conful (as he terms stibellum) meeting came to a fingle Combat, which ended in the Cowardife and Flight of Ethelbald, who outlived not this defeat two years, being flain in another Battel fought against the West Saxons at Secandune, and buried at Repandune, as we have already in the History

27. Cuthred being difintangled from the attempts of Ethelbald, found himself

of the West Saxons, which he held for the space of one year and no longer.

Malmesbury writes that he seized upon the Kingdom, a Man of brutish cruelty at home, yet abroad infamous for his Cowardife. Therefore incurring the hatred of

all his Subjects they conspired against him, and after a year deposed him, causing

Inclination still prevailing against his Success, as well as all Goodness and Justice, having by putting to death one Cumbran, a Man that of all others had been most faithfull to him, armed the rest of his Followers against him, he was constrained to

betake himfelf to the Dens and lurking places of wild Beafts, whither misfortune dogging him at the Heels, he was killed by an Herdfman. And so the cruelty of

the King, having almost raged against all the Nobility, was brought to an end by

a Man of the meanest condition. Huntingdon calls him the kinsman of Cuthred,

by whose success he became so proud and insolent, that he became intolerable to his Subjects. He adds, agreeable to the Annals, that abusing them all manner of

ways, forcing the Laws to countenance his unjust proceedings, or utterly avoiding

him to govern more mildly, and laying afide his inhumanity, to render himfelf acceptable to God and Man, he wickedly commanded him to be put to death, and,

in a manner more cruel and intolerable than ever, encreased his Tyranny. Re-

maining incorrigible in these his outrageous proceedings, the Nobility and People

assembled together, and by a provident deliberation and unanimous consent of

them all he was deposed, and Cynwulf a choice young Man of the Royal Stock

was elected King in his stead. Sigebert thus driven away, fled for fear of that he

was conscious to himself he had deserved, into the great Wood of Andred, where

of the death of Cuthred after he had reigned seventeen years, together with the the prabe

Overthrows concerned to give a check to the Britains, who in vain resisting, the Conquerour of Ethelbald foon ran away, and deservedly received a great Defeat, and Huntingdon tells us that without the least ground from the Annals, which are altogether filent as to the fuccess. But two years after this they acquaint us with the News Hep Cu-

of his Kingdom related.

Sigebert fue- burning of the City of Canterbury, and the fuccession of Sigebert into the Kingdom An Docum

Is very cruel him to give place to a better Man. But as commonly it happeneth in such cases, and tyrannical, the greatness of his calamity reclaimed some to pity towards him, by the valour of whom he preserved in obedience that Province called Hamptonshire. But his

Patsto death them, one Cumbra his most noble Consul, at the desire of all the People made his belt friend known the Complaints of the Subjects to their cruel King. But ferioufly adviling

from the Kingdom.

Sect. 9. vince, This Company of men at this time came as Spies to discover the fertility of the Soil and the valour of the Inhabitants, as afterwards was evident from the coming of that Multitude which overwhelmed in a manner all Britain. At this time stealing upon the Island, this Kingdom being in profound peace and silence, they fuddenly fell upon a Royal Village adjoyning, and killed the Overfeer or Keeper, who came in to its relief; but the People gathering together they left their Booty, ran to their Ships and went their ways.

30. To this general account of the Monk, we may add from the Annals, that An. 787. Marries Ead this Daughter of Offa he married, was by Name Eadburgh, a Woman too well burned Daughter of Offa he married, was by Name Eadburgh, a Woman too well turned this construction of the known, as we shall see hereafter. Egbert being descended from Inegild, the Bro-Malmeth de King of the ther of Ina, gave in his Childhood pregnant proofs of much Wit and Courage, gallin Region Mercians. which together with his descent could not but excite great fear and jealousie in Anglorum, 1.2

Forces Eglert Berhtric who resolved his death, and studied the best manner to make him away. Egbert having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpose, betook himself to Offa's Court, where he was no sooner come, Byrhtric's Ambassadours were at the door, both requiring the Fugitive to be given up, for whom they offered a round fum of Money, and farther for a Confirmation of Friendthip betwixt the two Kings, defired Offa's Daughter for a Wife for their Master. Courtship effecting more with Offa than Threats and violence could procure, Egbert was forced once more to shift for himself, and over he went into France, which thing in the opinion of our Authour, came to pass by the Council of God, that being ordained for that Kingdom, he should receive his Institution from the Franks; a Nation which far exceeds (faith he) all those of the Est enin gas West, both in Action and the pleasantness of their Conversation. This affront the inade use of as a whetstone to rub off the rust of idleness; to sharpen his & comitate wit, and to obtain fuch endowments as are quite contrary to Pagan Barbarifin, marum cauc-Byrhtric however rejoyced in his absence, not caring what advantages of edu-dunlum fication he might have, fo their Influence reached not him, nor his possession of cite principi. what at present he held, he was not far from envying his happiness any where out of England, that he could have heartily wished him in Heaven it self. The pleafing repose he enjoyed was interrupted by the landing of Danes; the first Danes that landed in an hostile manner in Britain, who slew the Governour of these Quarters, the first man of those many thousands which afterward were butchered by that Savage People. Yet though we hear nothing before of their landing, they from the time A Company of of Justinian, and about the year of our Lord DLXX begun to rove upon the Coasts Pyrates infelt of Britain and Gall, and were by the Writers which penned in Latin the Histories of the English named Wiccingi, for that they practized Piracy: For Wiccinga in the Saxon Tongue (as Alfria witnesseth) fignifieth a Pyrat that runneth from Creek

to Creek: Also Pagani or Painims, because as yet they were not Christians: But the Angles themselves in their Language termed them Deruscan, and oftentimes Heathonmon or Ethnicks.

31. The Officer that went to oppose them, and in his attempt perished, by (a) fome of our Authours is called Villicus from that Villa or Town which they (a) Malmeth. And kill the Write that these Danes attacked. By (b) others Prapositus Regis, Which suits bet- de gest Reg. King's Officer. ter with the word zepera, by which the (c) Annals do Name him. They affirm, that Angl. 1. not knowing what they were he would have brought them to the Town of the leg. ad An. King, which fome interpret Dorchester, and farther fay, that he being the King's 791. Cultomer there, supposed them Foreign Merchants, and riding to them com don, Hill. 1.4. manded them to come and give account of their Lading at the Custome-house; Hoveden dnbut they shewed him no other Merchandize than the Steel of their Sword, where- nal. Par. priwith they flew him and all that came with him, as an Earnest of the many Mur-firensia thers, Rapines and Hostilities, which afterward they committed throughout the Wigen.

The first Da- whole Island. But of this first Danish Invasion the Danish History of Pontanus far An. 787. otherwise relates, as if their Landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their (6) 7 on Depredations far into the Countres adiovining whence they more resulted by the hip sagun Depredations far into the Countrey adjoyning, whence they were repulfed by the Common furprized Inhabitants back to their Ships: What was the reason, by what authority apper they came there is no mention made, and the thing is the more strange because Si- III rcipii. gebert it makes then to have been King, a man who more studied his own peace 7 caregeand quiet than the molestation of his Neighbours. And indeed not onely from the rena cap-

> spyran cobær Cyninger tune byhe nirce hræthy pæpon. 7 hinemon Orrloh. I pæpon ba æpertan rcipu Denircpa monna se Angel Cynner lons дегонсопі. An. DCCLXXXVII.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Byrhtric.

Danish History, but some Writers of our own, we are apt to believe that the first Sect. 9. intended Invalion of that People with intention to rifle and pillage the Countrey, was in the Northern parts about Humber; and those that landed here in the third year of Byrhtric, were but some Rovers or Pirates at Sea, who, as we now faid, were wont to insest the Seas of Britain and Gall, and by chance, or distressed by Weather, came on the Western shoar; possibly also with a desire of spying the Countrey. This we are induced to think from a Story or two we find in the Chronicle of John Brompton, which setting forth the Causes of their first Hostile Invasion here we think fit to recite in this place, though the thing happened a good while

32. At that time (viz. in the days of Ethelwolfe King of England, the Son of Chronic. Tolh. An Account of Egbert and of Charles the Bald) one Ofbrith was King of Northumberland, who Brammen the Dane first on a day going to take his pleasure in a Wood, as he returned went privately to the form invading Brit. the House of one of his Noblemen Bruern Bocard by Name to refresh himself:

Bruern knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea fide to make fure the Shoar and Havens, according to his Custome, against Thieves and Pirates. But his Wife a Woman of great Beauty entertained the King at Dinner very splendidly. The King having Dined took her by the hand and led her to his Chamber, telling her he must speak with her in private, and there removing all out of the way but fuch as were privy to his fecret Courses, by force and violence he lay with her. Having had his will he speedily got him back to Tork. She lamented and mourned, so that her Visage was much altered, which caused her Husband at his return to ask the cause of so sudden a Change and of her unaccustomed sadness. She told him the whole matter in order how the King had forced her, which having heard he comforted her, bidding her not afflict her felf, forafmuch as the was not able to refult a man fo ftrong, affuring her that because the had told him the truth he would love her no less than he had done, and if God gave him leave he would avenge both himself and her upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did this Bruern being a Man both Noble and Powerfull, descended of great Parentage, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention of a speedy Revenge, to which they consenting and approving his purpose, with them he took Horse and rode to Tork. The King upon fight of him called him to him very civilly, but he with his Relations at his back defied him, renouncing his Homage and Fidelity, giving up his Land and whatfoever he held of him. This faid, without any more words he withdrew, making no stay at all at Court.

33. His Friends confenting speedily he went over into Danemark, where to the King of the Danes he made a great complaint of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by Ofbrith, defiring his speedy relief and supply to put him into a Capacity to revenge himself. Hereat Codrinus the King and his Danes conceived very great joy, having now fome reason to induce them to subdue the English. To revenge the injury offered to Bruern, who was descended of his bloud, he speedily prepared a great Army over which he made Captains two Brothers called Inguar and Hubbe most valiant Souldiers, and to them he gave a Navy furnished with all necessaries to transport an innumerable Company of men. These Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through Holderness, destroyed all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to Tork provoked Ofbrith to come out and fight. He accordingly issued forth with an Army such as it was, and fighting was flain with his Followers; after which they took the City and therein remained. And so (saith our Authour) the Danes for the cause aforesaid first in an Hostile manner invaded England. But at this time there was another King in Northumberland called Ella, who was promoted to that Dignity by the Friends and Relations of Bruern, because for the affront offered to him by Ofbrith, they would have no more to doe with that lascivious Prince. This Ella going out on a time to Hunt, when his sport was over sate down to Dinner, and as he was eating applauded himself for the good luck they had had that day, reckoning up what Deer they had killed. One came just in at these words and told him, though he had got so much that way, yet he had loft an hundred times as much another; for the Danes (faith he) have taken Tork, flain Ofbrith, and now are invading your Countrey to deprive you of it. Ella hearing this got his men together, and hasted to Tork there to destroy the Danes, but they having notice came out, and not far from the City gave him Battel, wherein they killed him and a very great multitude of his Souldiers, in a place still called Ellescroft from this occasion. Farther, it is reported that the late mentioned Brothers Inguar and Hubbe invaded England in an Hostile

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manner, not onely for the reason now alledged, but especially to destroy St. Edmund who then Reigned in East England, and was falsly accused of having killed their Father. For of the cause of their coming we reade in the Book called Flores Historiarum after this manner.

The Reason

34.In the Kingdom of the Danes there was one Lothebroc, who being descended of of Inguar and the Royal Family, by his Wife had two Sons Inguar and Hubbe. This man going alone into a Boat with an Hawk on his fift in the Islands adjoyning to feek for Game, was feized by a fudden and violent Tempest, tossed hither and thither for several days together in the depth of the Sea, which having croffed amid ten thousand dangers, at length he was cast upon the Province of the Eastern English called Northfolk, and landed at a Village which had the Name of Rodham. Being found alone with his Hawk, he is presented to Edmund the King, and being kindly received for the comliness of his Person continued in his Court, told the King the tale of his strange fortune, and often went out into the Field for his Recreation with Bern the King's Huntíman, being extraordinarily dextrous both in Hunting and Fowling as opportunity ferved. For this reason the King's Huntiman greatly envied him, and as they two Hunted together fecretly murthered him and hid his Body in a thick Wood. Now Lothebroc kept a certain Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntíman being gone with the rest of the Dogs staid there alone by his Lord's Body. On the Morrow when the King asked for Lothebroc, Bern answered, that the day before he staid in the Wood, and since that he had not feen him. But fee, the Greyhound comes to the Court, and fawning upon the King as well as others, as foon as he had filled his Belly again departed. Doing this often he was dogged to the place by those who found out the Body and brought the Relation to the King. The matter being examined and found out, the Huntiman is sentenced to be put into the Boat of Lothebroc without any Oars or Tackling, in which after a few days (furely the Boat knew the way) he was cast upon Denmark, where brought to Lothebroc his Sonsand examined by torture what was become of their Father, whose Boat they sufficiently knew, he affirmed that by Edmund King of the East Angles he was discovered and killed by his

35. They prepare then a Navy and under Conduct of Bern pass into England, where landing in the Northern parts as was faid before, they harafs grievously the whole Province of the Northumbrians, and having brought it to their beck, Inguar quits his Company, and with a great Fleet fails to a City of East England where St. Edmund Reigned, which having entred he burnt and killed both Old and Young as he met them in the Streets. When he was wearied with killing, certain poor People whom he thought below his Anger, he called to him, and very diligently inquired where Edmund their King at that time refided. He had heard he was in the flower of his Age, very strong and Martial every way, and therefore he hasted to kill all he could find in any place, lest their King should make too strenuous an opposition, who at that time lived far off from the City in a Village, in their Language called Eglesdon or Halesdon, but now Horne (he writes) by which Name the neighbouring Wood was also called. For that Nation of Danes and Alamans was wont never in open Field to ingage with an Enemy, except he was before that intrapped with Snares: Therefore fent he a trufty Messenger before to cipy out where the King was, fignifying that he himself would as convenience offered it felf follow after. The Messenger coming to the King delivered his Message after this manner. Inguar the most Invincible King both by Land and Sea, my redoubted Lord having conquered several Countries, and Landed in this with many Ships is resolved here to Winter; and commands thee to give him the half of thy Treasure and Riches, by which means under him thou maist possibly Reign; but in case thou despisest his Power supported by so many Legions, thou shalt be judged both unworthy thy Life and a Kingdom. The King fighed having heard the Message, and calling to him one of his Bishops, who was Secretary, asked his Advice what to answer. He being concerned for the King's Life, by many Examples exhorted him to comply with the Pagan. The King for a while was filent, then answered the Messenger after this manner: Return thy Master speedily this Answer: Know that for the love of a Temporal life, Edmund a Christian King will not subject himself to a Pagan Captain, except he first become a Christian. The King had scarcely said so much and the Souldier gone out of the House when Inguar met him and commanded him to give him in ihort an account of what he faid. He declaring what his answer was, The Tyrant commanded all the King's Houshold to be dispersed, and he himself alone to be laid hold on and secured.

36. But some Historiographers relate, that the Danes passing through Norfolk as Sect. 9. far as Thetford, there first found St. Edmund King of East England, who as it's faid, got an Army together and fought with them. But the Danes prevailing he fled after the flaughter of almost all his men to the Castle of Halesdon, whither they speedily pursued him and the first man they met was he himself, not far from the Castle, where they asked him how they might find out King Edmund. He, as if he had not been the Person, told them, When I was in the Castle he was there, and when I came out he departed, and whether he shall escape your hands God knoweth. Then the Danes hearing him mention the Name of God knew him to be the King, and leading him back to the Castle in his own Palace he was bound and led before the Impious Judge, mocked and cruelly beaten. Then brought they him to a Tree near at hand, to which making him fast they used him as a Mark to shoot against in sport, and wounded him in that manner through the whole Body, with the thick shower of their Arrows making Wound upon Wound, while one Shaft drove out another. But Inguar perceiving that by no means could his Faith or Constancy be overcome, he commanded the Hangman to cut off his Head, which was done with one stroak as he prayed, on the nineteenth of November in the year of our Lord DCCCLXVI according to some, and according to others DCCCLXX. The Danes leaving his Body in the place, carried his Head into the Wood called Eglesdon or Halesdon, and cast it among the thick Brambles, on purpose that being found it might not be committed together with the Body to Christian Burial. But how this Head crying out it felf Here, here, here, when they fought for it was found, and how bestowed, it's not proper for us here to relate. We onely give the Reader what Account we can of the first coming of the Danes into the Island, and that the first of these Stories concerning the Incontinency of Ofbrith, and what followed thereupon, may not feem altogether improbable let him remember what we have faid in our History of Spain concerning the first Invasion of the Moors in that Countrey. Nothing is more certain than this that Sin foreruns punishment, Vice and Debauchery enervate a People, and prepare a Nation for Ruine and Destruction. This farther observe, that our Writers call these Danes sometimes Dani, Cujus (Scill otherwhiles Daci. Some of them write of them as feveral Nations, which from temporibus the beginning of Ethelwulfe's Reign till the coming of William the Norman afflicted omnipotens the Land, though they commonly be known by that one of Danes. In the Chronicle of John Brompton they are thus marshalled: The Danes with the Goths, the tes immission Norwegians with the Swedes, the Wandals with the Frifians. Neighbours to the quanec atati Saxons, Angles and Jutes, if not of the same Original, as the Reader by consider-nee sexui paring the places whence they all came may eafily find.

37. To return to Byrhtric, in whose third year, the first landing of the Danes Gothis, Nor-The time of 37. To return to Byrntric, in whole third year, the first and happened, we have little else to observe during his Reign, than that fiery Dragons cum s were feen flying in the Air, which afterwards were interpreted as forerunners of dis, Wandatwo grievous forts of mischeiss, viz. a great Famine, and the Pagan Nation of the los cum Fre-Danes, and Norwegians, which as Huntingdon writes in the tenth year of Byrhtric, ordio regni first miserably wasted the Parts lying North of Humber, and then cruelly de-sui usq; ad froved the Churches of Christ in the Province of Lindisfarne, together with the Millielmi du-Inhabitants, on the Ides of January. In the mean while, Eadburg the Daughter cis Normanof Offa, and Wife to Byrhtric, behaved her felf in a most insolent manner toward norum Angliher Husband's Subjects, covering to act like her Father, and incurring the indig-nation and hatred of all Souldiers, Magistrates, and the whole People. All Re-runt: The cruelty ligious Persons she backbited to the King, and got such an hand over him, that and malice of either bewitched by her flatteries, or wearied with her importunities, fuch as the

Eadlung the Ring's Wife. accused were deprived either of Life, or banished them his Dominions; but in case she could not prevail so far, they would dispatch them with Poyson. At this time there was a certain young Man, Noble and Rich, and in great favour with Byrhtric, whom not able to undermine in that former way, the resolved to poyson. Her defign took effect upon him, and on him whom she never intended, the King himself, who by accident tasted of the deadly Cup. The King being dead, out of fear of being called to account for her Villanies, she fled with great Treasures into France, and presented her self with great gifts to Charles the Great. He, whether taken with her Beauty, or with a design to try her, bid her chuse either him " or his Son that flood by him, whether of them she would for her Husband; she "answered suddenly and plainly, that if she might chuse, she had rather have "the Son than the Father, as being far the younger of the two. The King repli-"ed, that had she chosen himself, she should have had his Son, but because his "Son she had chosen, she should have neither the one nor the other. But he " thought

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"thought a Monastery the place fittest for her, there to bewail her heinous fins; in which having assumed the religious habit, she hypocritically spent a few years; for as she lived wickedly in her own Countrey, so rather more wretchedly did she behave her self there, under the cover of a Veil. Being on a time, as was expected, and thought busie at her devotions, she was busie at another kind of But comes to work with a mean fellow of her own Nation, which coming to light, Charles caused her to be thrust out of the Monastery, though extremely against her mind and liking. The remainder of her days she spent in want, misery and disgrace, with one pitifull Servant, begging her bread from House to House, Town to Town, and City to City, till at last she miserably died at Pavia.

38. But Byrhtric being dead, after he had Reigned fixteen years, all mens eyes were fixed upon Egbert the Exile, and by many Messengers, having recalled him, Saxon Atthey admitted him unanimously for their King, in the third year of the Reign of nal. Exthe Empress Irene, much about the same time that Charles the Great received the bpyhr. Title of Emperour in the West, in the fourth of Cuthred King of Kent, and the fourth of Cenulf King of the Mercians, A. D. DCCC. He fo well at the first understood his Interest, as to settle and establish his Kingdom at home in the love and affection of his Subjects. It then being time to look about him, the first tryal of his Martial Conduct was against the Britains, of whom, first he subdued them that inhabited Cornwall, and then made those Tributaries, as Malmesbury expresthe Britains in Cornwall feth it, who live North of them, being separated from the other by an Arme of the Sea, meaning those who live beyond the River Severn, and in those Parts we now call Wales. His fuccess was fuch, as thereby his Neighbours were very much startled, as jealous whither his Power would grow. Bearnulf King of the Merci-

ans, was the first that really concerned himself, and thinking it a matter of glory

by his courage and resolution, to remove the fears of others, was resolved to

quarrel with him, and proceeding to a War, they met and fought at a place cal-

led Ellandune, of which we have already spoken. Egbert elevated by this Vic-

tory, and founding hopes upon the same grounds, his Neighbours had done their

fears, while the same of his late success was yet fresh, sent Ethelwolf his Son,

Subdues the Mergians.

Ealhstan his Bishop (of Sherburn) and Wulfheard his General with a great Army into Kent, to conquer that Province, which he thought was easie to be done at this time, when the Inhabitants thereof were by laziness rendred unsit for War, Conquers the and his very Name would strike a Terrour into them. They that were sent, strenuously executed his commands, and passing over all the Countrey, found their work more easie than they could imagine; for having driven out Balred the King beyond the Thames, they subdued Kent, Surry, the Southern and the Eastern Saxons. And the same year the King and People of East England, for sear of the

Mercians, submitted themselves to his Vassallage and Protection. As for the times of these Victories, Malmesbury placeth that against Bernulf at the sixth year of his Reign, though the Annals fet it at a far greater distance, and place those other Conquests with the submission of East England, in one and the same Ann year, which his prefent Copy freaks of, as having happened in the twenty fourth occaxing of his Reign. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, as some interpret the Annals. For he fought against the Devonshire Welsh, they say, at a place called Gafulford, now Camelford; there where Leland will have famous Arthur to have been slain, not far from Tindagium or Tindagel, his native place upon the

Sea shore. Indeed Marianus writes, that in this place the Britains and Saxons Den Parjefought a bloudy Battel, in the year of our Lord, DCCCXX. But the Annals alageredate tought a bloudy hatter, in the year of our Lord, Doctors. But the Allians for fight of welfh, and those whom they call Dena at Gafulford, a Gapul not speaking of Egbert being concerned in the Battel,

39. The East Angles having submitted themselves to Egbert, never left off till vicongeape

they had flain Bernulf and Ludecan the Mercian Kings, who never could relt from &c. troubling their Neighbours. Their Succeffour Withlaf he furft drove from his Kingdom, then afterwards was received and fuffered to Reign as a tributary Vaffal. The same year that Egbert subdued the Kingdom of the Mercians, the Moon ben mona was Eclipfed on Christmas day, at night, and he led an Army into Deira against the appropriate The Northum - Northum rians; who fubmitted themselves with such humility, that they parted on mace brian submit voyingly without a stroke, for fearing his displeasure of a long time conceived purpose to him. against them, they gave up hostages or some other security for their quiet and Ann

As reduces all Obedient deportment. Having now reduced all Britain to obedience, all the rest DOCCANTI of his Life, faith Malmesbury, for nine years together he lived in tranquillity, fave onely that toward the latter end of his Reign, a Company of Danish Pirates landing in his Countrey, grievoully difturbed the Peace of his Dominions. Such is

the incertainty incident to humane Affairs; that he who first ruled over all the Sect. 9. English should have little cause to rejoyce in the obedience of those of his own bloud, being diffurbed by a Foreign Enemy, whose violence extended not onely to himself but his Successours, without intermission. When he led his English Forces against them, as if Fortune was tyed to certain Rules and Methods, she did not court him in the usual manner, but seemed to be taken with new Faces. For when he little doubted of the Victory which had inclined to him the greater part of the day, he lost the Garland when the Sun went down, though by the darkness of the night, he covered the shame of being beaten. In the following Battel with an inconsiderable number he put to flight a great multitude. At last, having Reigned thirty feven years, and feven months, he died and was buried at Winchester, leaving to his Son great opportunities whence to raise him Glory, and predicting his happiness, in case what he had obtained by industry, he lost not by laziness, too familiar to that Nation.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp.

40 .But to be more particular than the Monk, the Annals fignify that the Heathen An.Decession. 40. But to be more particular than the wolls, the shinks lightly not the retailed be have emen, fo they call the Danes, walted Scenjeg, and the following year that Egbert fought men openagaint thirty five Ships of Pirates, at a place called Carrum, where was made a great person of the carry to the control of the carry to the car flaughter of men. That the Danes remained Masters of the Field: that Hereferth and Eccapige. Wigen, two Bishops, were slain, and moreover died two great Officers (Ealdormen) Dudda and Ofmod. The defeat was received near Carr, a River in Dorfetsbire, whereon standeth a Town called Carmouth, just as it dischargeth it self into the Sea, lucky to the Danes, who here not onely had the better of Egbert in a Sea fight, but eight years after King Ethelwolfe his Son. And this was the onely check we reade of that ever Egbert received in his fortune, for the Annals tell us, that the very But arriving next year a great Navy of Danes arrived at West Wales or Cornwall, and joyning An Decexxxv.

in Wales, they with the Inhabitants marched against Egbert; notice whereof was speedily brought are wholly deare wholly de-to him, and as speedily as he could he met them with an Army at Hengeltdune, whene on ber: King of where he gave them Battel, and defeated as well the one as the other. The Da lere realar. nilb Annals themselves of these Invasions make mention, but whether out of their 7 hi toaown Records or ours may be justly doubted, for as to those times they are much numgecynin the dark; little have they but fabulous or uncertain, which is the reason we don I pil cannot give either theirs or the Hiltory of their neighbouring Northern Nations a Ecgbiyht part or thare in this prefent work. As for Egbert, as if he had now done enough Cyning pinto prevent any more misfortunes which might blurr the luftre of his former At-nense par chievements, he died the following year; a great man, whose fortune so concurred pon Sahet with his Abilities, that he arrived at the Monarchy of the English Nation. For so hypse 7 now we must call it by his order and appointment, who having conquered already mis rynte four of the other fix Kingdoms, and swallowed up the other two also in hope, to repoe 7 the end that they which were fubdued and reduced to the Rule of one Prince, him hip remight be conjoyned likewife in one Name, commanded by an Edict or Proclama-He flyles the ction, that the whole Heptarchy should be called Englelone, or England, wherewhole Hentupon it got in Latin the Name of Anglia, taking its Denomination from the plymbe ge-hame of Eng. Angles, (though he himfelf was King of the West Saxons, and Conquerours are Segender wont to impole their own Names) as being of the three Nations most in number, getabeng-

and of greatest power. For they possessed the Kingdoms of Northumberland and cany. Mercia, very great and large Countries, together with East England: Whereas the Posterity of the Jutes held onely Kent, or with it the Isle of Wight: The Saxons, Eastfex, Southsex and Westfex, a small parcel indeed if compared with the spacious Territories of the Angles.

41. Such was the importance of this Consideration, that even long before this (a) Historian they were generally and throughout called English, and in their own Language Gentis Anglo-Englatheed, Angleynne, Engleynn, and Englisemon: Albeit every Kingdom had a rum Ecclesiaparticular Name of its own. This appears fufficiently out of other Authours, but flicam, quam especially Bede who intituled his History The (a) Ecclesiastical History of the En-ram, libentifglish Nation, a Name sufficiently known to the Learned and best Intelligent Persons, sime tibi desi deranti, Ec. although King Alfred translating the faid History for the understanding of the meaner and general fort added to it the word (b) Saxon. Nay, during the Hep- (b)Ic perentarchy, these Princes that bore sway over the rest were stilled Gentis Anglorum Re- tef spell That of Bri-ges, or Kings of the English Nation. Now lay the Name of Britain forgotten and F ic niquite out of the among the Inhabitants of the Island, remaining onely in Books, is an appart and not taken up in common Speech; infomuch, that any other word would be Assa

down rather than it. Boniface the Bishop of Mentz descended of this Nation, cal-num. led this his Countrey by the Name of Saxony beyond the Sea. Yet did Eadred about the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVIII use in some Charters and Patents the

Sect. 10. Name and Title of King of Great Britain; and Edgar about the Year DCCCLXX affumed this Title, The Monarch of all Albion. But not onely the Name of Britain, but of Saxons also was laid asleep; as to the English themselves who thenceforth called themselves no more by it. We say as to themselves: It was in their power to call themselves English, but not to procure all their Neighbours to doe the like. For as we have formerly hinted the Britains of Wales and Cornwall, knowing them first by that of Saxons, and having such smarting causes never to forget their first coming into the Island, it so stuck with them, that they never took any notice of the change, neither at this very day in their Language do it. They term us not Englishmen but Saisons, and our Language Saisonaeg. And not onely they but the Scots, which still retain the true ancient Scotch or Irish Tongue, and the Irifo themselves write us Saxonach in their Orthography, but pronounce us Sasonagh. For as well the Irifo Language as the Wello even to this very day is utterly unacquainted with the Names of England and of Englishmen.

#### SECT. X.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain, from the Death of Egbert, to the Monarchy of the Danes in Britain.

The Space of One Hundred and Eighty Tears.

Ethelwulfe

O Egbert succeeded his Son Ethelwulfe (otherwise called Adelwolfe, Athewolf, Athulf, Edulf and Edwolf, ) in the eighth year of Theophilus Emperour of the East; the twenty fourth of Ludovicus Pius Emperour of the West, the twelfth of Withlaf or Wiglaf King of the Mercians, the fifteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXXXVII. Malmesbury writes, that he Reigned twenty years and Deglin Refive Months, a Man of a mild Disposition, who chose rather to live quietly than deglinem. to rule over many Provinces; for contenting himself with the West Saxon Kingdom the Inheritance of his Ancestours, the other Appendices (as he calls them which his Father had subdued, he bestowed upon his Son Ethelstan, who died when and how is utterly uncertain. Burthred King of the Mercians he affifted with his Forces against the Britains, and not a little graced him by the Marriage of his Daughter. The Danish Pirates who stragled through the whole Island. and by their fudden Inrodes infested all the Sea Coasts, he not once put to flight himself, or by his Captains; although, according to the chance of War, he received very frequent and heavy losses from them, the City of London and all Kent Restrains the in a manner being laid waste by them. The greatest help against them was the fury of the Activity of his Counsellours, who took such order, that the Enemy never acted Danu by add any Hollility, but was one way or other chaftized for it. For he had two most vice of his two Counfellours. excellent Prelates in his time: Swithin of Winchester and Alstan of Shirebarn, who knowing the King to be dull and heavy, by their often Admonitions and Instructions, fill excited him to the difcharge of his Royal Duty. Swithin defpining Temporal things infiructed his Sovereign in Matters Celeftial. Alfian concluding that Civil Affairs were not to be neglected, animated him against the Danes, both furnishing the Treasury with Money and taking care for the raising of Armies. Such as reade the Annals shall find many things both fedulously began and happily brought to conclusion by him. By these two Ethelwolfe being supported, took good care for Foreign matters, and neglected not his Domestick business. After his Triumphs over his Enemies he turned himself to the service of God, to whose Servants he granted the Tenths of all the Hides within his Kingdom, free from all

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelwulfe.

Duties and Molestations. But this is but a small matter faith the Monk. Having Sect. 10 Goes to Rome taken order for his matters at home he went to Rome, where to Saint Peter he otfered that Tribute which England pays at this very day, in the presence of Pope Leo the Fourth, who had honourably received Elfrede his Son formerly fent to him, and had anointed him King. Having there made a stay of a whole year he repaired the School of the English, which as was reported, being first founded by On his return Offa King of the Mercians, was burned the year after. Thence returning home

thorough France, he there Married Judith the Daughter of Charles, King of that Nation, firnamed the Bald.

2. At his return he found, what he never suspected, that he had incurred the displeasure of some about him. For Ethelbald his own Son, Alstan the Bishop Upon which his Son and o. of Shireburn, and Enulph Earl or Count of Somersetshire conspired together to thers conspire depose him; yet upon better advice it was agreed that the Kingdom should be dito depose him. vided betwixt Father and Son. However the Partition was very unequal, his Adversaries prevailed that the Western part of the Countrey, being far the better,

should be allotted to his Son, and the Eastern left to him, who yet shewed such incredible goodness, that out of hatred to strife and contention, he patiently yielded to his Son, and gently repressed the People, which concerned for his Honour and Dignity, were already affembled to affert them. All this ftir was raifed about his

Wife being a stranger, yet entertained he her with great respect, and placed her on his Throne, contrary to the custome of the West Saxons. For \* out of hatred \* Gens namto the wicked Practices of Eadburgh Daughter to Offa King of the Mercians and que occidenta. Wife to Byrhtric, and they neither fuffered the Wives of their Kings to fit by lium Sax mum their Husbands, nor so much as to have the honour of being called Queens. ra Regen fede-Such was the Decree they made to prevent such mischies for the time to come, re non pairing but he out of his kindness to Judith now repeal'd it. A few Months before his needing Re-Death he made his Testament, whereby after the Division of his Kingdom betwixt lare; sed

his two Sons Ethelbald and Ethelbirth, he affigned a Portion to his Daughter, and Regis conjufor ever in every tenth Hide of his Inheritance, he commanded that a Poor man emperative flould be fed and clad; as also every year three hundred Marks of Gold to be edgma imifent to Rome, whereof one hundred to be conferred on St. Peter, another upon infamiam: de St. Paul to find them with Lights, and an hundred as a Present given to the Bi-naci & male-

thop. He lived two years after his return from Rome, and then dying was buried vola ejufdem in the Bishop's Church at † Winchester.

terræ perhibent Asserius. † Quid aucem sibi vult illud Asserii defuncto autem Æthelmulfo Rege; sepultóque apud Stemrugam?

3. So much Malmesbury from Afferius concerning Ethulwolfe, his History being the best and most substantial of all those of Monks, which therefore we take as text whereon to comment in making out the Affairs of these obscure times; for obscure enough they are, though our baren Writers are so ridiculous as to excuse the length of their short Stories, and tell us they are so \* short in their Relations, out of study to avoid Prolixity and Tediousness, whereas their Accounts they "Singulorum unter bellogive us are so feant, that little profit can be made of them, and they attribute rumgesta fines their brevity to their own contrivance, which indeed is to be ascribed to their modes ad want of Intelligence. As for what he writes concerning his giving to Ethelstan minare nimie-bert himself gave to Etbelfan his Son the Kingdom of Kent. Ellex, Surrey and (a) Denique Suffex; but the Annals say no such thing, their (c) Translatour indeed has soitted in assum Reg. the word Egbertus, but the text (d) it felf which possibly he consulted not, hath no consensus, no fuch word in that fentence, but onely mentions Ethelwulfe therein. Be cateraque pahe is Brother or his Son it feems he parted with fo great a share of his Dominions to rat appendicia him, which for fome years he held, though how long, as Malmesbury observes, is ut-Ethelitans fiterly uncertain. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwulfe, might well give In-die, qui quancouragment to the Danes, who the year following the death of Egbert, came again to gue fine

(b) Milton Hist. of England. (c) A. DCCCXXXVI. Hine Eshelonsifus Echeris silius occidentalium Saxonum Regnum capessis: silius autem sito Eshelstano (Elbertus Camuariórum) Saxonum Orientalium. Gustregiossium. E Guessaxonum Regnum coravis, ita interpres, textus autem sie se babee. (d) Jeng Æpelpulp Echy theng co nere Seaxna pice. I hestalde hirruna Æpelreane Canerana pice j care Seaxna j Suppigea j Sup Seaxna.

feated by his

Sect. 10. upon the Coasts with three and thirty ships. The Annals (e) say that Wulfheard (e) A. 837. the Ealdorman, fought with them at Hamtune, that great flaughter was there Depyulphe the Ealdorman, rought with them at trammine, that great haughter was interesting and talder made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the fame year of Age, it's veaple talder and that he obtained the victory is the probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of Egher's old Comman and seem yer probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of Egher's old Comman and seem ders, who was sent with Ethelmasse to subdue Kent. This repulse did not to difference with the second contraction of the second contraction of the second contraction. courage them, but that either pressed on by those that sent them, or allured (f) 7 80 with plunder and booty, the same year they landed in another place, and gave ylcangeane Battel at Port (or Portsmouth) to (f) Ethelhelm another of the King's Captains Serealt with the Dorfetfbire Men. For a good while ( fo the Annals word it ) he had Elehelm the better of them. But at length the Danes became Masters of the Field, and dux py dethe better of them. But at length the Dunes botaine Balances of them in this place the Annals term both Dux and Ealdorman) they nipone hepe ou Pont 4. Animated by this Success, in Profecution thereof, they gave Battel the follow- rum, 7 to

put to flight or rather flew him in the place.

ing year to \* Herebryht (or Herbert) another of his Officers whom with many o- de phile ce. thers they flew at a place called Merscwar, whence driving as it were all before nehene general

them, they suddenly invaded Lindesey (that part of Lincolnsbire, which lies North glymee, j from the City) where washing all with barbarous Hostility, they pierced into catengram East England, and thence into Kent, putting many to the Sword in all these places. Here was no opposition made against them, or so ineffectual that they along some proceeded, and not onely did great Mischief at Canterbury and Rochester, but Ealkonman came to London, and here did their pleasure the next year after. Ethelmulfe oerlogen? feemed at his Wits end, as great Violence being by these attempts offered to be become his peaceable mind, as to the Persons of his Subjects; but by those about him by the Eal-(the Bishop of Winchester especially, as Malmesbury affirms) he was excited to dopman make resistence, and to provide a Navy, his best defence; for had the English in per opplemake rememers, and to provide a reavy, and the temperature in the inner in times underflood their true Interest as well as afterward Expert did have not and the Milarias their followed from these backwards are not and the Milarias their followed from these backwards are his, they had not endured those Miseries they suffered from those barbarous Ro-monnum 7 vers, no way there being to secure the Land but by being Masters at Sea, the monxe beft Bulwarks against those hostile Invasions, being stout and well manned ships. medium on But fuch was their small practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs, Octopra that they were inferiour to the Pirates, continually exercised in Navigation. For Jum 1 by that they were interiour to the Pirates, continually exercised in vavigation. For ylcan gaze the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty error Lindon and five of their ships at the River Carr, had the same fortune his Father had had and five of their ships at the River Carr, before in the same place, the Danes remaining Masters of the place of Fight. eart En-Yet that the English might not be utterly discouraged, Fortune seemed a little glum 7 on

Mafters him

In the next Captain ob-

Eanulf with the Somerfetshire Men, Eastlan a Bishop (Alflan of Winchester, doubt- pum pupless the same that † Malmesbur) speaks of ) and Oferick another Officer with those donnonge of Dorfetsbire, at the Mouth of the River Pedridan, ingaged with an Army of menoriathe Danes, made great flaughter of them, and got the Victory. 5. If a judgment be to be made of the state of these Assars from these small ge i his hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Histories of the Interpret Monks) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great opsiegen confequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor centil with, any thing else of Ethelwulfe and his Officers, who seemed so amuzed with these at ears six. Daniff Wars, that they were attentive to nothing elfe, durft meddle with no other prior of

to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one Carrier

business left they should be unprepared for a fresh assault. And their care was not trappassing without its due effect. For when they had reassinged their former considered

without its due effect. For when they had reassumed their former considence, fuderum:

and landed again, one Ceorl \* an Ealdorman, affifted with the Shire of Devon, Affe- 4 de street

rius relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called Wiegan become beorche, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did Hep Conthey fare better in other places. The farm year King February with they fare better in other places.

they fare better in other places. The fame year King Ethelflan, together with caldonnan

Ealchere a Captain, defeated a great number of them at Sandwich, and taking nine gereality of their Ships, forced the rest to shift for themselves: and the Pagans were con- hayere had strained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as Afferius writes (and that the penul see

first time) in the Isle of Shepey. Yet for all this being resolute as far as even to pena 10300

The Danes more beaten.

Yet they end desperation, with fifty Ships did they this same year enter the Thames Mouth, beopher, to the Thames they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they reported as for as Contentions and Toular Balance they are the are they are ter the Thames, whence they ranged as far as Canterbury and London. Fabius Ethelward writes, that &c. fie the

they destroyed both. Afterius, though he encreases the number of their ships to make make Anno dominica incapnazioni 851. nazinicati autem flipptedi pegi 3 Ceopl Dominia Comer conta ражапог Nonmannor rue Danor унклашт іn loco qui выстар Vucçanbeone 7 Chiproani vectorini habusing 1 es iblo codem anno pirmum hyemauenunt ragam in infula que vocatup Scepies 7 quel habusing proprieta de la contra del la contra de la contra del la contra de la contra del la contra de la contra del la contra de la contra de la contra del interppletatup inpula ousum 7 quæ rica ert in tameri plumine inten Eart reasum 7 Cantuapus, die ad Cantum propion ert quamad Cart reaxium in qua monarte jium optimum con triuctum ert. p.2.Edit. Parkeriana qua nos utimur, Saxonicis characteribus quibus Afferius spfe librum scripfit.

heard of.

6. The fuccess of this year brought much reputation to Ethelwulfe, whom now being at leafure, two years after, Burhred King of the Mercians and those of his Council befought to give them affiftence against the Inhabitants of North Wales, which he readily granted. Through the Territories of the Mercians he marched the Britains in Northwales, against the Britains, and forced them all to obedience, as had been desired. This to obedience. fame year did King Ethelwulfe, fend Elfred his Son to Rome, where Leo the Bishop kindly entertained him, confecrated him King, and adopted him for his Episcopal Son. In the mean time Ealkere (or Ealcher) with the Kentish Men, and Huda with those of Surry, were employed against another Army of the Pagans, which

Beats back the was landed in the Isle of Thanet. At first they had the better of them, driving Danes from them from their Post; but afterward so many were slain, and so many drowned If of Thanes, on both fides, that the Victory remained doubtfull. Yet gave it no matter of mourning to the Court of Ethelwulfe, which now was busied in Affairs of Love, the effect of which was, that the King fent away his Daughter after Easter was over, to be married to Burbred King of the Mercians, and the Marriage was folemnized in the Royal village called Cippanhamme. However the following year In villa pethe Danes wintered in the Isle of Shepey, the Annals say now the first time. Whe- zia quæ dither to make himself more acceptable to Almighty God, whose help he now citup Cirfound was highly necessary for suppression of these perpetual Annoiances, or o panhamme therwise religiously moved, he nommade a Book of the tenth part of all his Affer. Lands, and his whole Kingdom which he dedicated to his fervice. Now as if he was fitted for undertaking a Pilgrimage, to Rome, he went thither taking with him his young Son Alfred again, and there having staid twelve Months, married and died as the Monk of Malmesbury hath related, after two years.

The farther reason of the conspiracy against

· 7. Of the difference betwixt his Eldest Son and him, after his Return the Annals have nothing, but Afferius confirms the report, affigning the pretended Caufe, being that he had taken with him to Rome his young Son Alfred, there to be inaugurated King, and had brought home with him an Outlandish Wife. Generally he is faid to have been averse to matters of War, a Lover of Peace and Quiet which we are more apt to believe, having it told us, and \*elfewhere that in \* Abbreviahis young years he was Bilhop of Winchester, and for want of other Heirs was tione Chron-constrained to take upon him the Kingdom. If this be true, then must Ethelstan re Radiif de formerly mentioned have been his Son, not his Brother or the Son of Egbert, Diceto & who having him must have had an Inheritour of his Dominions, and no ne-Chronic Job. cessity could then have lain upon Ethelwulfe of being King. To conclude with batis formalen-Ethelivulfe, the Annals give us his Pedigree, which reacheth no higher than futo Adam himself. The Monk of Malmesbury is so bold, as to mention it together with that we find in St. Luke, and thinks it not superfluous to put it into his Hiftory, although he is afraid, that the noise of barbarous Names may violate the ears of fuch as are not accultomed to them. I disapprove of his mentioning it with the other in the same Page, in the same Book, nay, the same day or year. I am half afraid of the same thing, and jully of more, that the Reader will give no credit to it; but to be guilty of this once, and no more, as a piece of curiofity I shall leave it to the confideration of our Students in Heraldry, referring them, if they defire more, to other Stemms of these Saxon Princes par-His Genealogy ticularly, that of Alfrede, which he may find in Afferius. Ethelwulfe then was Annal, fu the Son of Egbert, Eghert of Ealkmund, Ealkmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eappa, Eup Chronolog.

Noah, Viz. Lamech, Mathusalem, Enoch, Jared, Mahalaleel, Cainan, Enos, Seth

and Adam. The Monk of Malmesbury's Pedigree differs much in Names from

pa of Ingild, the Brother of Ina, King of the West Sasons. They were the Sons Sasonica ad of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha, of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceaulin, Ceaulin of Cenric, Cenric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elefa, Elefa of Esta, Esta of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithugar, Frithugar of Brond, Brond of Baldag, Baldag of Woden, Weden of Frithwald, Frithwald of Freamine, Freamine of Freamulfe, Freamulfe of Fiun, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Tætwa, Tætwa of Bæaw, Bæaw of Sceldwea, Sceldwea of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hrawrain, who was born you must know in Noah's Ark. Now he is of small Learning that knows not the Ancestours of

Sect. 10 upon the Coasts with three and thirty ships. The Annals (e) fay that Wulfheard (e) A. 817.

the Ealdorman, fought with them at Hamtune, that great flaughter was there Depruphs made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the same year of Age, it's ve- and ealdonmade, and that he obtained the victory; but died the jame year of Age, it's very man seperty probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of Egbers's old Comman and are and ders, who was sent with Ethelmusse to Subdue Kent. This repulse did not so difference of courage them, but that either pressed on by those that sent them, or allured (f) 7 & with plunder and booty, the fame year they landed in another place, and gave ylcangeane Battel at Port (or Portimouth ) to (f) Ethelhelm another of the King's Captains Kereaht with the Dorsetshire Men. For a good while ( so the Annals word it ) he had Ebelhelm the better of them. But at length the Danes became Masters of the Field, and dux py dethe better of them. Dut at length the Land, became Dux and Ealdorman) they nirone hepe Ethelhelm ( whom in this place the Annals term both Dux and Ealdorman) they ou Popt put to flight or rather flew him in the place.

Captain obtained a Vic-

The Danes more beaten.

4. Animated by this Success, in Profection thereof, they gave Battel the follow tum. Two ing year to \* Herebryht (or Herbert) another of his Officers whom with many o- de phile see thers they flew at a place called Merfewar, whence driving as it were all before nehene generations them, they suddenly invaded Lindesey (that part of Lincolnshire, which lies North plymbe, it them, they juddenly invaded Lindeley (that part of Lincolnipine, which lies North Eymbe. 19 where wasting all with barbarous Hoffillity, they pierced into Sabeniran invadeLindler, white East England, and thence into Kent, putting many to the Sword in all these trong special with places. Here was no opposition made against them, or so ineffectual that they also proceeded, and not onely did great Mischief at Canterbury and Rochesser, but Ealeopman came to London, and-here did their pleasure the next year after. Ethelwulfe optogen is greated in the Nilse and as to the Persons of his Subjects; but by those down timp by the East proceeded and not onely did greated by the subjects but by those south timp by the East proceeded. (the Bilhop of Winchester especially, as Malmesbury affirms) he was excited to dopman make relistence, and to provide a Navy, his best desence; for had the English in per opplemake reintence, and to provide a navy, ins both decircle, and the gent did those ignorant times understood their true Interest as well as afterward Egbert did harenum his, they had not endured those Miseries they suffered from those barbarous Rovers, no way there being to secure the Land but by being Masters at Sea, the monxe beft Bulwarks against those hostile Invasions, being stout and well manned ships medlum on But fuch was their small practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs, Octopica that they were inferiour to the Pirates, continually exercised in Navigation. For pum 159 the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty, ylcan search the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that the year that followed the Slaughter at London, Ethelwulfe fighting against thirty ylcan search the year that year that year the year that year the year that year that year that year the year that year that year the year that year that year the year that year that year that year the year that year that year the year that year the year that followed the Siaughter at London, Espenwarje ngnung against tility er of Linand five of their ships at the River Carr, had the same fortune his Father had had erye jon before in the same place, the Danes remaining Masters of the place of Fight. eart En-Yet that the English might not be utterly discouraged, Fortune seemed a little glum 7 on to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one Cantra Eanulf with the Somerfetshie Men, Ealstan a Bishop (Alstan of Winchester, doubt- num pup less the same that † Malmesbury Speaks of ) and Oferick another Officer with those domnonge of Dorfetsbire, at the Mouth of the River Pedridan, ingaged with an Army of men only the Danes, made great flaughter of them, and got the Victory. 5. If a judgment be to be made of the state of these Affairs from these small ge i he

hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Histories of the Interpret Monks) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great opplegen confequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor want week, any thing else of Ethelwulfe and his Officers, who seemed so amuzed with these at erro An. Davish Wars, that they were attentive to nothing else, durst meddle with no other priorion business left they should be unprepared for a fresh assault. And their care was not represent without its due effect. For when they had reaffumed their former confidence, fuderum: and landed again, one Ceorl \* an Baldorman, affifted with the Shire of Devon, Affe- 1 Ad Anna rius relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called Wiegan Decoult. beorche, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did Hep Ceol they fare better in other places. The farme year King February 18. they fare better in other places. The fame year King Ethelftan, together with ealdonnan Ealchere a Captain, defeated a great number of them at Sandwich, and taking nine gereality of their Ships, forced the rest to shift for themselves: and the Pagans were con-hayene he firained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as Afferius writes (and that the pennd sefirst time) in the Isle of Shepey. Yet for all this being resolute as far as even to pena rope desperation, with fifty Ships did they this same year enter the Thames Mouth, beophes, whence they ranged as far as Contentum and Toudow Faling February and Toudow February and Tou ter the Thanner whence they ranged as far as Canterbury and London. Fabius Ethelward writes, that see. fix the they destroyed both. Afterias, though he encreases the number of their ships to materialize

Anno dominica: incapnazioni 851 nazintatoj autem filipitedi negri 3 Ceopl Dominia: Comer congul paganor Nopmannor rue Danor yugnatur in loco qui bictup Vuicganbeone 7 Chjurtaani viceopiin habuejumt 7 ee ipro eodem anno ppiinum hyemauejume ragam in injula quæ vocaeun Scepte 5 qud inceppperactup inpula onium? qua rica ert in cameri plumine incep Earc reasum 7 Cantuapio, da ad Cancium proprior ere quamad Eart reaxium in qua monarcenium opernum configuration ere p.2.Edit. Parkeriana qua nos utimur, Saxonicis characteribus quibus Afferius ipfe librum scripfit.

three hundred and fifty, yet speaks onely of their pillaging of London. The Annals Sect. 10. add, that they put to flight Beortulf the King of the Mercians, who made head against them with an Army, then passing Southward over the Thames into Surry, they encountred Ethelwulfe with Ethelbald his Son at a place called Aclea, but here they received a great overthrow, greater than ever before or after that Asserius heard of.

6. The fuccess of this year brought much reputation to Ethelwulfe, whom now being at leasure, two years after, Burbred King of the Mercians and those of his Council besought to give them assistance against the Inhabitants of North Wales, which he readily granted. Through the Territories of the Mercians he marched the Britainst in Northwaler, against the Britains, and forced them all to obedience, as had been defired. This to obedience fame year did King Ethelmulfe, fend Elfred his Son to Rome, where Leo the Bishop kindly entertained him, confecrated him King, and adopted him for his Episcopal Son. In the mean time Ealkere (or Ealcher) with the Kentish Men, and Huda with those of Surry, were employed against another Army of the Pagans, which

Beats back the was landed in the Isle of Thanet. At first they had the better of them, driving them from their Post: but afterward so many were slain, and so many drowned Ille of Thaner, on both fides, that the Victory remained doubtfull. Yet gave it no matter of mourning to the Court of Ethelwulfe, which now was busied in Affairs of Love, the effect of which was, that the King fent away his Daughter after Easter was over, to be married to Burbred King of the Mercians, and the Marriage was folemnized in the Royal village called Cippanhamme. However the following year In villa pethe Danes wintered in the Isle of Shepey, the Annals say now the first time. Whe- 312 quæ dither to make himself more acceptable to Almighty God, whose help he now citup Carfound was highly necessary for suppression of these perpetual Annoiances, or o-panhamme therwise religiously moved, he nommade a Book of the tenth part of all his Affer. Lands, and his whole Kingdom which he dedicated to his fervice. Now as if he was fitted for undertaking a Pilgrimage to Rome, he went thither taking with him his young Son Alfred again, and there having staid twelve Months, married and died as the Monk of Malmesbury hath related, after two years.

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7. Of the difference betwixt his Eldelt Son and him, after his Return the Annals have nothing, but Afferius confirms the report, affigning the pretended Caufe, being that he had taken with him to Rome his young Son Alfred, there to be inaugurated King, and had brought home with him an Outlandish Wife. Generally he is faid to have been averse to matters of War, a Lover of Peace and Quiet which we are more apt to believe, having it told us, and \*elsewhere that in \* Abbrevia-Cinct which we are more apt to believe, it was a small of the Heirs was times Chronical in this young years he was Bilhop of Wincheffer, and for want of other Heirs was times Chronical Confirmation of the Heirs was times Chronical C formerly mentioned have been his Son, not his Brother or the Son of Egbert, Diceto & who having him must have had an Inheritour of his Dominions, and no ne Chronic. John Coffey could then have him who Filmwife of heing Wing. The sent the Brompton Abceffity could then have Iain upon Ethelwalfe of being King. To conclude with batti farmlen Ab-Ethelwalfe, the Annals give us his Pedigree, which reacheth no higher than fit. to Adam himself. The Monk of Malmesbury is so bold, as to mention it together with that we find in St. Luke, and thinks it not superfluous to put it into his Hiftory, although he is afraid, that the noise of barbarous Names may violate the ears of fuch as are not accustomed to them. I disapprove of his mentioning it with the other in the fame Page, in the fame Book, nay, the fame day or year. I am half afraid of the same thing, and justly of more, that the Reader will give no credit to it; but to be guilty of this once, and no more, as a piece of curiofity I shall leave it to the confideration of our Students in Heraldry, referring them, if they defire more, to other Stemms of these Saxon Princes par-Ha Genealogy ticularly, that of Alfrede, which he may find in Alferius. Ethelwalfe then was annal, further the Son of Eghert, Eghert of Ealkmund, Ealkmund of Eafa, Esfa of Enppa, Esp. Chronica.

pa of Ingild, the Brother of Ina, King of the West Saxons. They were the Sons Saxonica ad of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha, of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Andecelly. Ceaulin, Ceaulin of Cenric, Cenric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esta, Esta of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithugar, Frithugar of Brond, Brond of Baldag, Baldag of Woden, Woden of Frithuwald, Frithuwald of Freawine, Freawine of Frequelfe, Freawulfe of Fiun, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Tatwa, Tatwa of Baaw, Baaw of Sceldwea, Sceldwea of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hirawrain, who was born you must know in Noak's Ark. Now he is of small Learning that knows not the Ancestours of

Noah, VIZ. Lamech, Mathusalem, Enoch, Jared, Mahalaleel, Cainan, Enos, Seth

and Adam. The Monk of Malmesbury's Pedigree differs much in Names from

Sect. 10, this. But the Heraldry of the Annals is the Ancienter. Let fuch as defire various Readings upon this Learned Subject, compare this Genealogy with that of his and others: fome perhaps may have fo little to doe. And Reader, if thou haft heard of a wonderfull Atchievement, which some who thought themselves very Learned, they fay, performed of deriving King James his Pedigree from Adam, behold here the greatest part done, it's but carrying on this Pedigree to the Sister of Edgar, Etholing married to the King of Scots, and her Daughter to our Henry the Second.

Ethelbald and 8. Ethelwalfe being dead, his two Sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert divided his Ethelbert fuc- Kingdom betwixt them. Ethelbald reigned over the West Saxons. Ethelbert obtained Kent, Esfex, Surrey and Sussex. Ethelbald began his Reign in the sixteenth year of Michael the third Emperour of Constantinople, the second of Ludovicus, the fecond Emperour of the West; in the days of Charles the Bald King of the Franks, the fixth of Burbred King of the Mercians, A.D. DCCCLVII. He was, as Malmesbury from Afferius fets him out, heavy and fluggish, one that defiled his Father's Bed, Marrying after his Death his Wife Judith. But he dying after five

Ethelbald dies years, the whole Kingdom fell to the other Brother. The Annals speak nothing at Anaccola and is buried all of him from his coming to the Crown till his carrying to his Grave, which ben fire they fay, as Malmesbury, was at Sherburn. They add that Ethelbert (or L. balo cyn. thelbryht as they call him) obtained the whole Kingdom of his Brother (his Fa- ing popp-

reletivity as a tree, can find a protein the rather) and governed it in great peace and concord. During his Reign a price the great Fleet of the Danes arrived at Hampton (faith Malnesbury) and facked the drive Songary of the protein the Songary of the protein the state o fack Winche City of Winchester, which the Annals do confirm, as to the latter place not menti-bunnan. fler but are at-terwards put oning where they landed. But they were speedily encountred by \* Ofric the Ealder- reng speedily man with Hamptonshire (now Hamshire) and Athelwalse the Ealdorman, with bpyhoto-Bearwucshire (or Berkshire) who put them to flight and became Masters of the callum Field. The Monk to this relation adds, that being beaten away by the King's bam pice Captains, after much loss received they went over the Sea, and taking a great hyphosup, Caprains, after internation of Thank to Winter in. This he relates as done all in one year, whereas from the Annals it appears, that their coming to Thank was not ill help ge fix years after. The Kentish men found themselves concerned to purchase Peace pultonOrwith them by a fumm of Money; but the Pirates under pretence of receiving pic eal sopthis Money, and confirming the League, made an Excursion into the Countrey, man mib and wasted all that part of Kent which lies toward the East. Malmesbury again hamoun adds, that the Inhabitants united themselves and drove away these perfidious reyne J

adds, that the Inhabitants united themselves and drove away these permutous fieldulf-Ethelbert dies. Wretches. About the same time died Ethelbert after he had Reigned but five ealsonman years, and his Body was buried with his Brothers at Sherburn. 9. After the death of Ethelbert succeeded Ethelred his Brother, another Son Joyen 700 Is fucceeded of Ethelwulfe, in the first year of Basilius Macedo Emperour of Constantinople, the ne hepe geby Ethelred. twelfth of Ludovicus the second Emperour of the West, the fixteenth of Burbred plymbon,

(titular) King of the Merciaus, A.D. DCCCLXVII. + Malmesbury having told us, the that he obtained his Father's Kingdom, the fame number of years which his two two fame numbers of years which his two two fame numbers. Brothers, falls into a bemoaning of the fate of all the three, their miferable and ib. 2.63. deplorable fate, as he terms it, that they should all die an immature death, yet indeed being Royally descended, and the Nation being involved in such dreadfull Calamities, they might well prefer an honourable death before a miferable Reign. They fo courageously and valiantly demeaned themselves in desence of their Countrey, that no default is to be charged upon them, if prosperously did not succeed Who fought what they resolutely had intended. This King nine times in one year fought with the feveral pitch'd Enemy in the Field, (as the chance of War is, with various success, yet usually with

advantage) befides many fudden Excursions whereby, as he was excellently skilled in Strategems, he often repressed the Insolency of these Rovers. On the side of the Danes were flain nine Earls or Captains, one King, and multitudes of People without number. But above all memorable is the Battel he fought at Effchendune. The Army of the Danes being drawn up in that place, one part of it was led by two Kings, the rest by other skilfull Leaders. The King with his Brother Alfred comes upon them: The King must ingage with the Kings: Alfred is set upon the Captains. So courageous and resolute were both the Parties, that this day sufficed not to determine the Quarrel, the Controversie must be adjourned to that which followed. Scarce did the light appear when Alfred was up and ready. His Bro-

ther flaid in his Tent busie at his Devotions, and though a Message was brought him that the Pagans with great rage came on, he refused to fir untill they were ended This Religious Confidence of the King was very feafonable for the restraining of the heat of his Brother's youth, who was already ingaged. For the Battel of

the English went to the worst; the Infidels had the Advantage of the Ground, Sect. 10. and made fuch use thereof, that the Christians began to think of flight. Now comes he unexpectedly into the Battel, beats back the Enemy, incourages his Friends and demeans himself with that Valour and Conduct that by God's affiftence the Danes were discouraged, betook themselves to their Heels and ran away. There fell their King Ofeg, five Earls, belides an innumerable company of the Vulgar

The Mercians 10. Here our Writer will have us to remark that the Kings of the Mercians and and Northum the Northumbrians taking advantage at thefe Danifb Wars wherewith Ethelred was with to revolt. incumbred, withdrew themselves from the yoke of the West Saxons as much as they could, and had almost recovered their former Independency, each Province therefore envying the prosperity of the other, the several Kings chose rather to harbour the Enemy in their own Bosomes than give any relief to their distressed Countreymen; and by this means studying rather a recovering than a preventing course, by The East An. their laziness they let their Countrey run to ruine. The Danes grew upon them

gies, Mercians, and Nor- without any opposition, the English were discouraged and terrified, and every Victorans, and Noram, and reor shumberland, ry by means of the abundance of Captives became instrumental to procure another. The Territories of the Eastern English with their Cities and Villages were possessed by these Robbers, and their King St. Edmund being killed by them in the eight hundred and seventieth year from the Incarnation, on the nineteenth of November by a short Temporal death purchased an Eternal Crown. The Mercians being overrun more than once, lessened their Miseries by Submission, and giving up Hostages. And those of Northumberland having been sometime tossed with Civil Diffentions, when the Enemy was at their heels fairly composed all their Differences. Ofberth their King whom they had expelled, they now received again, and having made great preparations, they goe and meet the Enemy. But they are easily beaten, and shut themselves up within the Walls of Tork, which being quickly fet on fire by the Conquerours, and the flame increasing, burns the Buildings, and therein they perish and cover their native Soil with their own Bones. Thenceforth Northumberland falling by right of War to the share of the Barbarians, for a long time groaned under their Dominion, and fighed at the thought of its former liberty. As for King Ethelred though unbroken with all his many labours he died at last, and was buried at Winburn.

11. This short but good account we have from Malmesbury, of the state and condition of these times, how the English Affairs stood both in reference to the Enemy, and to one another. What he speaks of in general, we shall illustrate as much as we can by particular inflances, as to tittle and place, the best course we can take in these obscure matters. In the very first year of his Reign a vast Army the Humingd.

Hinguar and of Danes invaded the Land, Commanded by Hinguar, and Obba, two great Annal, ad Obba Arive. Souldiers but very cruel: Hinguar was very crafty and subtile, Obba was a Man An 366.

of extraordinary Courage. They landed in East England, where wintring, they junces recl of extraordinary Courage. They landed in East England, where wintring, they hamon on made truce with the Inhabitants out of delign its obtain from them a fufficient namon on number of Horfes whereon to mount their Men. Being now become a strong Bo. Fare Engl. dy of Horse; the following year they passed over Hamber as sar as Tork, whiter hoppude the Civil dissentions of the People assorbed them a notable advantage whereon to pupdon. work. As Malmesbury observes they had driven into banishment Ofbryth their hihim pup-

King, and fet up a Tyrant, one Alla in his room; but now though it was tate, namon. and the year declined, they recalled him, and so composed their matters that they per popular feared not to meet, and encounter this puillant Army at Idek, into which Oity hepe or part of the Pagans had already entred : They brake into the Town, but were re- Earl Carl cieved fo warmly by the Danes, that within as well as without, great flaughter open humof them was made, and the quarrel was decided betwirt their two Kings, both of bue mujan them being flain in this Action, together with a great multitude of the People to Sopon-The Remnant got as good terms from the Enemy as they could; but they were pic on Nonoverrun, and the Countrey haraffed as far as the River Tine. Exbert one of the humbpe, English Race, was appointed King over them in room of Osbith. And now flound oc. come in the story of Bricern, whose Wife Ofbert is faid to have ravished, and who

called in the Danes to revenge the injury upon the Ring. The thing if true was very remarkable, but we know not where Brompton had it; his Authority is not great, his Antiquity small.

12. But the Danes having wrought their will in the Parts beyond the River Humber, the next year invaded Mercia, and bent their course toward \* Snottenga \* De Nottin ham (then, and long after to called from the Caves in the Rocks) at prefent gamia fir Af-Nottingham. There they took up their Winter Quarters, which to alarm'd Burh-ferius

who makes

peace with them.

Sect. 10. red King of the Countrey and his Noblemen, that they made an humble address Cotemann to Ethelred, desiring that he with his Brother Alfred would undertake their Pa- practicular to Einstea, defining that he with his brother and with a confiderable power of Paganopum tronage and Defence. This they readily did, and with a confiderable power of Paganopum But at Nor- Men marched to Nottingham, where they offered Battel to the Danes. Hinguar expecting ham are was fo crafty, as knowing himself unable to grapple with them, he would not fit hymbige Beleasured. a foot out of the † Castle, so that no considerable fight happened, and at length pelinquent with good words he, faith Huntingdon, obtained a truce of the English, who were in Clency not able to break the Wall. Though the Annals feem rather to fay that the Mer- am venut; cians obtained it of him, yet Ingulphus writes expresly, that Burbred constrained Janotunga the Danes to quit Nottingham, where at the Siege he renewed the Charter of Privi- ham about leges to his Monastery of Croyland, which bears date from the Siege in the year quos parleges to his Monattery of Croyland, which bears date from the siege in the year.

868, on the five and twentieth of July, from the fubfcriptions to which it Lucase appears that both Ethelred, his Brother Alfred, and also Edmund the green relating to the state of th England, was at the Siege. But a peace or truce was made, and the Danes returned back to Tork with great booty, where they stayed a year, and there cru- lating auelly demeaned themselves. When Winter was over they passed over Humber into combrelun. Lindsey, and landing at Humberstan, as | Ingulphus farther tells us, miserably wa- capum to fted all the Countrey; particularly that most famous and ancient Monastery of murity old Bardency they destroyed, killing without mercy all the Monks in the Church, than logal. Having made their stay in those Quarters all the Summer, and with Fire and Ann. 866. Sword confumed all things, about the Feaft of St. Michael, faith he, they enter Comque Kesteven; another part of Lincolnshire, at this time, as well as the other, diffin Paganitus. guilht by name) where they wafte, kill and burn every thing they light on. At municipal Thence they length, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and seventy, in the month of lum bape September. Algar the younger ( so called in respect of the late Earl Algar his neganent; Father ) that most valiant Earl, got together all the youth of Honland (now 7 Chusha-Holland; mark, Reader, the antiquity of these three Divisions of the County and in phangetheir names, they continuing at this very day the fame ) and two Souldiers Se- pe mupum their names, they continuing at this very day like land. And the office of their refidence, took the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton) together places of their refidence, took the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton) together the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton) together the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton). with a Company belonging to the Monastery of Croyland, consisting of two hundred most stout Warriours, being for the most part fugitives : Headed by Fryar ganor pac-Toly, a Monk converted of the faid Monastery, who before his conversion had ca buo illi been a Souldier of great Name throughout all Mercia, for warlike enterprizes; France Besides these they got from Deeping, Langtost and Baston, about three hundred stout cum juir Men fit for War; Morcard the Lord of Brunne (or rather Bourne) with his Fa-cohopubur mily which was both valiant and numerous, and the Vice Lord (as he calls him, bomum nemeaning the Governour) of Lincoln, by name Ofgot, an old Souldier and most uepny putter. hardy, joyned with them with the Lincoln Squadron, confifting of five hundred Ingulphi Hi-

> 13. Being all drawn together in Kesteven, upon the Feast of Maurice the Martyr, they gave Battel to the Pagans, and by God's great mercy having killed three of their Kings, with a great multitude of the ordinary fort, they beat the Barbarians, as far as the gate of their Camp, where making most flour resistence, the Invincible Earl withdrew his Forces. That very night came into the Camp of the Pagans, all the reft of their Kings, from their feveral excursions, having divided the Countrey amongst them for the plunder, viz. Gogroum ( or Godroum) Baseg, Oskebil, Halfden, and Hamond, with as many Earls, viz. Frena, (or Erena) Unguar, Tilba and both the Sidroks, the Elder and Younger, with their Armies, and too much Booty, belides a multitude of Women and Children. Their coming being known, most of the Christians forely terrified, slipt away by night, so that with the faid Earl Algar and his Captains of eight hundred ( of which his Party confifted) fearcely two hundred Persons remained; with whom, as few as they were, by break of day, having heard Divine Service, and taken their Sacred Viaticum, being all of them most ready to dye for the faith of Christ, and the defense of their Countrey, they went into the Field against the Barbarians. The most Valiant Earl seeing his own Forces so much diminished, ordered Fryar Toly, with five hundred Men, who had gallantly demean'd themselves to stand on the right hand, affigning him for affiftant Morcard of Brunne, with all his Followers. Ofgot with his five hundred he placed on the left fide, and with him joyned Harding de Rebale, with all the Stanford Men, who were young and but too Valiant. He himfelf with his Senefcals, stood in the midst to succour each quarter as need should require. The Danes being much inraged for the slaughter made of their Men, early in the morning buried their three Kings in a Village formerly

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred.

Butrenewing called Laundon, but afterward Trekingham from their Sepulture, and now four Sect. 30.

the fight burn Kings prepared themselves to fight together with eight Earls; for two Kings and and delitroy all Company Compan and deterior and four Earls were appointed to look to their Camp and Captives. The Christians being so few drew together in form of a Wedge, against the Archers, setting as it were a Palisado of their Bucklers, and against the violence of the Horse a wood of Lances, and in that posture, instructed by their Leaders, continued all the Day till Night now approached: The Enemy perceiving that neither his Bowmen nor his Horse could doe any execution, resolved to counterfeit slight and to leave the Field, which the Christians beholding broke their Ranks, notwithstanding all their Leaders could doe, and in purfuit of the Pagans were difperfed through the Plain without any Order or Conduct. The Barbarians hereupon return and like Lions fall upon fo few poor Sheep. The most valiant, and never to be forgotten Earl Algar, with the Souldiers we named and Fryar Toly, clustering together upon an Hill, for a long time bore the brunt of the Barbarians, till feeing the floutest Christians dead, they died also, fighting most valiantly over their Bodies. A few young men belonging to Sutton and Gedeney casting away their Arms escaped into the adjoyning Wood, whence the next Night with much adoe, they got to Croyland, and thither brought the fad news of the overthrow, as Theodorus the Abbat and his Monks were at their Vespers. The Danes after this plundred and burnt the Abby of Croyland on the twenty fifth of August, killing the Abbat and all the Fryars, except one Boy of ten years old, Tugar or Turgar by Name, on whom young Sidrok to fave him put on a Danish Coat. Thence went they to the Monastery of Medeshamsted, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Spoils passed on towards Huntingdon, the two Sidroks bringing up the Rere as they ever did, and passing over a Bridge, two Waggons full of Treasure fell into the River Nene, which as the followers of young Sidrok were busied in drawing out, Turgar the young Fryar escaped from them and returned to Croy-

Next for Cam- 14. The Pagans still marched on wasting all the Countrey as far as Grantebrig, Ingulphus ubi bridge and the now Cambridge, and so to the Isle of Ely, where having rifled and burnt the far figure.

Isle of Ely. mous Monastery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Carrel mous Monastery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Cattel, which they plunder with which for the reputed security of the place, had been brought thither out of the East England, adjoyning Countrey, they proceeded into East England, where meeting with Earl Wulketule, who made vigorous refistence, they cut him off with all his Army. Having taken also the most Holy Edmund King of that Countrey and sed him to a Stake as a Butt to shoot at, they first with many Arrows shot him through, and afterward cut off his Head. Having possessed themselves of all East England, there they An. Deceles. fpent all the Winter, at Thetford fay the Annals. The year following (having Dep pas re received great Supplies, as Huntingdon hints, who calls their Army a new and hope open mighty one and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) of the total mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) of the total mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) of the total mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) of the total mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) of the total mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it. they bent their Course toward the West Saxons, the Territories of whom alone ce innan had not felt the effects of their Covetousness and Cruelty, who alone were in I pinter capacity to relift them; for the overturning of the Heptarchy (the Monarchy recl namon being not yet fully established) had weakned all the other Provinces, wanting now at Ecobiuch Officers as should vigorously defend them. Coming to Reading they fortified ropea. . themselves betwixt the two Rivers Thames and Kenet, and after three days sent out inten Suo

two Earls to forage the Countrey, but they were encountred by Ethelwulfe Earl Flumina ta-Where they of Berkshire, who at Englafeld (or Englefeild) gave them Battel, killed one of meren Jcyare encounted by Ethel. their Earls (Huntingdon names Sidrac) and obtained the Victory. Four days af-Affer. ter came King Ethelred with Alfred his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battel to the Danes, wherein on both fides very many fell: Earl Ethelmulfe here lost his life, being by Ethelward the Historian called Adult, who writes that he Corpus quoque was buried in the Province of the Mercians, at a place called Northworthige, but cis abstrabitur in the Danish Tongue Deoraby, and the Danes became Masters of the Field. Yet furim, adduwas not the disadvantage so great on the English side, but that sour days after citurque in the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field against them at a place called provincian in

with Ethelred. The Danes divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by this enuncupa-

linguam Deoraly. Lib. 4. c. 2. \* De nomine sie Simeon Dunelmensis ad Ann. DCCCLXXI, Statumut Legiones in loco qui dictiur Etsessium, quod Latine mont Fraxini posest reverenter interpretati. Sie Assertius: in loco qui bictum sirve bun 7 quos Latine mont phasini intemphetatun.

C C 2

Sect. 10. Backfeeg and Healfdene their Kings, the other by their Earls. With the first insaged King Ethelred, and Alfred with the other. In the former Battel fell Back-Jecg; in the latter the two Sidroks, besides three other Earls, Osbearn, Frana and Hareld. Both the one and the other were beaten and put to flight, many thousands slain, and night interrupted a greater Execution, though Ethelward writes, that the whole Youth of the more excellent Barbarians here perished, neither after nor before was fuch flaughter heard of, fince that the Nation of the Saxons by War obtained Britain. Here some observe that Ethelred both had the disadvantage of the lower ground, and came later into the Battel from his Devotions. Alfred began the Fight e'er his Brother came into the Field. And as for the Danish King, whom the Annals call Backsecg, the Danish History talks of one Ivare

the Son of Regnere. 15. Afferius writes of a fupply which the Pagans received shortly after from Ethelmanduiri beyond the Sea. Yet was it not till Ethelred, fourteen days after the former supra. Fight again affifted by his Brother, had encountred their whole Power at Bafing, in which ingagement they had the better, being headed by Agnere and Hubbo, the Brothers of the flain Ivarus. But still, as we lately observ'd, the loss received by the English could not be great, for about two Months after they were again so well recruited, that they durst a third time fall upon the Pagans at a place called Merotune, divided into two Bodies, and in the same posture as they had formerly fought. Both these Bodies were put to flight, although for a great part of the day they had had the better. Great was the flaughter made on both fides, and yet fay the Annals, the Danes became Masters of the Field, so various was the fortune of this day or rather fo uncertain their Intelligence. To be fure Heahmund An. Decelesis. tune of this day of rather io intertain the internation of the same of this day of rather lain, befides other good men, not a few: And a grievous plague followed in Summer. Hereof (we may guefs, for the Annals speak not before opexpressly) died Ethelred after Easter, when he had Reigned five years, and his Body was buried at Winburn. Brompton in his Chronicle fays, that he died of realegodia wounds received in a Fight he fought with Somerled a Dane, who returning to monna. 7 Reading from the Battel at Merton, destroyed whatever there he found. But his arren by: Authority is but small, compared with that of others. As for the place of his rum scre-Authority is but imail, compared with that of others. As no the place of most of the Burial, by the Annals called Winhuran and Winhursham, in other Saxon Monumerosmo ments is the same with that ancient Town Vindogladia, whereof Autoniae maketh is 1 je. mention. Probably it had that Name from being fituate betwixt two Rivers, for popen ca-Windugledy in the British Tongue, foundeth as much as betwirt two Swords, and Topon ge-Rivers, by a peculiar Phrase of their own, they termed Swords, as appeareth by pop figures Aberdugledian, the British Name of Milford Haven, as much as to say, the mouth Cyning ] of two Rivers, because two Rivers named with them Gledian, that is, Swords run he puroceof two kivers, became two kivers named with them often in compounded of his compounded of his compounded of his class Vin, a parcel of the old Name, and the Saxon word Burne, which also among binbunthem betokeneth a River, by the addition thereof, the Saxons being wont to name nan? places standing upon Rivers. Here Cuthburg Sister to Ina King of the West Saxons, being divorced from the King of Northumberland her Husband, built a Nun-

\* wounded in Battel. Anno namque incarnationis 872 Rex Eebelredu multis praliis contra Danos vexatus, fed femper invictus, obiis Winhuma G Sepulsus est.

nery which at length being decayed by time, a fair Church was erected in the place with a Vault under the Quire, and an high Spire besides the Tower

Steeple, wherein were placed Prebendaries in lieu of these Nuns. In this

Church lyeth Ethelred interred, upon whose Tomb not very long since repaired, in Cambden's time this new Inscription was to be read, Here resteth the Body of Saint

Ethelred King of the West Saxons Martyr, who died in the year of our Lord

DCCCLXXII, the three and twentieth of April, by the hands of the Pagan Danes. By his Saintship and this Inscription he should either have died or been mortally

Alfred fuc-

16. Alfred, Ælfred, Alured, or Elfred his Brother, the fourth and youngest Al (fin El) Son of Ethelwulfe increeded him, in the fixth year of Bafilius Macede, Eaftern him, Commit Per perour; the seventeenth of Ludovicus, the Second Emperour of the West; the Alereda idea one and twentieth of Burbred, King of the Mercians; the fifth Indiction, A. D. Under Confinenti

Belgis. Venim & F promifine usur pansur in lingua Teutonica. Orede Frede, Ulie Flie, Ulissingen Elushing Valatie ther, & multa dita; prof. scribmus v, pronunciant tamen us f nobis pronunciatur; pro nostris th. d. eft illis in osu; dat that donder thunder; mille dita.

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Alfred. CHAP.  $\Pi$ .

DCCCLXXII. He was born at \* Wanating, (or Wanatune) now Wantage, a Town Sect. 10 in Berkshire, then a Royal Village or Manour of the Kings, at present eminent for nothing, except it be for a Market. His Mother was Osburg, the Daughter An. Dom. of Oflae the Panther of King Ethelwulfe, but of great Descent, which he drew Incapnaof Offae the Panther of King Ethelwulfe, but of great Descent, which he drew tioning 849. from the Goths and Jutes of the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the two Brothers, nature great the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the two Brothers, nature great the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the two Brothers, nature great the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the two Brothers, nature great the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the two Brothers, nature great the stock of Stuph and Wilhigar the stock of Stuph and Wilhingar the stock of Stuph and Wi who receiving the Isle of Wight from their Uncles Cerdic, and Cynric his Son, Alpheo anflew those few Britains they found in the Island, in the place called Swihtgara- gul Eaxoburg, the rest had either been killed before, or driven into Banishment. In the num pex in fifth year of his Age, his Father fent him to Rome, accompanied with many per-villa pegia fons both Noble and Ignoble, where Pope Leo the Fourth ordained and anoin- qua bicitup Who was the ted him; and if a certain \*Chronicle tell us truth, he was the firft king of land that was anointed. He adopted him also for his Son. Afterward when gue England that was anointed. He adopted him also for his Son. Afterward when gue noniver was A. Ethelwulfe went himself to Rome, this young Son he took along with him, being nature great at the state of the more tender of him than any of his other Sons. For beauty and wit he exceed-pocycipe, ed them all, his conversation being delightfull and charming. But this tender-quæ Paga ness grew to such fondness in his Parents, that they neglected the great part of calicen vohis † Education, viz. of learning his Book till he came to twelve years of Age, yet cacun a In F Education, 1922, of learning in shoots the team to tweet of Jess of Jess, Jess of the in the mean time did he learn many Saxon Poems, and in the Art of Hunting Bennoc jiwas skilfull to admiration. On a time the Mother having got a Book of Songs in Jub business her Mad flowed in her Song and told them that he that could first free them yith bun in her Hand, shewed it her Sons, and told them that he that could first get them Santigrumo by heart should have the Book; he much enamoured of the first letter for its fair-narcicun. ness, took it, and going to his Master, learnt to Reade, and then said it before his Afferius. Mother. After this he became expert in the Diurnal Course, or Celebration of Hours, as \*W. Thorn. it was called certain Psalms, and many Prayers, which being digested into a Book, day Elfredus fuie

after this time, when his Youth afforded him opportunity of learning the Arts and anglis qui in-Sciences, there were no Masters to be had to Teach him, of which he often with ma- Hic constituie ny and deep fighs complained as one of the greatest missortunes of his Life. But af- Hundred & terward when he came to more ripe years, and had the opportunity of Books, tafferius ad and Teachers, then by fickness, by his extraordinary care and solicitude in busi- A. D. 866. nels, by the frequent hostilities exercised by the Pagans both by Land and Sea, he was diverted from what he exceedingly defired: yet still as he could he omitted

and night he constantly had about him, and made use of them upon all occasions. But primus Rex

no opportunity, but stole it from his Recreations, to improve himself. 17. When he was twenty years Old, he Married Alswitha, Etheswida, or Egolfwitha the Daughter of £thelred Earl of the Gaini, Sirnamed Mucil, or the Great.

from his stature, of the Royal Bloud of the Mercians. In his two and twentieth Uxouem de year, his Brothers being now all dead, to whom, as Afferius terms it, he had been Oencia no-Secundary, he came to Possession of the Kingdom, though not without reluctan-blem reluctancy, out of apprehension of that danger which hung over his head, from the con-cer genene ftant Invasions and Hostilities of the Pagans. And scarcely had he made an end riliam ftof his Brother's Funerals, when after one Month he was forced with a flender believe the Gamopum Army to Engage their whole Power at Wilton. He had the better of it at the company que first, for he put them to slight, but unwarily giving the Chase, they rallied, and common quite tired out, became Masters of the Field. And barup couthat it may not feem strange that here the English should be foild, Asserius shews, cil. that befides the smalness of their Number, in comparison of the Enemy, this one

year they had been spent and weakned by eight several Battels fought against these Fights several Pagans. In these eight Battels perished one Danish King, and nine of their Earls, Battels with with innumerable multitudes of the lesser sort, besides what fell in those Excurfions made by day and night, the number of which was not to be counted. The Annals instead of eight, fay that nine several Battels were this year fought, and that upon the Southern Bank of the River Thames, wherein one King, and Makes an a- nine Earls were killed. Now this fame year the West Saxons made an Agree-

greement with ment with the Danes, on condition that they departed out of their Quarters, which they performed, fo wearied were both fides with these incessant Holtilities. The following year (from Reading fay the Annals) they went to London, and there they Wintered, whither the Mercians fent Messengers, and renewed the Peace which they had formerly made with them.

18. The year following being the DCCCLXXIV. of our Lord, and the twenty fourth of Alfred's Age, the Army of Danes left London, and went into the Who March Countrey of the Northumbrians, where in a Region called Lindesey they Wintred, to Lindley in and there again the Mercians renewed the Peace. So Writes Afferius, and the Annals fay the fame thing, adding this, that the place they Wintred in was a Village called Turcofige. This Village is at this day known by the Name of Tork-

Marries

DCCCLXXII.

Sect. 10 fey, about five Miles South from Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, in that division called Lindsey, seated upon the River of Trent, South from the River of Humber (above twenty Miles) as all Lindsey is, being most certainly within the Countrey of the Mercians, so that a wonder it is that both Afferius and the Annals should place them in Northumberland, which by universal consent was bounded on the South by the River Humber. But here we may suppose they chose to take up their Quarters, because of the conveniency of the River, by which carrying at High Tide Vessels of considerable burthen, they might receive supplies of Men, Arms, or Provisions from beyond the Seas as they had occasion; for this reason afterward they landed sometimes in those Parts, and took up their Quarters also at Gainsborough, where one of their greatest Tyrants was stabbed. The meaning of it feems to be this, that they deligned to pass into the Parts beyond Humber, but here stopt because of conveniency, or because Lindsey was sometime under the Power of the Kings of the Northumbrians; thereupon, and because it lyes so far North, by some Writers, in a general acceptation it came to be reckoned as part of it. That this was so in the days of Afferius, (who yet being a Welsh Man might be Ignorant in the English Saxon Chorography) seems from what he writes at the year following, that the often mentioned Army of Danes quitting Lindsey, went into Mercia, and Wintred in the place called Hreopdune. Notwithstanding the renewing of the Peace, here they forced Burbred King of the Mercians, to quit both the Island, and his Kingdom, in the two and twentieth year of his Reign, whence he went to Rome, and not long after his Arrival, died. He being gone, they brought all Mercia under their dominion : yet committed it to a filly Ser- \* Cambden Seize upon they brought all Mercia under their dominion. Yet committed again reflore it Afferna at vant of Burbred's, one Ceolwulfe on this condition, that he should again reflore it A.D. 873.

the fame day it should be demanded. For performance hereof he gave Hostages, Necron 7 and Swore, that in no manner would he contradict their will, but be obedient Pictor 7 in all things. Hrependune is that Town now called Repton in Derbyshire, the Separture Residence of the Mercian Kings, when Derby was scarcely so good as a Village; tenger to feated upon the River Irent, where it takes into it the River Dove, eminent both ropular feated upon the River Irent, where it takes into the River Does, chimate both for the Burial both of good King Ethelbald, and the deprival of this Burbred Annales 7 who had all the while he lived supported his Title, partly with fair Language, opposite and partly by Gifts, and now (as one \* observes) became an Example to teach on Paohtor Men in how ticklish and slippery a place they stand, who are underprop't one Jon reper y with Money.

19. † The Danes departing from Hreopdune, divided themselves into two Parties. Car Strains. 19. † The Danes departing from Hreopdune, divided themselves into two Parties. ly with Money.

Then subduce One of them under Conduct of Healfdene one of their Kings, went into Northum-Supra munitary berland, where they Wintered by the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the Conduct of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the adjacent man Combination of the River Tyne; and subdued all the Ri Countries, and wasted the Territories of the Pills, and Pichih Britains. The fire Britain other Party Commanded by Gothrum, Ofcitill and Amund, three other of their perminantal Kings went streight to Grantebrig, and there remained a whole year. Alfred in beindent after at the street of the not Master at Sea, rigged up a Fleet with intent to surprize the Pirates, e'er they confirmile should land. He met with five (says Asserting, seven say the Annals) of their Regime and Ships, whereof one he took, and the reft escaped. The following Summer the distributions are moved to a Castle of the West Saxons, called Werham. Alfred now thought a Wallish a fixed for the first of the first of the sax fit instead of Fighting, to Treat with them; either for that he being taken up demand in Sea Affairs was not well provided at Land, which made them to hold see the company to the second secon in Sea Affairs was not well provided at Land, which made them to bold as to adopted Weenter his paternal Territories, or because they doubted of their own strength, lawrent and were very willing to entertain Overtures. Some say by Money he purchased Hestiaunipate and were very willing to entertain Overtures. a Peace, whereby they were streightway to depart his Dominions. For perfor the Pilla at mance of the Accord they gave up what Hoftages he himfelf named, took an que inter-Oath upon Holy Reliques, and upon a Sacred Bracelet; (an Oath fo great and peatag folemn as they never before would fwear to any Nation) yet as it feems not spriddle with any intention to observe it. \* For not long after by Night show and shows middle with with any intention to observe it. \* For not long after by Night they took their id of Wales Horfes, Afferius faith they killed all his, or their own; for the words are ambiguous) and went to Exeter. This same year Healfdene their King had brought rigant their his Affairs to that settlement and personant in Machine Land. his Affairs to that fettlement and perfection in Northumberland, that he divided Nocregue the Countrey amongst his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And sam page this fame year it was as Afrius affirms, that Rollo with his Normans having Win-pe Sipujo omner ctered here in England, pailed over the Sea, and invaded France.

Alfred then to purchase

the West Sax-

habebae occione venturque ince Domnaniam as locum qui socieun Eaxonice Caxancearche Bintar nice autem Capungey Lacine quoque civitar in opientali pipa pluming. Vuire jitta ero pipoje mise menioanum 7 qua intepplur Galliam Britanniamque 7 inopinate opexit 1 ibi hyemavit. 20. The

20. The year which followed being the DCCCLXXVI. of Our Lord, and the Sect. 10 twenty fixth after the Birth of Alfred, part of the Pagan Army remained at Exeter, and another part in Harvest time made excursions into Mercia. The number of these Rovers dayly encreased, so as any that fought with and defeated them never so often, had but the same endless employment as he that cut off the Head of Hydra; for if as this day thirty thousand of them were killed, to Morrow others would fucceed them, and their number be doubled. Alfred perceiving that for all his labour for this reason he should profit nothing, but that each Victory (if he obtained it) would prove but a prelude to a farther trouble and Tunc nex danger, gave order throughout all his Dominions for furnishing out Gallies, or filtpetty long Ships, to prevent the landing of these troublesome Guests. He himself has nyrecymted to Exeter, wherein he Befieged the Danes, from whom to cut off all fupplies, bar 1 Kalehe manned out his Ships to intercept all provisions that should come by Sea. His at 1 longar Navy met with one hundred and twenty of their Vessels, upon which they set Fabricani with all violence imaginable, and all the Vessels still of Men as they were peri-per shed how Asserting tells us not and the Annals say it was by Terred peri-num, &c. shed; how Afferius tells us not, and the Annals say it was by Tempest near Swanawic. The same year the Pagans quitting Werham, partly on Horseback, and partly on Shipboard, and these at Sea when they came to the place called \* Suanavine perished to the number of one hundred and twenty Vessels, more \* Afferio if credit be given to the Copy of Afferius, whereas the Annals mention but Gnaueyic one loss at Sea this year, and the identity of the number in Afferius, makes

The West

us suspect it one and the same loss, and that his Text is corrupted. However so it happened, that the Danes affrighted with this great loss (or losses) gave him what Hostages he desired, and promised to depart. This they did in the Month of August marching into Mercia, which Region they granted, partly to Ceolwutfe, a certain filly Servant of the King, and partly divided amongst themselves.

21. In the year from our Lord's Incarnation DCCCLXXVII, and the twenty

feventh after Alfred's Nativity, the often mentioned Army of the Pagans from Exeter, in Christmas departed to Ceppanhamme a Royal Village seated \*in the Nor- \* Que era thern part of Wiltsbire on the Eastern Bank of the River, in British called Abon, year in 11where it wintred. Hence did it make excursions into the Territories of the West nycpali Saxons, of whom many it forced to quit the Land, and in great fear and want of paper pilall necessaries to cross the Seas; such as remained were contrained to submit them in Opental felves to their Authority. Alfred with a few of his Nobility, with a small Party of his para flushing war. all necessaries to cross the Seas; such as remained were constrained to submit themmitting to the layers of the information of his Vassals in Woods and the miry parts of Somerstellbire was minir quos forc't to hide his Head. A miserable life he led, having nothing whereby to subsist Buttannice except what by stealth and Irruptions he could get from the Pagans or from his bickup disobedient Subjects which had submitted themselves unto them. He was forced Abon. to take up his Quarters with one of the Keepers of his Cattel. The † Neatherd's In finishralis Wife being on a time busse in baking Cakes upon the Hearth, the King sate by the fire fide fitting and trimming up his Bow and Arrows with his other Habili. From 16 ments of War. It happened that the Cakes, fet too near the fire, burned, at which the Wallorum gui Woman very much concerned, in haste ran to the fire and snatched them away, but tran vocaban heartily chid the Guest upon the Bench, saying, How now man wilt thou not turn aquilmen at the Cakes that burn? Thou wouldest be glad to have a share of them when they are still Orientem the Cases that burn : I now womaest or give to have a source of the control bakd. The unhappy Woman (ays Asserting) little thought she spake to King orsis she shall be shaded to many Victo concertent.

Alfred who had sought so many Battels with the Pagans, and got so many Victo concertent. ries over them. But so great affliction happened to him, as our Authour gues-vira Sis Nesli. feth, for not having in his younger years when he first came to the Government, heard and relieved his oppressed Subjects, for which neglect St. Neolus his Kinfman foretold out of a Prophetick Spirit, that these Calamities would fall upon him. In the mean time the Brother of Hinguar and Healfdene departing from Northwales with three and twenty Ships, where they had made great wafte, failed into Devonshire, and facing a Castle called Cympith, were killed in a Salley made by the King's Garrison, with two hundred of their men. There was taken their Banner called Reafau, faid to have been made at one Noon-time of the day by the three Sisters of Hinguar and Hubba the Daughters of Lodebrock. Before every Battel if they chanced to be victorious, the likeness of a living and flying Crow was reported to have appeared in it, but in case they happened to have the worst it would hang directly down and not move at all. And this hath often been proved by experience, faith our Authour.

6. This

Routs the

Makes Gothrun their

East England to hold in fealty of

Sect. 10. 22. This fame year Alfred built after Easter a Castle at a place called \* Etbelin\* Assert for gaeg, whence with his Nobles of Somersetsbire he made frequent excursions against Jelingaeg the Pagans. In the seventh week after Easter he rode to the stone of Egbryht in Assaul. It. the Eastern part of the Wood called Selwad, in Latine Silva Magna, and Coitmaur Ethelingue. in British, (in the Eastern part of Somersetshire, now not so great) where met The life of Alfred reco- him all the Inhabitants of Somerfetsbire, Wilts, and such of Hamsbire as had not Nobles made vers his King-been driven beyond the Sea, who received their King as one rifen from the dead, ding of the with extraordinary Joy, and there they rested themselves that Night. Dislodg- River Parce ing as foon as it was light, they travelled that day as far as Acglea, and the next Thous From arrived at a place called Ethandun, (now Edindon in Wiltshire) where they inga- hhim and his ged the whole Power of the Danes, and got the Victory. They pursued them to People freone of their fortifi'd Castles, to which Alfred caused close Siege to be laid, which named, now having continued fourteen days, the Pagans pinched with hunger and cold and de-known by the having continued routteen days, the ragains planted with hands and the King's lame of A-pairing of Relief, yielded on condition to have leave to depart out of the King's lame of A-pointions; for to depart they were, and gave up what Hoftages he was pleated simply in the continued of the condition of the condi Dominions; to the depart when the state of the property of the faithfully performed. For after about three weeks he came to Alfred, then ly-noftri Guring at Alre a place near to Ethelingaeg (now Aulre in Somerfetshire upon the mandames-ning at Alre a place near to Ethelingaeg (now Aulre in Somerfetshire upon the mandames-River Parret, a Village confishing of a few poor Cottages) accompanied with Count, differ-ment of the Company of th thirty of the choicest of his Army, and Alfred adopting him for his Son, recei-Regiam fuam ved him out of the Font, and named him Athelstan; the folemnity of loofing his hinde Gorman. Chrismal Ligamant, was performed at Wetmore or Wadmore an House of the chefter difto King's, with whom he continued twelve days (or twelve Nights to speak in the corrupte God-Dialect of our Saxon Ancestours) and then returned, both he and his followers machester, having received very great Prefents. So good a change was wrought upon them, tindoniam. that they kept their word. For the next year they departed from Cippanham to Cippan-Cirencestre, and there continued an whole twelve Month. Thence removed they ham mercanto the East Angles, the Countrey whereof together with Northumberland, some numdinis still. write that Alfred gave to Guntrun at his Christening, to be held in fealty of quaetiamnum 23. For the Gift of Northumberland, we have nothing to fay, but as to the fire) clare

The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain.

other there is extant the (a) Form of a League made betwixt these two Kings, simt. in the first Article whereof the Limits of their Territories are thus described. (a) nurr Legent Territories are thus described. Salzon a Long. The form of The Limits of our Land are first upon the Thames, then proceed they to the Ri-bardo Editat. ver Lee as far as his Fountain, then streight to Bedford, and so up to the River Ouse, as far as Watling-street. The second Article, appoints the value of a Man stepry in slain, whether English or Dane, to be four Marks of melted Gold, and the Redemp-bupe land tion of each four hundred Shillings. But if the King's Servant or Thane, was accu- on Eemepa up fed of Manflaughter. The third Article proceeds, that he be tried by twelve other 780nne up of the King's Servants. In case he was not the King's Servant but helanged to Gare of the King's Servants. In case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some on Lixar. inferiour Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's nashang Servants. The same Order was to be taken in all suits, which exceeded four Marks. Lyan od But in case he refused to undergoe this Trial, his fine was to be increased three hipe applim. fold. The fourth appoints Vouchers for the sale of Men, Horses or Oxen. The fifth conne on fold. The fourth appoints Vouchers for the Jale of Men, Horjes or Uxen. The fitting and last ordains, that none from either Army should pass to the other without leave. Becampon And in case it be by way of Traffick, such shall find Sureties for their Civil Deport to You up ment, that the Peace may not be infringed. Such was the League the Preface to on Vran od which declares, that it was made betwixt the two Kings, Elfred and Gythrun ( fo palingarthe Saxon ) by consent of all the wife men of the English, and of all those that that inhabited East England, and that not onely in behalf of themselves, but of their Posterity. This sufficiently sheweth that the Eastern Parts of England belon-Potterty. This sufficiently intervent that the Eastern Parts of England. Detail name ged to the Danes. Yet Polydore Virgil calling this King by the Name of Gorman, negree vehemently contends that he had not that Country beflowed on him. Rrant- C. ? zius also denies, that Gormon was converted to the Faith; yet confesses that about Be 205 this time, one Froto was converted. Whatever they write, this League evinceth num & be the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of Afferius, is uncontrol-togene lable as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that 1306 7 the Annals (ancient Monuments also ) affirm the same.

24. But the same year that these things thus passed, another great Army of Be geri-24. But the same year that these things thus palled, another great Army of  $\frac{1}{1000}$  Pagans came from beyond the Seas, and sailing up the Thames, wintred at  $\frac{1}{1000}$  Total from London, now Fulham, at present the seat of the Bishop of London, upon this Rice Se on ver. The same year happened also a great Eclipse of the Sun. In that which Eart en followed, the Army of Danes, that wintred at Fulham, passed over the Sea into glumber 8.

the Eastern France, and continued a whole year at Ghent, whence the Summer Sect. 10. following they pierced farther into the Countrey, and had battel given them by the Franks, with what Success as to particulars we know not, but with no great Disadvantage surely to the Danes, who after the Fight became Horsemen, and afterward passed up the River \* Meuse, farther into the Land, and there wintred. Al- \* hen ron parer to be anterward paried up the river *Integre*, nature into the Land, and there wintred. Al- 100 por Mafter at Sea, fred in the mean while, being by experience sufficiently instructed, that his main 10 hepup care ought to be employed how to become Master at Sea, in three years time onslong provided him a Fleet, wherewith he ingaged fome Rovers, and took two of Ourse peop their Veffels, killing all he ound therein. Two other flips were commanded by on Fronce two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded and a long, in two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded, and ti-Annales, at red out in fight cast down their Arms, and with bended Knees and humble sup-vero Afferiplications yielded themselves into his Hands. Their Countreymen the following us hoc modo: year, failed up the River Scheld, as far as a Monastery of Nunns called Cundohr, Penglumen and there took up their Winter Quarters.

The Danes in-

Alfred pre-

and there took up their Winter Quarters.

25. The year that followed being the DCCCLXXXIV, of Our Lord, and the cup line refour and thirtieth of King Alfred's Age, this Army divided it felf into two Bodies ruprum canto for whereof the one held on its course into the Eastern parts of France, and the o-ge in pianther making for this Island, arrived in Kent, and laid siege to the City of Ro-Cam pep chefter. Before the Gate they built a Fort, and used all means they could to be traxit ? come Masters of the place, but the Inhabitants made stout resistence, and held Per Ine for fan out till King Alfred came to their relief, the noise of whose approach frighted a Remain intelligit, nobis way the Beliegers to their ships, wherein they were constrained to return to the Roine. Coasts of France. The League which was made betwixt Alfred and Guthrun, it seems, was broken by this time probably by that Intelligence which the Danes, inhabiting East England, held with their Countreymen, that ever and anon arrived. Alfred found himself concerned to man out his Fleet, to lessen and restrain their Power, which defign fo prospered, that coming to the Mouth of the River Stour, and meeting thirteen of the Enemies ships, which came ready prepared for an Encounter, they took them and killed all their Men. But growing fecure upon this Success, the Danes gathered together all the Vessels they could make, and setting upon them as they lay in the same place in a carcless posture, spoiled their Triumph at their return. The year that followed, a confiderable Number of these Danes who had Affering ad come from the West, quitting Britain, returned into that Quarter by Sea, and An. 886. passed up the River Seine as far as Paris. There they incamped where they could best intercept the passage of the Citizens, over the Bridge, the City being seated in the midst of the River in a little Island, and continued their fiege for a whole year, but fuch was the Vigilancy and Industry of the Inhabitants, that they could not force their Entrance. While God Almighty thus preferved the City of Paris, from the Violence of the Barbarians, at the same time he was pleased to restore the City of London to her Ancient Lustre, the having as well as many other English Cities been defaced, and depopulated by these continual Invasions of the Pagans. King Alfred making it his chiefest care to repair it, made it habitable, and committed it to the Government of Ethered, the Earl of the Mercians, to whom he gave his Daughter Ethelfleda in Marriage. To him turned now all such English and Saxons, as formerly had been dispersed, and had lived in captivity under the Danes, and willingly submitted to his Dominion, and from the Rovers he rested quiet for about eight years (some say thirteen, but Subrum dies to them the Annals bear not Testimony) four of which being expired, Gathrum the Northern King (as the Annals call him ) who reigned in East England, departed this life.

26. All this while the other Northern Rovers employed themselves upon the Continent making continual Invasions into France, which they never left harasting till they had Neustria assigned them to inhabit, to which they affixed the Name or Normandy. Eight years being passed from the last hostility they had attempted in Latrunculi England, an Army of them being beaten out of France by the Emperour Ernulph nim 13 an-and the Britains, passed from the Eastern to the Western parts of France, and went infostiant to Boloigne, where furnishing themselves with Vessels, with two hundred and fifty extremum ab fail, they made for the Eastern Coasts of Kent, and there put into a River called Enulpho In-Linea, near to the great Wood Andred, a Wood which extended it self in length Britannis an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this Wood multis preliis an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this wood with they drew up their ships about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they villin Anthony drew up their ships about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they villing approximately the ships about the built a Fortrels. After them one Haesten, with eighty Vessels more entred the timum seil. Mouth of the Thames, and built a Fort at Midleton, while the former Army re- granulation mained in a place called Apletree. Alfred to prevent the florm which he saw was infinguism

coming fast upon him, resolved to hinder the Correspondence which was wont ect. 10. to be entertained betwirt the new Comers, and those that were already fixed Are attended in the Countrey, a thing which ever proved of pernicious Confequence. Those by Alfred. of Northumberland he obliged to him by an Oath of Fidelity and the Inhabitants of Effex, from whom he received Hostages, for ever as any Strangers invaded the Land they were wont either to join with them or commit some Hostlity themselves, while the King's Forces were elsewhere employed. Having then got a sufficient Power together, he incamped himself betwixt the two Armies at fuch a distance, as to be ready for either of them, in case they offered to remove. And dividing his Army into two Parts, one he kept incamped with an Eye upon the Enemies main Body, the other was ready upon all Occasions to restrain fuch Parties as foraged the Countrey. They ranged up and down till they came into Effex, and thence again passed the Thames into Surry, where at Farnkam the King's Troops met them, and put them to the rout. Their King was wounded, and with one Party flaid behind, the rest crossed the Thames again into an Island near Colne ( fome fay in Effex, others by Colebrook ) where the King's Army belieged them so long, till Provisions failed. In the mean time the Danes of Northumberland, not able to hold their Hands while they faw their Countreymen inriching themselves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred ships coming to the East Angles, scoured the Southern Parts, as they did with forty, the Northern Coasts, and failing about came to Exeter, which they presently besieged. Alfred hearing this hasted thither with all his Army, except a strong Party of Welfh, which marching to London joined with the Citizens, and others that came from the West, and then went Eastward to Beamfleet. Where Haesten having built a Fort was himself gone out to forage, but had lest a strong Party to defend it. But this Party they cut in pieces, plundered the Castle, took much Booty and Prisoners, and either destroyed all their ships, or brought them away to London or Rochester. 27. Among other Prisoners was taken the Wife of Haesten, with his two Sons

which so affected the Barbarian, that he begged Peace of the King, giving Hostages and Oath for his peaceable Deportment. Alfred set his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of which he himself was Godsather, and the other was the Godson of Earl Ethelred, and besides he bestowed on him a good Summ of Money. But returning to Beamfleet, he could not restrain his ravenous Inclination, but fell of wasting the County adjacent; which was under the Government of Ethelred his Gossip. After this both Danish Armies joined, and coming to Their Armies Shobury in Effex, there built another Castle. Thence passing the Thames, with join wafting fuch as joined with them from Northumberland and East England, they marched all near Severn. on to Severn, wasting all in their way. Here the King's Captains, Ethered, Ethelm and Ethelnoth, with Forces taken out of all the Countries adjoining, pitch'd their Camp over against them at a place called Buttington ( in Montgomerysbire ) Are Butthe River running betwixt them, and there they faced one another for many tong rune. Aifred befire weeks. In the mean time the King by a fiege forely distressed the Danes in Ex- Hie la pea ges the Danes eter, who having eaten part of their Horses resolved to fally out, and join with la rucena their fellows that lay incamped on the East side of the River, but the King set rationon upon and discomfitted them all with loss of Ordhelm, and several other of his own to healpe Officers. Those that remained fled to Esfex to the Fort they had there built, Sepeca. and their ships. But no sooner was one Party suppressed, but another arose. Laf one of their Leaders, before Winter gathered a great Army out of East England and Northumberland, and depositing their Wives, Ships and Moneys in the Hands of the East Angles, marched, Day and Night with such Expedition, that they came to a City of the West called Wirheal which they took, e'er the Army that pur- 1sta Wiches

The Danes

fued could reach them.

28. Having walted the Countrey round, the year following, they quitted the disc Coffee: place and invaded North Wales, which after they had plundered, they returned some fice enim Abinto Northumberland, and some into East England; whence proceeding into Essex, and they seized on a small sland lying toward the East, called Meresig, and another party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coast of Sussex, where perfore the Inhabitants of Chichester Sallying out, slew many of them, and took some of cearppe on their Ships. The same year they that seized upon Merefig, drew up their Ships, Pinhealum fome into the River of Thames, and others into Lee-Road, on the Bank of which, ric y Lega the year following, they built a Fort about twenty miles from London. The Lon- cearcepge doners looking upon this as a curb not to be endured, with other Affiltents, endea- haven voured to demolish it, but were beaten back with loss of many Men, and a-

mongst the rest, three of the King's Officers. Hereupon the King in time of Har-Sect. 10 vest Incamped nearer the City, to restrain the incursions of Danes upon the Reapers. As he was Riding on a time by the River Lee, it came into his Head, that by digging of large Ditches on each fide, he might turn the Stream from the Chanel, and so cause their Ships to rest upon the dry ground; which thing having devifed, he attempted with fuch fuccels, that the Danes perceiving they were not to be got off, fent away their Wives and Children into East England, and on foot marched as far as a place called Quathrig upon the Severn, where they built a Fortress and Wintred. The Citizens of London, very joyfully and in Triumph, brought such of their Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and the rest they burnt or disabled. This happened three years after that from the transmarine Parts, these Danes first arrived in the mouth of Lirnene. During these fame three years raged a great Plague, both amongft Men and Cattle. The King loft moft of his choiceft Nobility, as Swithulfe Bilhop of Rochefler, and several great Earls; Ceolmund in Kent, Brithulfe in Effex, Wulfred in Hampsbire, besides Ealbard Bishop of Dorcester, Eadulf the King's Officer in Sussex, Beornwulfe Governour of Winchester, Eigulfe Master of the King's Horse, and many o-

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Alfred.

A great

CHAP. II.

29. This Difaster was followed by many irruptions made by the Danes Inhabi-The Danes of ting Northumberland and East England, into the Territories of the Well Saxons, The Danet of units and some and the state of long, higher, and yet both fwifter and steddier than they, some of fixty Oars, Traitories of and some of more, like to which were not then in use, either amongst the Danes or Frisons. At this time the Isle of Wight, the Coasts of Devonshire, and other Maritime Parts were much insested by fix Pickeering Vessels which hovered upon these Quarters. The King commanded some of these new Gallies to be Manned Wigh, and these Quarters. The King commanded some of these new Gassies to be Manned the Maritime out against them for an experiment. The Fight was partly by Water, and Coalt infelted partly by Land, managed with dexterity and courage enough on both sides. with Pirates

Two of the Pirates Ships were firanded, one escaped away into East England, and all except but such as served in this, were either slain or taken; but not with-

out confiderable loss also on the King's fide. Here fell Lucumon the King's Earl, Apelroph ken and ex. Wulfheard, Ebba and Ethelere, all Frisons, and Ethelfrith the Overseer of the Cyninger King's Cattle. All the Frisons perished, of the English fixty two, and of the Danes geneat. one hundred and twenty. The Prisoners were led to the King to Winchester, where he commanded them to be hang'd as Pirates and publick Enemies. This year pulppuc Cy. died Wulfric the Master of the King's Horse, who was also his Governour of ninger hopf Wales, which therefore was at this time subject to his Command. The year fol- begen re lowing hath nothing notable, but that Eibelm the Earl of Wiltshire died nine per eac Penights (fo particular are the Annals in matters of finallest consequence) before allogepena. Midsummer, and this was the last of Ethered Earl of Devonshire, and of the Bishop of London. These ushered into another world the King himself, who having enjoyed two or three years of Peace, as a preparation to everlasting. Re-

pose and Felicity, in the five and twentieth of Odober, in the one and fittieth Die 7 Kayear of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, in the year of our Lord, DCCCC, lend, Nopassed from a temporal to an eternal Kingdom.

30. Whoever confiders the worth of his Person, will find that our opinion of Affer. Ann. s happiness, is not founded merely upon Charisty. A Man who Charisty A Man who Charisty. his happiness, is not founded merely upon Charity. A Man who (humane frail-tum an ty alone set aside) so discharged all the Offices of a King and of a Christian, as ealna halifcarcely any can be found in these vertues to have been so accurate, by whose gpa mar-( almost I had said single ) example no infirmity of Body, no travel of mind, ran perpetual disquiets and dangers can excuse from the performing of all duties which

the Relation, a Man stands in both to God and Men, exacteth from him. In what continual diffurbances he lived and reigned, we have fulficiently feen already, how feldom he enjoyed any repose and quiet, in what perpetual distractions, cares and anxieties, any other man would have been involved. But his inward griefs were as great and prefling as were his outward moleflations, scarcely one day from his infancy, till he came to be forty five years of Age, was he free from extraordinary pains in his Body. From his Childhood, till he came to be twenty, he was exceedingly troubled with the Piles. Then after his Marriage, feized with fo great and strange pain, that no Physician could guess what the cause should be, some imagined him bewitched, others thought it the mere effect of the Devil's malice, who hates and envies all good Men, others imagined it an unufual fort of Fever, and others his former dilease of the Hamorrhoids increased to a Dd 2

Sect. 10. greater malignity. He was afraid left Leprofie, Blindness, or some other dreadfull Symptom should follow upon it, which render Men both despicable and unferviceable. Therefore as formerly fentible of the proneness of Nature to fleshly Lusts in the heat of youth, and before he was married, he prayed that some Infirmity Afferius. might fall upon him which might abate these desires and inclinations, now that he might not be unusefull, he prayed for a Relaxation of this Grief, and as he had been heard in his first petition, so his second was not denied. But though seldom did his pain intermit, or if he enjoyed any ease for a Day, or a Night, or an Hour, yet the fear and apprehension of the return of his almost unsupportable Torment, never forfook him, yet was the employment of his time fo fruitfull in all respects; as if he had not had the least diversion. Of this Afferius his Chaplain an Eye-witness gives us in the History of his Actions, this full account.

His manage-

31. Amidst his Wars, the many disturbances of his Life, the Invasions of Pagans. and the daily Infirmities of his Body, he ordered the matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practifed all the Art of Hunting, instructed all his Gold-Smiths and Artificers, his Huntímen and Falconers, contrived new Buildings more fumptuous than any of his Predecessours, he himself being the Inventour and Architect, read Saxon Books, got Saxon Verses by heart, and saw that others did the like. Constantly was he present at Divine Service, Psalms or Prayers he read, his diurnal and nocturnal Hours he ever celebrated, alone in the Night time when all others were asleep, he frequented Churches and then performed his Devotions, overfaw the distribution of Alms to Poor and Strangers, set himself to the searching out the Causes of unknown things, and in all these Employments, and during his Pains behaved himfelf with incomparable Affability, and pleasantness toward all Men. Many Franks, Frisons, Galls, Pagans, Britains, Scots and Armenians on their own Accord, became his Subjects, as well noble as ignoble, all whom according to their feveral Qualities and Conditions, he loved, honoured and relieved as his own Nation. Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains, he heard constantly and attentively. His Bilhops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars, he loved most affectionately. Such of their Sons as were at Court he took personal care of no less than his own Children, instructing them himself Night and Day in good manners and literature. But as if in all these he had no comfort at all, and as if no other thing either internal or external troubled him, Night and Day he was very fad, and with many fighs bewailed his condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was destitute of Divine Wisedom, and of the liberal Arts.

32. He made it his business to get such men about him as could best supply this provement defect which his own humility represented to him far greater than indeed it was. As his utmost wish and the greatest Boon he beg'd, was like to that of Solomon, so the success of his Prayers was (though not proportionably) the same, God giving him both learning and Wifedom, and (if not Riches yet) Honour in fuch abundance, as no Prince of his Age, nor for many Ages afterward attained. Four learned Clerks he fent for out of Mercia, and some he had in his own paternal Dominions of the West Saxons, by whose indeavours his insatiable desire of knowledge was still exercised. For both Night and Day when he had any spare time he heard them reade, never being without some one of them in attendance, whereby it came to pass that he had a thorough knowledge almost of all forts of Books. Yet not contenting himself with what they could teach him, he sent for the learnedst men he could hear of out of France, and out of Wales, for Affer the Writer of the Story, all whom he rewarded and preferred fuitably to their Merits. By affiftence of these men he arrived at such eminent learning, (that Age especially considered) that he became not onely the most knowing of all Kings, but in universidered) fal knowledge exceeded almost all, both his own Subjects and others. He was Ingulban, Malouthuri learned in Speech, but especially made it his business to be throughly versed in Divine and Practical knowledge. He penetrated to the profound Mysteries of all Liberal Arts, which he acquired with utmost diligence. The greatest part of the Roman Library he made familiar to his English Subjects. He was so universally learned that he became both an excellent Grammarian, Philosopher, Rhetorician, Historian, Musician and Poet; nay, a most perfect Architect and Geometrician. He himself for the benefit of his Subjects, whom the Invasions of the Barbarous Danes had well nigh deprived of all Learning, translated into their own Language the Hittory of Orefius, the Ecclefialtical Hittory of Bede, (which Translation we make frequent use of) and death prevented his finishing an English Translation of the Pfalms of David. 33. The

33. The more wonderfull this is full, if we confider that his Devotions took up Sect. 10. fo much time as scarcely any Religious Person, whose work alone it was, spent more in God's Service. He made a Vow to dedicate to him one half, excepting that of fleep and necessary Refreshings. And because herein he could not be accurate for the cloudiness of the Air and want of Clocks, (which in this Age were not invented) he caused six large Tapers of Wax to be provided, each twelve \* Inches in \* Uz unalength, by the burning of which he measured out the four and twenty Hours, quaque length, by the burning of which he meatured out the rour and twenty Hours, quesque Perceiving that the burning of them was unequal by reason that the Wind through Cansela 12 the Windows, the Cranies of Walls of his Chapel, or the thin Cloths of his Tents Incra polegot to them; to prevent this inconvenience he invented a Lanthorn made of replacery moved and Horns of Oxen. But that which took up not the least part of his time disputation.

He admini-

thus divided with the hearing of Causes and Administration of Justice, wherein to habeper. relieve the Poor and Distressed, Night and Day he travelled indefatigably; for in Affer. all that Kingdom (faith our Authour) befides him alone they had no Protectour, or very few, Persons of publick Spirits as well as Employment, having always been rare in this Nation. Such Partiality and Contention were there amongst Inferiour Judges, that he was perpetually pestered with Appeals, wherein he was so Sedulous an Inquirer, that all Villany was ever brought to light. But besides Appeals few Causes were heard in Inferiour Courts of any moment, which however decided he did not examine. If he found his Judges unskilfull, he gravely admonished them as such, who in case they did not study improvement were to loose their Places. This made them so vigilant and industrious, that though his Officers all in a manner were illiterate from their Infancy, yet in their elder Age did they apply themselves to learning, and such as by reason of Age or other Avocations could not doe it, brought up their Sons, their Kinfmen or their Dependants and Servants to reade to them. As he being the Superiour Judge (not onely as to Authority but Administration of Justice) took care that his People should be firmished with able Ministers, so he provided them of good Laws, and for the better Government of the whole English Nation, brought up several laudable Customes, which still to this day continue, and we shall declare when we come to speak of the Laws and Polity of our Saxon Ancestours. To keep up Civility and Learning he erected Schools for the training up of Youth, and used feverity against such as broke the Peace, that he might by Punishments deter, as well as by Rewards and Encouragements allure, the two great Engines of Magi-And rids the firacy. Thieves and Highwaymen he fo profecuted, that he rid the Land in a Nation of Thieres and manner of them, to the terrour of all fuch, caufing upon high Posts in the Cross

Encourages

Highwaymen. ways certain Chains of Gold to be hung, as it were daring any one to take them down; so that during his Government Justice did not onely reign but Triumph. 14. We have seen how he employed his time, one of the greatest Concernments of a Prince; another remains as great, viz. how he spent his Revenue. Making this a main point of Conscience, and having vowed to the Service of God, as well the half of his Revenues as his time, he commanded all his Annual Income to be equally divided into two parts. The first of these he appointed to secular uses and subdivided it into three Portions. The first he appointed to pay the Wages of Souldiers, his choicest Ministers, and those that by their turns attended him in his Court. For of such he had three Divisions each whereof waited their month, and then refting two at their own homes again returned to their former monthly fervice. The fecond Portion he affigned to Workmen and Architects, of whom he kept employed almost an innumerable Multitude of all Nations. The third he freely bestowed on Strangers that came to him from all parts far and near, whether they asked it or asked it not, as their Qualities were, and (according to that which is written, God loveth a chearfull Groer) with a chearfull mind. Thus did he employ the first half of his Revenue. The second half of his whole Revenues and Incomes with a most free will he devoted to the Service of Almighty God, and caused it to be divided into four Portions. The first of these he conferred on fuch Poor as flocked to him out of all Nations. The second on two Monasteries he had caused to be built at Athelingaez, and at Scoftesburg. The third to a School which he had erected for the Instruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, faid to have been at Oxford, but Afferius mentions no place. The fourth to the Monasteries round about in Saxony (the Countrey of the West Saxons he means) and Mercia, and some years by turns to the Churches and Servants of God in Britain, Cornwall, Gall, Armorica, Northumberland, and also in Ireland he either according to his ability fent relief, or refolved to doe it as opportunity and his Treasury would permit.

Sect. 10. 35. Such was the demeanour of Alfred in his Religious and Civil kind of life, a demeanour accurate indeed, but not such as can denominate him a formal or foppilh man, for under all this Discipline he was not fowre or melancholly, but carried himself (as an eye or ear witness left recorded after his Death, when he could have no temptation to flatter him) with wonderfull Affability and Faceti-

His Divertife- oufnefs. To his feverer Studies and Practices he also joyned the gentile Divertifements of Mulick and Hunting (things not possible to be reached by formal Fops, may our Wits be Judges) and his Military skill and valour was so admirable, that no Disasters or Discouragements could abate it. Malmesbury testifies of him that while he was overthrown and lay as it were groveling on the Earth, he was still His Courage a terrour to his Enemies. In all Battels he was present every where, striking into the Hearts of his Enemies fear and coldness, and paleness into their Faces, adding fresh Courage to his own Men. He alone would expose his Breast to the Enemies Swords, he alone would restore the Fight when his Army was ready to run away, and by his Example constrain his Souldiers to repell the insulting and pursuing Pagans. Nay, after he had been forced to flie, he became more terrible to his Foes, the memory of his Defeat made him more Circumspect, and an ardent defire of Revenge more venturous. Fifty fix fet Battels by Sea and Land he fought against the Danes, and of these eight in one day, so that by his miraculous Courage and Conduct he fo afflicted and tired them, though they still came in fresh numbers upon him, that they were forced to give up what Hostages he pleased, and fubmit to fuch Conditions as he thought fit to impose. That these are not Flourilhes, the universal consent of Writers bears Witness, all who admire him as an Heroe, and by an unparallel'd example tax him with no Vice at all; formewhat Afferius speaks of Niolus's object to him the neglect of administring Justice, which was in his young years, and for which in his riper he made abundant Compenfation. Upon the whole we cannot but difmiss him with the Exclamation of Wonder, into which Sir Henry Spelman, upon due confideration of all things, breaketh forth. "O Alfred, the Wonder and Aftonishment of all Ages! If we reflect upon his Piety and Religion it would feem that he had never gone " out of a Monastery: If on his Warlike Exploits, that he had lived no where " but in a Camp: If on his Writings and Studies, that he had spent his whole life in an University: And lastly, It we regard his Administration of the Affairs of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole time had been " employed in nothing else but enacting Laws, and promoting Justice in his Tri-

" bunals and Courts. 36. King Egbert is generally esteemed the first Monarch of the English Saxons, and as such we have placed him, his time better agreeing therewith, but indeed was a Monarch in the same sense that the other seven were, which Beda mentions, the Authority of whom extended through the Heptarchy, though the feveral Kingdoms had their several Kings. He as Julius Casar to Augustus shewed the way, and chalked that out which was afterward perfected by his Glorious Son Alfred, who indeed was toward his latter end Monarch of all the parts of England Vide Math. which were not possessed by the Danes, for if a petty King afterward was set up Floril.hic. in Northumberland or else where, so inconsiderable was his condition as deserves not to be taken notice of. But, not onely were the English his Subjects. The Wellb or Britains had also submitted to him, over whom he appointed a Governour, as we lately observed him by Name out of the Saxon Annals. But Afferius acquaints us with the Affairs of that his own Countrey, more particularly in relation to the Obedience they paid to Alfred. He tells us that at that time and long before all the Regions of the South (Western) parts of Britain (Dextralis Britannia he terms it) did belong, and so did still to the Dominion of King Alfred Namely Hemeid, with all the People of Demetia or South West Wales, being forced to submit to him by the violence of the fix Sons of Rotri. In like manner Howel or Houil, the Son of Ris King of Gleguifing, morever Brochmail and Fernail Sons of Mouric, Kings of Guent, being opprefied by the violence and Tyranny of Earl Eadred, and the Mercians, of their own Accord submitted to him as their King, that by his means they might be protected from their Enemies. Besides these Helised the Son of Tendyr, King of Brecknock (Rex Breckonia) driven thereto by the violence of the foresaid Sons of Rotri, voluntarily gave up himfelf into his hands. Nay at last Anaraut himself with his Brethren the Sons of Rotri, deferted the Alliance they had contracted with the Northumbrians, from whom they received no emolument at all, but rather hurt; and earnestly desired the King's friendship. He was admitted into his Presence, and with much ho-

nour entertained by him, who at his receiving confirmation from the hands of a Sect. 10-Bishop, acknowledged him his Spiritual Son, and at his departure presented him very richly. The effect of this Meeting was, that he subjected himself to the So- 7 as π avereignty of King Alfred, to be obedient to him in all things as Earl Ethelred and numepycothe Mercians were. Neither in vain did any of these obtain the friendship of the pi in pilium King, For fuch as defired Earthly power hereby found a means to increase it, fuch congruence as defired Money had Money, such as designed Familiarity got Familiarity, and such ceptur. as would have both obtained both. All of them procured Love, Defence, and Protection on every fide, as far as the King was able to protect himfelf and his own Subjects.

PART IV

37. King Alfred by Elswitha his Wife, with whom he lived in all Conjugal his Wife and temperance, had several Children. His Eldest was \* Ethelsteda, married to Eadred \* stylestees. Count of the Mercians. The next was a Son named † Edward. The third a † Eadrens. Daughter, Ethelgeda as some call her, but Asserius names her || Ethelgeofn; she || ffpelgewas Abbess in the Nunnery founded by her Father at Shaftsbury. The fourth orn. was Elfrida, Afferius calls her \* Elfthrith, married to Baldwin the second Count was *Lyrraa*, April Cain in *Expression* and the youngest was "*Ethelward*, who by Divine Country fly spy's cil (faith our Authour) and the admirable Providence of the King, together with the flyerwell nigh all the Noble Children of the whole Countrey, and many of the Infe- and riour fort, was committed to the Discipline of the School under the diligent care of Masters. In this School Books of both Languages, viz. Latin and Saxon were diligently read. They were taught also to Write, insomuch that before they had strength ro undergoe Manly Exercises, which besit Noble Persons, as Hunting and the like, they became Studious and ingenious in the Liberal Sciences. Edward and Elfthrith were always brought up at Court diligently attended by their Nurses and Governours (as defigned to Princely Estate and Government) being exceedingly beloved by all, both home born and Strangers, to whom they carried themfelves with all humble Affability and Gentleness. To their Father they shewed all manner of Duty and Subjection, neither were they amid their other Employments fuitable to their Birth fuffered to live idly and carelesly without Liberal Studies. For they diligently learnt Pfalms by heart, read Saxon Books, but especially got by heart Saxon Poems, and very frequently made use of other

ceeded Ed-

38. Of these Edward the Eldest Son succeeded his Father in the sixteenth year of Leo the Sixth, Porphyrogenitus Emperour of the East, the second of Lewis the Fourth Emperour of the West, the same year that Charles the Simple began his Reign in France, in the Fourth Indiction, A. D. DCCCCI. Ingulphus and Malmesbury after him writes of him that in Learning he was far Inferiour to his Father, but incomparably more glorious in the Power of his Kingdom, that he indeed had conjoyned the two Kingdoms of the Mercians and the West Saxons, but held onely that of the Mercians as King in Name and Title, it being affigned over to Duke Ethelred. But his Son after the Death of Ethelred first wholly brought under his Dominion and Propriety the Mercians, then presently after fully the Western and Eastern English, or those of Northfolk, the Northumbrians, who had imbodied themselves with the Danes; then the Scots inhabiting the Northern part of the Island and all the Britains or Welsh did he subdue by his Sword; and having cast out the Pagans from all Cities and Walled Towns, placed Christians in their rooms; neither ever in any Battel was he worsted. He ingeniously invented ways to restrain the Excursions of the Danes, by either repairing old Cities or building new ones in convenient places, which he furnished with sufficient Garrisons to protect the Inhabitants and to repell the Enemy. By this means the valour of the People was fo much excited, that upon report of the Enemies coming they would without confulting the King or his Captains arme themselves and valiantly charge Defining the the Invaders, whom they always overpowered both by their numbers and Mili-Attempts of tary skill. In that the Danes became contemptible to the Finalish Souldiers, and a tary skill; fo that the Danes became contemptible to the English Souldiers, and a Laughing-stock to the King himself.

39. But notwithstanding this his great felicity, the beginning of his Reign was Ethelmold his much disturbed by Ethelwald his Kinsinan, viz. his Cousin German by Ethel-Kinsinan Bis much disturbed by Ethelwald his Kinsinan, viz. Kiniman Re- red his Father's Elder Brother, though others call him the Brother of Edward, for his Genealogy is variously related. Most probable it is, that he was the Son of Ethelred, and founded his pretentions to the Kingdom upon no weaker ground than being Son to the Elder Brother, whom he failed to succeed onely at that time for want of Age as some think, or rather because Ethelwulse by his last Will and Testament had appointed Alfred his Youngest Son to succeed, in case he survived his three Brothers. For by the Testament of Alfred himself, which Asserius

Greccagelade,

Braden.

Sect. 10. hath transmitted to Posterity, it appears that this King had some scruples in his mind, or conceived that others might have some cause to question his legal Title to the Crown. "After the Death of my Brethren (faith he) the inheritance " of King Ethelwalfe my Father devolved upon me by virtue of an Authentick " publick Writing made by him, and confirmed in a general Assembly of the "States of the Kingdom at Langdone. This Writing upon the Death of my last "Brother, Ethelred, I commanded to be freely and openly read in the Audience " of all the Deputies of the West Saxons. It being read, I required and adjured all "that were prefent, as they loved me to declare fincerely whether they knew " or had heard of any others who could justly claim any Right in this mine In-"heritance, for I my felf did not know any. This Adjuration I again repeated in these words. " I beseech you my dear Friends, let not any of you either out of "love or hatred to me, spare freely, to speak the naked truth: for I have no defire "or intention at all to prejudice the Rights of any of my Kinimen in the least "matter. When I had thus fpoken, then all the Nobles and Princes of my People with a ferious protestation Answered. "That never any Notice had come to them of any one that had a juster Title than my felf, neither could they i-

The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain,

" magine or by any Writings Discover that any such there were.

40. Though this may feem to have relation to certain Lands left him by his Fa- quamte ther, yet is it evident from the Testament, that this was such an Inheritance as hepeoprare was to descend to all the Brothers, and the Regal Title so conjoyned with it, that quam rathe longer liver of them both by their Father's \* ordination, and their own ten meur † consent should possess it, together with the whole Kingdom, assigning such sipalyul-Lands to his Brothers Sons as were convenient for their subfiltence. He came there-nobil the fore to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Conveyance, which was both ratified by the States, and confirmed by the mutual agreement of the Brothers, yet buj belegato remove all scrupulosity this excellent Prince would have his Pretentions to be vie vip. franned, and his Title examined in another Assembly before such time as he would fipelballo, undertake the Government. However Ethelwald knowing his Title would be war- Alepe to rantable enough if he could but get fuccess to strengthen it, resolved to try his For- Imhi; ita Who fortifies tune, and for that purpose seized on two Towns, called Winburn, and Tweonam, northum northum In Winburn he fortified himself, affirming there he would live or dye; but his resolution profited him little, the memory of King Alfred having fo great a place in per rupenall the Hearts of the People, that they had no room to entertain any Inclina- ree, ille tions toward any other Pretenders to the Royal Dignity than his Son and Heir. Tothy peg-Edward affured of their fidelity, led an Army down to a place called Baddanbyrig, ni cominio not far from Winbhrn, which so affrighted his Rival, that he who had boasted of congaude-But upon the what valour and constancy he would shew in that place, fled out of it by night, fee juses

approach of wina valour and comtancy ne would new in that place, fied out of it by night, fee purp King Edward, and got him into Northumberland, where he joined himfelf with the Danifb Army, hec unugfile.

The King commanded fome to purfue him but this being in wain, he could be the control of the control The King commanded fome to purfue him, but this being in vain, he caused his quique no Wife to be feized, which being a Nun Professed without leave from the King, roum alor licence of the Bishops, he had taken out of a Monastery, and returned to the ten risem place and Profession from whence she came. This Monastery was that at Win-ripmavic? burn in Dorsetshire, where we have for merly related King Ethelred the Brother of quox qui Alfred to have been Buried. Baddanbyrig is now called Badbury, being a little Hill houring viupon a fair Down scarcely two Miles off from Winburn, compassed with a triple cam vive-Trench and Rampire. It's reported to have had a Castle which was the seat of the per quos West Saxon Kings. But if ever there were any such, it now lyes so buried in its igre ultept-Ruines that no token of it appears.

41. Edward thus drove away Ethelwald without fighting, and the Kentish Men possible per the year after at a place called Holme fought prosperoully against a multitude of Da- 7 cominia A bloudy nifh Pirates. In the mean time Ethelwald was (as fome \* Authours affirm) choice Journal and the property of the state begins to the property of the p the Danes and King by the Danes of Northumberland, who deposed their King Osbert. † Matthew nant. of Westminster writes, that from Northumberland he passed the Seas into France, pracen ilthere to strengthen himself by the addition of a greater Force, (of Normans, as we lam paper may very well conjecture) who being of the same original with the Danes, had tem quam by this time obtained Neuftria to inhabit, a confiderable Province of that King-ucenque dom. The year after returning into England with an Army he thereto joined a normum great number of Pagans, inhabiting Northumberland, East England, and other number of pagans, inhabiting Northumberland, East England, and other numbers. Places, and then invading Mercia with Fire and Sword, destroyed all things he vit. met with. A later Writer tells us, he drew into his Society Eric the Successour \* Haveden of Gutbrun the Dane, in the Kingdom of the East Angles, a Prince whose malice tad ann you to the Nation of the English was most deadly. Huntingdon mentions his first landing in Effex, and subduing that Countrey without delay; to which

the Annals bear witness, but place his return from beyond the Seas, in the Sect. 10. third year after his flying into Northumberland. In the following year he gathered together his Forces in East England, and wasted the Territories of the Mer-DCCCCIV. red together his forces in East England, and water the Peritones of the Merical Color and Color turned. King Edward with what force he could make made as much hafte as racing of the possible after them, and laid waste all their grounds lying betwixt the Ditch and Joran & the River Ouse, as far as the Northern Marshes. Thinking fit thence to return, he mis pay he gave orders that all the Army should Dislodge, and March together. But on eare &the Kentilb Men notwithstanding seven several messages he sent to them, staid be-axe 7 hind, which delay of theirs, and feparating the King's Forces, encouraged the Danes to Calliona give them Battel, which was very bloudy, many Men falling on both fides; the King, long beloft Sigulf, and Sigelm Earls, Eadwold his Minister, Cenwulf an Abbat, besides Sigebyrht tpeoh 61and Eadwold the Sons of two Noblemen. Of the Danes, befides great numbers of cum 7 julower Rank, died Eoliric their King, and Ethelwald a Nobleman, the authour of this ran eal op-War : Birhtsiger, Isop Hold, and Oskitel Hold. On both sides a great slaughter was ra rennar made, but a greater of the Danes though they continued Master of the Field.

42. There being no better way both for understanding and remembring of History than a knowledge of the places where eminent Actions have happened; it will be the Readers Interest and Delight to have a brief Account of such Names Cpecca. of Towns, and other places he meets with, especially being in his own Countrey, gelate. The Town of That place by the Annals called Creclagelade, by Marianus and others Crecklade, is that Town standing in the North Part of Wiltshire, watered with the Thames,

known by the Name of Greeklade, which Name forfooth fome believed it to have received from certain Greek Philosophers, who as the History of Oxford reporteth began there an University, which afterwards was translated to Oxford. That they call Brædene is Breden Wood, now Breden Forest, which beginning at Wotton (that is Wood Town) Basset not far from Greeklade, stretched it self-

far and wide. As for Dike, betwixt which and Oufe King Edward wasted all the Countrey, it's the same with that which the People call Devil's Dike, and cuts overthwart the Plain of Newmarket in Cambridgeshire so many Miles together. Those great and long Ditches which are seen in those Parts were (most probably) cast by the East Angles to restrain the Mercians who with their sudden Inrodes were wont to waste and spoil all before them. The first of them begins at Hinkeston, and runs Eastward by Hildersham toward Horsheath, about five Miles in length. The fecond called Breutditch near to the former, goes from Melburn by Fulmire. Another there is which begins at the Eastern Bank of the River Cam, and runs by Fenn Ditton (or more truly Ditch Ditton, faith Cambden, fo named of the very Ditch ) between great Wilberham and Fulburn, as far as Balfham. It's now commonly called Seven Mile Dike, because it's seven Mile from Newmarket, but anciently it had the Name of Fleam Dike, that is in Old English,

Flight Dike, of some memorable flight which there happened.

43. More Eastward from hence within the Countrey is to be seen the fourth Fore-fence or Ditch, meant by the Annalsthe greatest of all, with a Rampire adjoyning; which the common People out of Admiration of its greatness, as the work of Devils and not of Men, use to call Devils Dike; but others Rech Dike, of Rech a little Town where it begins. Above Rech the County is fenny, and was therefore impaffible where it lay open to Excursions, there this Dike begins, and ends near to Cowlidge, where the Passage by reason of Woods, was more cumbersome. It was the limit aswell of the Kingdom as of the Bishoprick of the East Angles, but the Authour of so great a piece of work is unknown. Some later Writers mention King Cnute the Dane, but besides what here the Annals say of this Battel, Abbo Floracensis who Died before Cnute was King of England describeth it, together with the fite of East England. Such as wrote fince the time of Cnute have termed it St. Edmund's Limit, and St. Edmund's Dike; verily thinking that Coute cast it up, who being most devoted to that King and Saint, granted to the Monks of St. Edmunds Bury, to make fatisfaction for the cruelties exercised by Swane his Father upon them, very great Immunities even as far as this Dike. Certain it is that the two Fore-fences last mentioned were called St. Edmund's Dikes. And therefore Marthew of Westminster (which the Reader may observe) hath written, that the Battel betwixt King Edward and Ethelwald was fought between the two Dikes of St Edmund. Lastly, by Ouse must be meant Ouse the Greater, a River which disporting it felf with manifold Branches and Divisions, separateth Cambridgesbire from Norfolk. This is the nearest Ouse to the Dike: for Ouse the Less

Sect. 10. separateth (together with the River Waveney) Norfolk from Suffolk. As for Ouse or Isis which joineth with Tame, and makes the River Thames?; Ouse in Torkshire, or others (for this is a common Name of Rivers aswell as Avon, and therefore in British is thought to have fignified a River or Water in general, aswell as it) they can have no relation to the matter in hand.

44. To purfue our ftory, whatever was the Success of this Battel it seems to have produced this effect, that in the fecond year after a Peace was concluded betwixt the King and the Danes of East England and Northumberland, at a place called Ittingaford, which lasted for the space of three years. Then was it broken, the Annals fay not by whom first, but Hoveden lays the fault upon the Danes, who he fays prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he fent an Army of West Saxons, and Mercians into Northumberland, where staying five weeks, it made a great devastation, and having killed very many of the Danes, compelled them to renew the Peace they had lately broken. But this Peace the Annals broke by the tell us they broke again the year following invading Mercia, where, as write Danes to their Hoveden and Florent of Worcester, they were met by the English at Teotenhale or own Destruc-Tetnal in Staffordshire, and overthrown. King Edward was then in Kent, and had got together about an hundred fail of ships, besides such as being sent to the Southward, met him at Sea. The Danes imagining that he had shipt the main of his Forces, took liberty to rove up and down whither hope of booty led them, beyond Severn. King Edward fent before the lightest of his Army, to entertain them, till he himself could be ready to come. Then following with the main Body, he set upon them in their return at Cantbridge or Cambridge in Glocester-Body, he fet upon them in their feeth as the state of the state of them a very great defeat. The Annals relate, that many thoulands of them were flain together with Exuls their King; but Huntingdon the state of th mentions two Kings, viz. Haldene and Eolwulfe, besides Other a Consul as he pen on br

calls him and eight other Noblemen, whose Names are harsh and without any loss geape ymb to the Reader may be omitted.

Ethered his

Brother-in-

45. The year that followed died Ethered the Earl or Duke of Mercia, the Bro-marjan ther-in-Law of King Edward, who hereupon took into his Hands the Cities of net Cabther-in-Law of King Edward, with the Territories thereto belonging. The year after about pape Cyng
\*\*Martinmas he caused to be built the Northern Borough of Hartford, betwick exceptions

\*\*Martinmas he caused to be built the Northern Borough of Hartford, betwick except panophan Edwardisem- Memeran, Benefican and Ligean, and afterwards in Summer betwixt the Rogati-bunh 200 ployed in buil on days and Midfummer, he marched with his Army to Mældune in Effex, peopotrop pairing feve. and there lay incamped while his Souldiers built the Town of Witham. At this ba betneox a good Part of the Countrey formerly subject to the Danes, submitted themselves memenan to his Authority, and in the mean time another Part of his Army built the other Benerican Borough of Hartford, on the South fide of the River Ligean now Lea. But 1 Lygean 7 whereas the Annals talk of building these Boroughs of Hartford, the Reader must Joa apten know that that Town which gives name now to the whole shire, was much more on rumena ancient, being found in some Copies of Beda, called † Herudford (which some interpret the Red Ford, others the Ford of Harts) where he treateth of the Synod there gang caholden in the year of our Salvation, five hundred and seventy. Therefore by sum 7 misbuilding fome Houses, must be onely meant repairing of the Town. Or chiefly sum rumethe Caltle is to be understood, which standing upon the River Lea, tradition re- pa. ha for ported to have been built by Edward the Elder, as inlarged afterward by the comme min House of Clare, to which it belonged. By Memeran and Benefican are meant two rumum by Rivolets, which scarcely a Mile off from the present. Hartford, increase the pulsume ftream of Ligean or Lea, Benefican is guessed to be that on which standeth Be- on eart Senington, and Memeran the other Brook on which Puckerich is seated. Mældune is axe to that we now called Maldon in Essex upon the River Chelmer, even the same with Onelsune. the famous Roman Colony Camalodunum, which many Ages fince adorned that the lift lift lift. It flore. Witham is that now called Whitham, in the fame County, a fair Thorough. In Cambras. fair, a Mile distant from Easterford, and as much from Blackwater.

46. The year that followed faith Huntingdon, but in the fourth year after say impellified.

Annals, Easter being past the Danes from Northampton and Linaurally impellified. the Annals, Faster being past, the Danes from Northampton and Ligeracester, or russord in ca Leiceffer, broke the Peace by an Inrode made into Oxford/hire, where they com- pite the national Rapine and made great flavolters of all shows your while crash Danish and produce the national life. mitted all Rapine, and made great flaughter of all they met, while another Par-rudgedia Re-Danes for their ty with worse success sell into Hartfordsbire, where the Inhabitants now taking gi Alfredo Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove Interpretable Courage, and such allarms stoutly resisted them. them back and recovered the booty they had taken, withall making themselves people Masters of their Horses. In the mean time Ethelsteda the King's Sitter, and Re-people 7 lict of Ethered the Duke of Mercia, having the charge of this Countrey be-heonorhaved herfelf, as she had done all along in her Husband's Life time, with such popea. Courage

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edward

Courage and Conduct as she became a great help to her Brother in his Wars, and Sect. 10. floutly defended all those that were under her Care. But the Britains who were Neighbours to the Mercians, disdaining to be curbed by a Woman, were so bold The Queen of as to make some Incursions into the English Pale. She to divert and chastise the Britains them, fent a Party into Wales, which easily routed the Welsh, took the Castle of taken by E. then, tent a raity into rraies, which early four other confiderable Captives, brought away. to Edward. Prisoner that King's Wife into Mercia: By this Bricenameer is to be understood, that we now call Brecknockmeer, a Lake of standing water two miles from the Town of Brecknock. Marianus Scotus witnesseth that this Lady in the year DCCCCXIII, entring into the Land of the Britains, wone by affault a Castle at Bricenaumeer, and there took Prisoner the Wife of the King of the Britains. But whether this Castle was Brecknock it self, or Castle Dinas, which standeth over it upon a Rocky Hill, which the higher it rifeth, the flenderer and smaller it becometh, is not certainly known, faith Mr. Camden. But forafmuch as Dinas in the British Tongue fignifies a Palace, and that the Queen of these Britains was here taken Prisoner, I judge it next door to certainty, that this was the Cas-

tle whereof we write.

47. But this Virago not onely took Castles and Towns from the Enemy, but is exceedingly celebrated by all Writers, so many she either repaired or built within Her Buildings, the English Territories. Hoveden gives us a list of them, with the time of their building or repairing, which as a memorable piece of Antiquity, we are obliged not to omit. In the year DCCCCV. by command of her and her Husband Ethered that City faith he which in British is called Karlegion, and Legacestre in the Saxon Tongue, was re-edifyed. Now there were two Cities in Britain, which the Saxons called by the Name of Ligecestre, from being the Seats of Roman Legions as is thought, though many others for the fame reason might have had that Name, one of the Coritani, which we now call Leicester, and another belonging to the Cornavii, and a Roman Colony which we still (retaining the later part of the word ) call Westchester, and simply Chester. Mr. Camden was of opinion, that vicessima victhe Town repaired at this time was Leicester, which Ethelsteda he faith strongly rice. walled about. But we cannot agree with him in this point, because both Hoveden and Florent of Worcester, fay it was that Legacestre, which the Britains called Caerleon or Caerlegion, by which Name they never called Leicester, but if we give credit to their great Antiquary, Humphry \* Lhuyd by that of Caerbeir, \* Fragment. whencesoever the Saxon Name of Legecestre was taken, which might first be gi-f.21. b. ven it upon some other account than that of a Legion, or rather one but like unto † it. It's evident enough, that at the time when those Authours wrote, it had not + In Annalithe Name of Caerleon, but that Chefter had is most certain, and that first by bus scribitur. way of Excellency, then alone by it felf, the Names of other Places being chan-Lygena ged, as of that City which from Caerwtheling, by reason of the Roman Legions ha-Cearche. ving changed its Name to || Caer Lheon, afterwards from a Noble Britain that re- | Idem ibid. paired it, received that of Caergwayr, and by the English is called Warwick. But belides this reason from the Name, another as strong may be setched from the Place. Her repairing and building of Towns was not accidental, but as the Exigency of Affairs required, so as the Countrey might be secured against the Danes and Britains. Now there could not be so great need for Leicester to be reinforced as for Cheffer, which as fome fav by the Invafions of the Danes had been destroyed, besides it was a Frontier Town, and a mighty curb against the treacherous and

inconstant Welsh, if such they were indeed as our Writers would make them. 48. In the year DCCCCIX, on the fecond of the Nones of May, the marched with an Army to a place called Sceargete, and there built a strong Castle, and thence to Brige feated on the West side of the River Severn, where she caused another to be erected. The year following, at the beginning of Summer the went with her Mercians to Tamvirting and repaired the City. Florence of Worcester calls the Place Tamewordin; Marianus Tamawordia, but Matthew of Westminster more truely Thameworth, being the same with Tamworth in Staffordshire, situate upon the River Tame, whence it hath part of its Name, and the other half from the Saxon word peop 8, which fignifies a Farm-House, as also an Holme or River Island, any place incompassed with water, as in Germany Keyserwert and Bomelswert, betoken asmuch as Cæsar's Isle, and Bomel's Isle. As long as the Kingdom of the Mercians continued, this was one Place of the King's Residence, a Town of great resort and very well frequented. Hoveden proceeds and tells us, that in the year DCCCCXI, the Huntingdono built a City called Eadesbyrig, and in the end of Autumn another called Warwick. Wirengenia Eadesbyrig, as feveral others, was fome obscure place; as for Warwick, it must not

Sect. 10. by any means be granted that she built it anew, rebuild it she might, as one writes, that it is much bound to her because she repaired it when it was greatly decayed. It was an old Town by the Saxons called pappingpic, but by the Britains Caerguarvic and Caerleon, as we lately hinted from Guarth, which in British fignifies a Garrison, and from the Roman Legions. For this was their Prasidium, or Garrison Town standing in the middle of the Countrey, as Prasidium in the Island of Corfica stood in the middle of that Island. These are such as Hoveden relates her to have built or repaired. Matthew of Westmiuster adds, that she went to Stanford, and there on the Northern Bank of the River Weiloand repaired a Tower. That the same year wherein she built Eadesbyrig (which he calls Jadesbyri) she built another Town called Wartham. That the year following, she erected three more, viz. Cherenburck, Weadburck and Runcofe (now Ruckhome in Huntingdong Cheshire, brought by mutability of time to Cottages ) to which some add Stafford, Cereburk, Wardship

Litchfield and Shrewsbury. 49. What Matthew ascribes to her concerning Stanford, Marianus attributes to her Brother King Edward, writing that he built a Castle but it was just over against the Town on the Southern Bank, as the Annals also affirm, which now is called Stanford Baron, of which yet at this day there appeareth not the least token. Weadelbucrh is now Wedsborough a Town in Staffordshire. But as for Stafford it felf, it's ancienter than fo being called Betheney, before it had the Name of Stafford, but a Castle was here built about the year of our Lord DCCCCXIV, on the South Bank of the River Sow, which Marianus attributes to King Edward himself, which might be, because in his Reign it was erected. Lichfield was also ancienter, being by Beda called Licidfeld, which one interprets the Field of dead Bodies, from a Number of Christians which were there martyred under the Persecution of Dioclesian. And as for Shrewsbury, whensoever and by whomsoever it was built, it rose from the Ruines of old Vriconium now called Wroxester, which being an ancient City of the Romans fell to decay in the Saxon and Danish Wars. Some four Miles from it arose that we now call Shrewsbury, in old time Pengwern, that is the Head of an old Alder, or and high Plat of Ground planted with Alders, in which sence by the Saxons termed Scrobbesbyrig from its being a thicket of Shrubs upon an Hill. It was the feat of the Petty Kings of Powis Lhund in fometime, and when taken out of the Hands of the Britains might be new for Fragment f. tifyed and repaired, which our Builders to aggrandife the Act of this Heroical 22.5. Lady call Builderig. For this is observed of her, that such Places as were repaired by her were such as by her Valour and Conduct, were formerly wrested by her out of the Hands of the Enemy. But that we may conclude this story of this Lady all together, the year after she had taken the Castle of Brecknock from the Britains, a little before August she set upon the Town of Derby then in the

Hands of the Danes, took it by storm, after that they refused Battel in open Field,

and then subdued all the Countrey round, though with the loss of four of her choicest Officers who were slain at the Entry of the Gate. Huntingdon adds that

after this Victory she conquered Leicester with the greater part of the Danish Army that lay in these parts, as also that those of Tork promised submission, and

all good deportment. After this Convention, this most prudent Virago to be

preferred before the ancient Amazons in the opinion of Ingulphus, died at Tamworth

twelve days before the Feast of St. John, in the eighth year of her Government of

Mercia, and was buried in the Porch of St. Peter in Glocester by her Husband.

Huntingdon farther writes, that she was reported to have been a Woman of so great

Power, that by fome the was not onely called Lady and Queen, but King alfo,

out of admiration at her worth. She left one onely Child, a Daughter named

Alwina ( or Algina ) for it's faid that abhorring the pains of Childbirth after she was born, the would never more accompany with her Husband. To which palage Ingulphus adds, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortified,

and the Armies she managed, one would have thought she had changed her Sex.

Dies.

After whole Matthew of Westminster tells us, she made her Daughter her Heir ( of her Kingdeath Edward dom he terms it ) but King Edward so far understood his interest, that within a

year he fent for his Niece into Wellex, and seized Mercia into his own Hands. 50. That we may now return to him. The year after that Derby was taken, a new Fleet of Danes from the Southward arrived at Lidwic in Devonshire under Annal. ed An. Conduct of two Captains, called Ottor and Roald. Sailing Westward about the Decectaville Lands end, they entered the mouth of the Severn; where landing, they wasted the North Welsh Coast, and coming to Ircingafelda, they there took Cameleac a Incinga-Bishop, and carried him away to their Ships, whom afterward King Edward re-relea

deemed with forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of Hereford, Sect. 10. Glocester Shires, with others out of other Cities opposed their Progress and put them to flight, killing their Captain Roald, with the Brother of Otter and very many others. They purfued them into a Wood, where they Besieged them till they had given fecurity for departing out of the King's Dominions. The King hovered with his Army between Severn and Avon, so that they durst not touch upon those Quarters, except in a stealing manner twice by Night, and then they came short home, being all cut off, but some that by Swimming escaped to their Ships: The rest being almost all famished in a small Island, removed from place to place, till at last about Martinmas time they passed over into Ireland, this was the Issue of this Invasion, and the Countrey enjoyed a breathing time from these Calamities. Those that bore the greatest brunt of this Storm were the Herefordthire men, especially those of that part of it which from Gildenvale declining and bending Éastward, was in those days called Ircingaselda, and at this time with like variation Irchensield, but in Doomsday Book Archenseld, which Book signifies that certain Revenues by an old Custome were there assigned to one or two Priests, on condition that they should go on Embassies for the Kings of England into Wales. And whether it was in memory of their Sufferings and Service in this Inroad of the Danes, the faid Book hath this farther Observation: The Men Arcenfeld whenfoever the Army marcheth forward against the Enemy, by a Custome make the Vaunt Guard and bring up the Rere in their Return.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edward.

51. The Pirates being gone, King Edward to secure himself better from the Attempts of their Countrey men who lived about the Shires of Buckingham and Bedford, and still were ready to joyn with any fresh Gamesters, led his Army to Buckingham, where he staid an whole Month, and gave order for raising Forts on each fide of the River Oufe. This it feems to startled the Danes that judging that they could not now doe better, feveral of them submitted themselves, as Thurcytel an Earl, together with most of the considerable men about Bedford, and many of them that belonged to Northampton. This obliged him the following year to He forces the go down to Bedford, which foon yielded it felf to him whither then repaired fuch

Danes in Bucks as had been formerly on his fide. Here he also staid a Month and took care for and Bedford building a Burb, as the Annals call it, on the Southfide of the River Ouse which Townelet, as the best Copies of Hoveden have it, was in the Saxon times called Mickelgate. The year following, somewhat before Midsummer, he went again to Maldon, where he built another Burh and fortified the Town, and in this year Thurcytel finding he was like but to have a small Trade here, where the King so minded his business, got leave to carry over some men into France, where he knew his Countreymen might find him employment. And the King followed on his business indeed. The next year before Easter Holydays he went to Tofacester, which he caused to be fortified, and about Rogation Week caused a place called Wiggingamere to be built and strengthened. That Tofacester is now the Town called Torcester in Northamptonshire, in the Roman times Tripontium, from three Bridges made over fo many Chanels, into which the little River divideth it felf. Marianus names it Toucester, writing that it was so fortified in the year of our Redemption DCCCCXVII, that the Danes by no means could win it by Aslault, and that King Edward the Elder afterwards incompassed it with a stone Wall. Yet now no Tokens of any fuch Wall appear. Onely there's an Artificial Hill remaining, which they call Beryhill, turned into Private Gardens. Wiggingamere is now called Wigmore a Town of Herefordshire, not far from the River Lug. 52. While Edward was busied about the Fortifications of Wigmore, the Danes of

Northampton and Leicester not being well pleased to find themselves curbed with fo many strong Towns, laid Seige to Torcester. For a whole day they belaboured it, but it standing stifly out till Supplies came to them, they went their ways by Night, but were pursued and surprized betwixt Burnwood and Eglesbyrig or Aylesbury, where many of them were taken with the loss of much of their Baggage. Several Skir- Much at the fame time the Danes of Huntingdon, not judging their Castle convenithe Danes and ent enough demolished it, and being affished by those of East England built another at Temesford as more opportune, from whence to make their Excursions. They went also to Bedford with intention of recovering that Town, but the Garrison issued out repulsed and slew a great part of them. After this a greater Army was raised both out of East England and Mercia, which went and laid Siege to Wigmore, plundering the Countrey round about, but after a days tryal the Defendants obliged them to rife and be gone. Hereupon many of King Edward's Friends about these parts gathered themselves together and uniting their Forces went and Befieged

Sect. 10. Besieged Temsford, which they took by Assault, therein slew their King together with Toylea and Mannan his Son both Earls, his Brother and all the rest they could find, for they peremptorily stood it out against them. This Temsford is a Town in Bedfordsbire standing upon the confluence of Ouse and another Brook which some call Ivel. Provoked or incouraged by the example of their Countreymen the men of Kent, Surrey and Effex, and several out of other places went and laid fiege to Cohne Ceaffer or Colchester, and so pertinacionsly carried on I poponto their Assault that they took it, and put all they found therein to the Sword, expenses the control of the Colnecest the Colneces the Colnecest the Colnecest the Colnecest th

cept fuch as had the good hap to escape over the Walls.

53. Hereat many Danes both inhabiting the Countrey and the Port Townsmuch allarmed gathered themselves together, and being prevented as to the Relief of Colchester pleased themselves with the hope of revenging the Injury received upon Maldon, but the Inhabitants held out till relief came, which so discouraged the Befiegers that they drew off, but in their Retreat were purfued, and many thoufands of them flain, Pirates and others, by those that they hoped to have devoured. King Edward being jealous of all their Countreymen hasted this very Summer with an Army of West Saxons to a place called Pæssanham, so called from passing over the River, now Pætham, a little distant from Stony Stratford, where he continued till Torcester was incircled with a stone Wall. This had such influence upon the Danes of these Quarters, that Thurserth an Earl with the Lords of the Towns thereabout, and all their Army as far as Hampton North of Weolind came and fubmitted themselves unto him. Now the King's Army defired to re- 7 eal reheturn home, yet part of it was ordered to Huntingdon, where it repaired the Town pe de to and repaired fuch Breaches as the King had formerly made, upon fight whereof bamcune Most of the all the People of those Parts submitted, desiring the King's Protection. Then hypne nonwith his West Saxon Forces this very year before Martinmas did he march to pob peolub. fwear obedi- Colchester, which Town he repaired and fortifid at what time the People of East ence to King England and West England living under the Danes, together with the Danish Army in East England, sware obedience to him, as well hy Sea as by Land fully to obferve his Commands. Those of them also that lay at Grantbrig took the same Oath

as he had commanded. The year following wherein died his Sifter Ethelfleda, betwixt Rogation Week and Midfummer he went to Stanford, where, fay the An-

nals on the Southern fide he built a Castle, whereupon all such asheld that on the

other lide, submitted themselves to him as their Lord.

54. By her death all Mercia, as we faid, fell unto him and willingly submitted, and about the same time Howel, Cledanc and Jeothwell the perty Kings of North Wales with all the Northern Britains, put themselves under his Dominion. After this he visited Notingham, which he repaired, and therein placed both English and Danes, of both which Nations, all inhabiting Mercia, now became his Subjects. To purfue and complete his good Fortune, the next year he went down with an Army to Thelwall in Cheshire, where he took care for the building and fortifying of the Town. The Annals onely tell us fo much, but Matthew of Westminster tells us the reason of the Name, which came from the Bodies of Trees (the Boughs being cut off) fast set in the ground, wherewith he senced it round: For the Saxons in their Language called the Trunks or Bodies of Trees, Thel, and Wall as we name it at present. While he staid at Thelwall he sent for another Party of Souldiers out of Mercia, and ordered them to Manige Ceastre in Northumberland Manchester. to repair and Man it. This Manige Ceastre is Manchester in Lancashire said to be in Northumberland, for that this Countrey, as well as others, North of Humber were formerly under the same Kings. Lying so as it doth, it seems to have been quite destroyed in the Danish Wars, wherein because the Inhabitants demeaned themselves like very valiant men, their successours will have their Town to have been called Manchester, that is, as they expound it, The City of Men; in which conceit they wonderfully please themselves. And so they should for me. But one Camdon in already has told them that Mancunium was the Name of it in the time of the Britains and Romans, so that the Etymology thereof out of our English Tongue, can The reason of by no meens seem so much as probable. He derives it rather from Main a British word, which fignifies a Stone; because upon a Stony Hill it is seated, and beneath the very Town at Colyhurst there are very excellent and famous Quarries.

Thelmall

whence fo

55. The next year King Edward to secure all about him went down with an Army to Notingham, where he ordered a Borough to be built on the South fide of the River right over against, and a Bridge to be made for entercourse betwixt them. Thence he marched as far as into the Territories of the Pists, to a place called Bedecanwyllan, where he commanded a Town to be built and firongly forti-

fi'd. Now did the King of the Scots submit unto him as his Lord and Sovereign, Sect. 10. together with the Scotish Nation it self, Reginald the Son of Eadulf, and all the the Score and fereral others Inhabitants of Northumberland, English and Danes, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as also the King of the Streatgledwalli with all his Subjects. These are the great Atchievements of King Edward, as they are summarily laid down by the Annals, which speak his Power so great, that no King before him extended his Dominions to fuch a Proportion. By another we are told that as it were Malmesh. to complete his Felicity, a little before he died he reduced to obedience the Inha-

bitants of Chefter and the Countrey about it, who having conspired with the

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neighbouring Britains, had attempted to shake off the Yoke; but he by his diligence prevented the joyning of their Forces, and by his Courage and the terrour of his Name, constrained them again to submit themselves. In so great glory he died in his Return toward his ancient Province of the West Saxons at Faverdon a Town of Berkshire, where for the most part he kept his Court, after he had reigned four and twenty years. 56. He was well nigh as happy in his Issue as in the course and success of his

Government, yet not so happy in that of his first Wise because he knew not cer-

The King of

tainly how to call their Conjunction a Marriage. Concerning their Acquaintance and first meeting together, besides the Monk of Malmesbury, John Brompton the Abbat of Jornual relates, That in the Reign of King Elfred when his Son Edward was young, there was in a certain Village of the West Saxons the Daughter of a Shepherd called Edgina, who falling afleep dreamed that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright that all England was inlightened by the splendour of it. The Dream she told to a certain grave Woman that had been Nurse to several of the King's Children. She thereupon takes her into her House and brings her up as carefully and tenderly as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her so to demean her felf as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of time it happened that Prince Edward, the King's Eldeft Son, passing upon some occasion thorough this Town, thought himself obliged in honour and good nature to visit his Nurse, which as he did he got sight of this Maid, being exceeding beautifull, and fell paffionately in love with her. By his importunity he got her confent to lie with him, and by one Nights lodging she became with Child, which proving a Son in respect to the Mothers Dream, the Father gave him the Name of Athelstan, which fignifieth the Most Noble. Some call this Woman his Wife, (he might be Married to her afterwards) and others reckon that Lady for his first, whom he Married afterward. However by her he had another Son named Alfred, who died several years before his Father, and a Daughter called Editha Married to Sithric the Danish King of Northumberland. So some write: but Malmesbury calls his fecond Son Ethelward, begotten of Elsteda Daughter of Earl Ethelin, a Prince very well learned and much resembling his Grandsather Alfred both in Countenance and Disposition, but he died presently after his Fa-

57. By this Elfredahis (first or second) Wife, besides this Ethelward, whom His Islue by fome call Elsward, he had a second Son named Edwin, and a third called Gregory, as some write, who forsook the world and became an Hermite; of Daughters good store. As first Edsteda, who became a Nun in the Monastery of Rumsey, Egwina, called also Edgitha and Edgina, married to Charles the Simple, King of France, Son of Ludovicus Balbus, and Grandson of Charles the Bald, whose Daughter, as we faid, Ethelwulf married in his return from Rome; Ethelhilda who was never married; Ethilda married to Hugh the Great Count of Paris, to whom she bore Hugh Capet, afterwards King of that noble Countrey; Edgitha and Elgina, both which their Brother Athelftan fent over to Henry Emperour of Germany, who bestowed the first on his own Son Otho, afterwards Emperour, and the second on a certain Duke, whose Territories lay near to the Alpes. This numerous Offspring he had by his Wife Elfleda. By his last Wife Edgina, he had two Sons, Edmand and Edred, who both of them came to be Kings, as we shall see; and two Daughters, viz. Eadburga, who became a Nun, and Edgina a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, bestowed in marriage by her Brother Ethelstan, upon Ludouic Prince of Aquitain. His Daughters he so brought up, as in their Infancy they all were taught to reade and write, and then to use the distaff and needle; by fuch employments to pass the time of their unripe Virginity: his Sons in such a manner, that first they might be fully accomplished with Learning, and afterward come not rude and ignorant, but like fo many Philosophers, to publick business, as the Monk of Malmesbury words it.

58. Of

Sect. 10. Erbelwald

Atheistan

58. Of his Sons, Ethelward died a few days after his Father, and by his death, made way for the Succession of Athelftan, who though the eldest, and legitimated as it were by the after marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtained the Crown, by reason of the great love and esteem which was born to Ethelward, as well for his own Learning and Vertues. as for the great resemblance he bore to his Grandsather King Alfred. He being dead, and the rest of the Sons of Edward being too young for so weighty an employment; Athelftan by confent of all the Nobility was chosen King, and Crowned at the Royal Town or Village (as Malmesbury tells us) called Kingston, not Apud Resiand the Royal Town or Villam que without the foredefignment of his Father in his last Will and Testament, who words without the foredefignment of his Father in his last Will and Testament, who might possibly guess that his Son Ethelward would not be long lived. He was Kingson Canow about thirty years of Age. By his own pregnancy and care of his Parents. TOWALLES. he had arrived at very confiderable qualifications of mind, fuitable to his weighty Employment. For Alfred his Grandfather is faid to have presaged to him a lucky Reign, being much enamour'd of him for his great towardness and the extraordinary elegancy of his Features. When he was very young, he conferred on him the dignity of Knighthood, by investing him with a purple Robe, a Belt adorned with Gems, and a Sword of the Saxon Fashion, inclosed in a golden Scabbard. He caused him to be educated in the house of his Daughter Ethelsleda, the Wife of noble and valiant Ethelfrede, that by the instructions and example of so great Captains ( fuch we may term them both ) he might by degrees be trained up in such actions as might render him sit for that good Fortune and Condition. which the hopes conceived of him did portend. Accordingly after his Fathers and Brothers, he was Crowned King at Kingston upon Thames, a Town as some have written, formerly called Moreford, and standing upon a flat ground, subject to the Inundation of the *Thames*, which caused it to be removed thither, where now the present Kingston stands. The Kings of the West Saxons now found it their interest, being Monarchs of the English Nation, to remove their Seat into these Quarters, not so much in respect to London ( which for opulency and multitude of its Inhabitants, had not been all along these Saxon times so considerable, but fustained great Calamities by Fire) as to the Invasions of the Danes, which were frequently made up the River Thames, and to be nearer to the East Angles, amongst whom these Rovers had fixed themselves. Therefore Athelstan, and after him Ed-At Kinglion, win and Ethelred, were openly Crowned Kings at this Town; which from them took the name of Kingston.

A conspiracy conspired with his Complices to lay hold of him in the City of Winchester, and to

to his Domi- he might lay claim, faith our Authour, both by an ancient Right, and a new Al-

put out his eyes. But the Plot was happily discovered, and Alfred it seems denying it was fent to Rome, there to purge himfelf before that Bilhop, where coming ing it was fent to Rome, there to purge himfelf before that Bilhop, where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. Peter, he fell down, and being carried dan Donais by his Servants to the English School, there died the third night after. The Pope nis Monassier. would not dispose of his Body, but sent to ask the advice of Athelstan what should his body, be done with it, whether it was to be buried amongst those of other Christians, per islams. The Nobility and the Relations of Alfred, earnestly desired that it might be be begam stellthe modified and the relations of Affred, earlierty defined that it might be be again that the finant spate flowed in Christian burial, to which the King affenting, and the Pope therewith familian Methods in Christian burial, to which the King affenting, and the Pope therewith familian Methods in Christian burial, to which the King affenting, and the Pope therewith familian and the Pope therewith a acquainted, it was accordingly done, and his whole Estate was adjudged confiscate nachum de for his Treason. Such good fortune had Athelstan against this homebred Enemy. Gest. Rev. In other places he found little trouble, except on the Northern fide of Humber, Angl. 126.6 Tork feized by where Inguald, one of the Danish Kings feized upon Tork, and Sithric who beyond King, fome time before had killed Niel his Brother, by force made himself Master of of the Danish Danish in Challenge The Medical States of S Davenport in Cheshire. The Monk of Malmesbury writes, that he was a Barbarian both by mind and Nation. That he was Kiniman to that Gurmund, of whom we reade so much in the Acts of King Alfred, that having proudly contemned the Power of former Kings, now humbly defired the alliance of Athelftan by Meffengers, whom he himself followed, to make good what they had prayed on his behalf. Athelftan found him fo confiderable, that he gave him in marriage his Sister Edgitha. But he enjoyed her but the space of one years, by his death giving

occasion to Athelstan, of laying Northumberland to his own Dominions, to which

59. Athelstan began his Reign in the sixteenth year of Constantine the eighth, Sirnamed Porphyrogenitus, Emperour of the East, the fixth of Henricus Auceps,

Emperour of Germany, the twelfth Indiction, A.D. DCCCCXXIV. His own de-

ferts, and the general affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all inconveniences proceeding from the condition of his Birth. One Alfred made confiderable opposition against the choice, as of an illegitimate Person, and

60. Hereupon Anilaf the Son of Sillric fled into Ireland, and Godefrid his Bro-Sect. 10: ther into Scotland, whom followed shortly after Ambassadours from the King, both to Constantine King of the Scots, and Eugenius King of the Humbrians, demanding the Fugitive to be given up, or denouncing a freedy War upon refutal. And as others fay, a War indeed he made, passing into Scotland with great Powers both by Sea and Land, where he drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as Dunfeodor and Werlermore, and by Sea as far as unto Cathness. But Malmesbury affirms, that not daring at all to displease him, without fail they came to a place called Dacor (or Dacre in Cumberland) where each delivered up himself and all his into the hands of the English King, who was Godfather to the Son of Confantine, now ordered to be Baptized in Testimony of the Accord. But for all this Godefrid escaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and with one Turfrid travelling into several Parts, at length got some Men together, and laid

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Athelstan.

Siege to Tork, the Inhabitants of which they essayed both by sair and soul means to let them in, but not prevailing they went their ways, yet were both taken shortly after and shut up in a Castle, whence they escaped by deluding their steepers. Turfrid not long after was Shipwreckt at Sea, and became a prey to the Fishes. Godefrid, endured much mifery both by Sea and Land, and at last came in the posture of a suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him, but after he had been profusely Feasted for four days together, he got him again to his Ships, grew an old Pirate, as accustomed to the water as a very Fish, in the Monk's opinion. In the mean time Athelftan demolished a Castle in Tork, which the Danes had fortified, that therein they might no longer shroud themselves. And the large Booty found in it he divided man by man amongst his Souldiers. 61. But a great tempest began to gather against him in the North-western Parts,

He invades Scotland

where Constantine the King of the Scots exasperated by the late Invasion joined with \* Analaf the Son of Sithric (others but more unprobably will have him \*Ingulablus fic. not this Son, but another of his Name who was King of Ireland, and the Isles contra quem adjacent) and drew in Eugenius the King of Cumberland, with great Forces from cum Andara (Company). feveral Nations to their Affiftence. After preparations of fome four years they plus Surici fining the Evaluated by the River Humber, and page up the Country to a place at the first quantum invade England by the River Humber, and pass up the Countrey to a place called Regis Northeamburg or Bruneford, which Cambden placeth in Glendale of Northumberland, on the Scotch Borders; Athelstan on purpose giving way, to obtain some better ret, &c. aliis advantage against them, as some write, or, as others, they being fearfull to eft Analobus Grapple with him. Analaf perceiving with whom he had to doe, puts off his t Ann. Bru-Royal Engines, and becomes a Spye in the habit of a Mulcian, attending with manbunh an Harp in his hand at Athelflan's Tent, to which Inftrument Singing, he was ea print in North fily admitted to the King's presence as one who got his living by that course of thumbria. Es life. There he made them merry till fuch time as having eaten and drank fuffi-Brunnamore and the line in th ferved him, and thereby coming to know him, after he was gone acquainted the Brunaldum King. The King blamed him for not giving timely notice, which the Souldier ex-ridge appellacused as having formerly taken in Analas's Service the Military Oath, affirming tur. that had he betrayed Analaf, he himself to whom now he was in the same Relation could have expected no more fidelity; but he advised Athelftan to remove his Tent into another place. This Advice was lookt upon as very good, and how feafonable it was very shortly appeared. A certain Bishop coming to the Camp

passed, and easily killed him with all his Followers. 62. Ingulphus (who is more to be credited than any other Historian in this matter) writes, that Anlaf though he had brought with him an infinite multitude of Danes, Norwegians, Scots and Picts, yet either out of diffidence or the craft familiar to his Nation, chose rather by night to surprize his Enemy, than fairly give him Battel in the open Field and by day light. He fell suddenly upon the Erglish, and killed the Bishop who was come but that night to the Camp, which causing a great tumult and noise, the King though a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Allarm, and putting themselves into fuch order as the furprize would give leave, by break of Day came up to the place of the flaughter, where they found the Invaders tired, and difordered by their late travel, and for want of sleep. It happened that Athelstan in person leading all the Well Saxons, light upon Analaf himfelf, and Turketul his Kinsman and Chancellour,

this night in that very place, as being pleafantly fituated, pitched his Tent. Him

Analaf, with a design to destroy the King, fell upon, being ignorant of what had

Which he

Sect. 10, who had the Conduct of the Londoners, and all the Mercians, upon Constantine the Scotish King. Their Missile weapons being quickly spent, they came to hand-Whence a ftrokes, to fight it out with Sword and Buckler. Many poor Mortals there loft their lives; the Carkasses of mean persons lay confusedly together with the slain Bodies of Kings, Death making no distinction. The dispute continuing long and most violent, by reason that the multitude of Barbarians was so great, Turketul took with him fome few Londoners whom he knew to be most valiant, and a Centurion . of the Wiccii called Singin, one of approved valour, and with them, being taller than the rest, of folid and substantial Limbs, and strongest set amongst all those London Heroes, he rushed into the throng of his Enemies, and laying stoutly about him hewed down Ranks of Men both on the right hand and on the left. He passed through the heaps of Orcadians and Picts, bearing a wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breast-plate, and falling upon the crouds of Cumbrians and Scots, at length reached Constantine himself, whom he dismounted and would have taken alive, but the Scots were fo concerned for their King that they made a very sharp Conflict about him, and many of them pressing upon a few English, especially aiming at Turketul he began to repent of his rathness, seeing no means of escaping or getting off his Priloner, when fuddenly Singin the Centurion killed Constantine, who being once slain the Scots were discouraged and retired, and the report flying about the Army, Analaf and all his Followers ran away, after an unheard-of number of Pagans was faln in the place.

63. So much Ingulphus relates concerning this Turketul the Chancellour, who was afterward Abbat of Croyland, and Predecessour in the government of that Monastery, where he left the memorial of his Secular Employment. All Authours agree that this was a most bloudy Battel, nay the bloudiest say some that ever this Island faw. Ingulf tells us, that besides Constantine five other Kings were Ceciderum for therein flain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of the inferiour fort. The Sax-quidenin ille on Annals (itrangely perplex on this fubject) fpeak of five Kings in all, and fe. firetin Cunven of Analaf's principal Commanders, of Freda a Norman, and feem to hint, Scorman that Constantine escaped home, but lost his Son in the Battel: that some of Ring alii Reges nu-Edward's Old Souldiers were here loft; but on the other fide great multitudes; mero quinque, Comitet dues which done the rest fled to their Ships, particularly Analaf to Dublin, with a small decim. Barremainder of his great Army. Malmesbury adds this circumstance, that the Bat-baris pointed was fought from Morning to Night, agrees with Ingulf that Conflantine was 1000 millioning to Night, agrees with Ingulf that Conflantine was 1000 millioning to Night, agrees with Ingulf that Conflantine was 1000 millioning to Night, agrees with Ingulf that Conflantine was 1000 millioning to Night. flain, with five other Kings, and twelve Earls. The King's loss feemed fo inconfiderable in comparison of what his Enemies sustained, that our Writers mention few particulars, yet here fell his two Kinfmen, Elwin and Athelftan, whom he caused to be Buried at Malmesbury. Whatever his loss was of Men, his gain of Reputation by this Victory was very great, as is evident from what Ingulphus hath observed for us. For the notice of it flying throughout all Christendom, all Kings Which prodefired to have him their Friend, and on any terms to make an Alliance with him. Reputation to Henry the Emperour fent Ambassadours to desire one of his Sisters in Marriage Being cour. for his Son Otho. Hugh also the King of the Franks (so he terms him) requested tod by all Prin- another for his Son. And Ludovicus Prince of Aquitain begged the like favour for

his own person. So many and so great and Royal Presents they brought along

with them as never had been formerly feen by the English Nation.

64. "Belides rich Perfumes, Gems, Horses for the Course with golden Fur-" niture, Veffels of Onyx, and other rare and most pretious things, a piece of the "Cross of Christ, and of his Crown of Thorns, both set in Chrystal; the Sword " of Constantine the Great, on the Hilt of which inclosed with Massy pieces of "Gold was fet one of the four Nails which fastened our Saviour to the Cross; "the Banner of Mauricius the Martyr, with the Launce of Charles the Great of " no small esteem amongst the Franks. King Athelstan was pleased with these Prefents; readily fent his Sifters as was defired, under Conduct of feveral of his greatest Courtiers, the chief of whom was Turketul, whom he especially employed in this affair, in respect he was his first and his chiefest Chancellour, most prudent and trusty of all he had, and for that he was near akin to the Ladies. With the Chancellour go the four Virago's to the Sea; if we look at Chastity, superiour to Diana, and if we regard Beauty, more fair than Que castination Helena, faith our Authour. By the Dukes, Earls and all other of the English No-honore Diability many rich Prefents of Jewels and Bracelets are made them. At length leaving hant, Gen-England, they fail over the Sea with a prosperous Gale, and up the Rhine they parall pulpass as far as Colein. The two Elder Sisters are put into the hands of the Empe-christant or the hands of the Empe-christant or the hands of the Empe-christant of the Hands of rour Henry, whereof the Eldest he bestowes on his own Son Otho; and the other fuperabant

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Athelstan.

upon a great Prince of his Court. Hugh the King of the Franks took the Third Sect. 10. Marrying his Sifter for his Son; and Ludovicus Prince of Aquitain Married the Fourth, the Youngest of all, and the most Beautifull. Turketul the Chancellour then having dispatched the Affairs of his Embassy, returned home, loaded with great Gifts. as were his Followers; who to the meanest Boy were highly Presented.

65. The Renown of Athelftan being fo great abroad nothing could withstand him at home, where presently after his success in the North, and his having reduced the Scots and Picts to obedience, with his Brother Edmund he invaded Wales, and with much more case brought Ludwal King thereof into Subjection. This King Ludwal is by others called Hunwal, Huwal or Houil, no Name having more various reading, and is thought to have been the same with Howel Dha, or the Good, the Son of Codel and that Great King of the Wellh, to famous for the Laws he made to Govern his Subjects. Perceiving them out of all order for want of Laws, Leges Hoeli he furnmened together out of every Kemul or Hundred of his Kingdom, both Lay- Dia (1 Boni.) men that were eminent for Authority and Knowledge, as also all Ecclesiasticks, Regis seu that by reason of their Authority bore \* Staves, or had Staves born before them, rim Wallie & aswell Archbishops, Bishops, as Abbats and Priors to a place called Guin upon secularibus su-Taff yn deud, an House he had caused to be built of white or pilled Rods for his sy MSS. deuse when he came to Hunt in the Parts of Demetia, whereupon it was called by spelman in the Name of Ty Guys. There the King and they continued all the Lent, Fashing Consilist, and Praying for a good issue of their meeting according to what he had designed P. 403. Of those that now met he chose twelve of the Laity, and a very Learned Clerk Ecclesiasticae called Blangondus to make a draught and preparative for their buliness which he authoritate would have divided into three parts. Of which the first should be the Law of baculos. his dayly Court, the fecond the Law of his Countrey, the third the Practice of both. For this purpose three Books he ordered to be made, one to follow his dayly Court, a second for the Court of Dinewr, and a third for that of Aberfran, or any of the three Parts of Cambria, viz. Guenet, Powis and Dehenbarth, which should for every matter in hand have the Authority of a Law. Cambden will have this Assembly held in the Year DCCCCXIV. a certain Manufcript written long agoe, about the Year DCCCCXXVI the History of Wales. after or about the Year DCCCCXL. fo great is the disagreement of Writers. which feems to hint that three feveral Affemblies were held, it fo long the Reign of this Howel continued. Some affirm he was not King till about the Year DCCCCXL. and Reigned not beyond DCCCCLXVIII. But the Book of Landaff makes him later, the Contemporary of King Edgar who began not his Reign till the Year DCCCCLIX: or thereabouts, in the History of whom we shall have another special occasion to make mention of this Howel.

66. To return to Athelftan. He caused all the Petty Kings of Wales, aswell Making How- as Howel their Principal (if now he Reigned) to give him a Meeting at Herether Petry ford, where under the Name of a Tribute he imposed on them a yearly Payment Kings pay him of twenty Pounds of Gold, three hundred of Silver, of Beeves twenty five thoufand, with as many Hounds and Hawks as he should demand. Moreover because in the Western Borders toward Cornwall the Britains and English dwelt confusedly together, which bred Quarrels, and many times drew the affection of the English from their Prince, he expelled all the Cornish Britains out of Exeter (which he strongly fortified) and other Parts of Devonshire, though there they had formerly dwelt in equal Right with the English, as we have formerly hinted, that the Britains were wont to dwell in some other places, especially till the great Ditch of separation made by the Mercians. To their County of Cornwall he fixed certain Limits, dividing it from Devonsbire with the River Tamara, as he bounded the other Northern Britains with the River Vaga, or the Wey. Thus dreaded at home and feared abroad he lived in repose for so much as we know for three years, and then left the World in great Glory (whatever the Scotch Writers pretend) no way eclipfed except it were by the Death of his Brother Edwin, which some report he willingly made away as one who by his legitimate Birthright would endanger that to which Possession gave him the greatest Right. The story is this. Elfred as we have already said, conspired to prevent the promo-Malmesh

An account of tion of Athelftan by putting out his Eyes, and many Complices doubtless he had Mat. Westwho gave their Names to the Enterprize. There were not wanting Sycophants to accuse Edwin of the Plot, as being the next Heir to the Crown (at least) the El-

dest Son of King Edward's second Wife, for whose take the Treason was first hatched. A Crown is commonly lined with Jealousie and Suspicion, and the apprehension of a Rival usually overpowers all obligations both of Friendship and Nature.

Sect. 10 Edwin both by word of mouth and by messengers, by Oaths and Imprecations protested his Innocence. But this would not prevail against the Whispers of Parafites who affirmed, that being driven into banishment, he would be commiserated by foreign Princes, and still more indanger the King. Therefore is such a course found out, as under the Notion of Banishment, may send him away to his long home. A ship rotten of it self, and not able to endure the violence of the Waves is found out, to the Government of which no mariners are appointed, onely he himself and his Page (or Armour-bearer) pur therein. For some time they weathered out at Sea, till the young Prince brought up tenderly, and not used to hardship being weary of his life, cast himself headlong, and so perished in the Ocean. His Servant better advised was contented to live, and making use of better fortune, landed with his Master's Boy at a place called Whit sand, not far 67. The fact was not long committed before Athelftan's Repentance began to

follow, which he is faid by a feven years penance to have testified to the World, as by the Punishment of him who was the principal Instrument in the late Trage-Which is pu- dy, and whifpered jealoufie into his Ears. This was his Cup-bearer, who upon occasion being to present a cup of drink to him, one of his Feet slipt, but by the nimbleness of the other recovering himself, he offered these words: Thus one Brother helps another. The King hearing them, and fadly calling to mind how little he himself had helped his Brother, oppressed by the Calumnies of this parasite, caused him to be put to death. This is the tale told by Malmesbury, and by Matthew the Flowergatherer who delivers it (as many other grand Improbabilities ) for a truth, whereas the former tells it as a ftory of which he himself doubteth. But Buchasan the Scotch Writer runs away with it as a certain truth, joyning it with more of the fame credit, viz. that he was the Murtherer of his Brother Edred also, and was vilely suspected to have by his contrivance brought his Father himself to a violent death, forasmuch as Writers give him the Title of Edward the Martyr. The very mentioning of these brings the other into suspicion; for that Edred survived and succeeded Athelstan next but one in the Kingdom is fufficiently known, and the other fufpicion shews the Writer both ignorant and malitious. For who but a mere stranger to English History, can imagine Edward the Martyr the same with Edward the Elder, the Father of Athelstan ? If one confider his extraordinary kindness to, and care for all the rest of his Brothers and Sifters, this will still seem more improbable; for whose sake as some will believe he abstained even from Marriage, making them his Companions in the Kingdom. His mercifulness to his very Enemies, is taken notice of by Writers who generally incline to quit him from this charge of murthering his Brother, as grounded rather upon uncertain fame and rude fongs, than upon certain or approved History. Even such as believe him Authour of the Fact acquit him from the Crime, by affirming Edwin to have practifed Treason against his Person. 68. Athelftan being dead, after he had reigned fixteen years, though the Annals

To Athelftan

give him but fourteen years and ten weeks. Eadmund his Brother a youth of eighteen years of Age, succeeded him in the thirty second year of Constantine the Bunga pape eignrean years of rige, increased film in the filmer year of to Confiant in the Engineer Eighth firnamed Porphyrogenitus Emperour of Confiant in the film of the the Ligonace Eighth firnamed Porphyrogenitus Emperour of Confiant in the film of the film of the the Ligonace Who invades Mercia. Which shows the support of the Welt, A.D. DCCCCXL. In courage he was no way inferent limit to this Brother. In the fecond year of his Reign he invaded Mercia, which shows the support of the suppo was generally held then by the Danes, and putting them out of Power, took ham ppice from them fives Cities, viz. Leicester, Lincoln, Notingham, Stanford and Darby, Scanpond where it feems they had been placed by King Edward, but at this time it was not eac security thought convenient that they should continue. For from what Simeon of Durham by. relates it should appear that he had matter of Jealousie and provocation from the Eastmuth Daves, inhabiting Northumberland, the King whereof Anlaf, from Tork, wasted common and provided the co all Southward as far as Northampton, but was met and stopt by King Edmund at peng Anal-Leicester. Here Peace was made betwist them by the Interpretation of the Arch. Leicefter. Here Peace was made betwixt them by the Intervention of two Arch- are pulphbishops, Odo and Wulstan, which was ennobled by the conversion of Anlas, to re. 7 Ey whom as the Annals witness Edmand was Godfather the fame year, who also ylcan geaa little after received Regentad, another King from the Hands of the Bithop at pe, yib Confirmation: moreover it is faid, that their Territories were bounded Northand Subduet An South by Watling Irreet. Who this Antaf should be is something uncertain, who is ther him spoken of so much heretofore or another. Huntingdon will have him, Regenoles another, not that dulid who died this ways. another, not that Anlaf who died this very year. But the Annals are rather to cyninge at be credited, which two years after call this Anlaf (now first of all) the Son bijceogs of Sithric, relating that Edmund now drove both him and Regenald the Son of hansa.

Guthferd out of Northumberland which he fubdued, and forced to fubmit to his Sect. 10

69. The year that followed King Edmund harassed Cumberland, and gave it berland, and to Malcolm King of the Scots, on condition to affift him in his Wars both by Sea gives it Made-celm King of and Land. Hitherto, though much diftressed and disturbed by their Neighbours, Scaland. The Pitts. Scots and Fuelish the applies Wells. It is this Cost and Fuelish the applies Wells. kind of State and Government, even after several of them being wearied out, had retired into Northwales, and there erected the Kingdom of Stratcluyd, which we formerly mentioned. From this time they continued under the Power of the Scots, but fell again to the Dominion of the Normans when they had conquered England, and at this day their Countrey retains the Name of Cumbri or Kumri, the same whereby the Welsh or Britains still call themselves, although the Remainders of them still inhabiting these Parts, by reason of continual Commerce

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp.

with their troublesome Neighbours, have lost the Language which onely sticks to Being affilted certain Towns and Places, not so subject to alteration. But as to this conquest of Northumberland, Matthew of Westminster gives us farther the Circumstances, that Edmund did it by affiftence of Leoline Prince of Wales, and that he put out the Eyes of both the Sons of Dunmail King of the Provinces, whom he had deprived of his Kingdom. Thus did Edmund flourish, giving hopes of still greater things to be performed by him, when in the height of the Expectations of his Friends and his own Confidence; a too venturous act cut him off, and a strange Accident deprived his People of him. The year which followed this Alteration in Cumberland he kept the Feaft of St. Augustine, with many of his Nobles at a Place which has in Writers feveral Names, but now is called Puclekerke or Puckle-Church in Gloceftershire, in memory of his first converting the English Nation. As he sate at Malmesbur. meat amongst his Guests, he espied one Leof a noted Thief, who for his Robberies had been banished fix years before. Hereat transported with Rage, he rose from the Table, ran upon him, caught him by the Hair, and pulled him to the tabbid at venged, but pulling out a short Dagger thrust it into the Breast of the King as in Glosefter. he lay upon him with all the violence he was abla

that e'er the Company could turn or imagine what the matter meant, but when it was perceived they flew upon the Murtherer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a furious wild Beaft at a Bay laid about him, and e'er he was killed, wounded fome of his Assailants. To this lamentable end came Edmund after he had reigned fix years and an half, and was buried at Glaftenbury.

70. Edmund died not without iffue Male, as we shall see hereafter, but his Sons

Edred fucceeds.

The Nor-

revolt.

being Infants, Edred his Brother, the third Brother of Athelftan, fucceeded him, and was Crowned at Kingston, in the thirty eighth year of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, the eleventh of Otho the Great, and the DCCCCXLVI. year of our Lord. The course of his Actions sufficiently shewed that he did not degenerate from his Ancestours. In his very first year he subdued all Northumberland, which ever was revolting by the practices of its petty Princes, and he fo ordered his matters by the Reputation hereby attained, that the Scots fwore obedience to him to will whatfoever he should will, as the \* Annals express it. But the Northumbrians ever \* Annals express it. unfaithfull, now also shewed the fickleness of their disposition. The Archdeacon DCCCCXLVI. of Huntingdon here talks fill of Anlaf, as that he should once more be recalled, In Scottar and Reigning four years, again be put to shift for himself. Simeon of Durham him appropriate to the state of writes of their chusing one Eric a Dane, the Son of Harald, for their King, a-nepolean gainst whom Edred entred Northumberland, and having wasted the Countrey re-eal # he turned. Eric fell upon his Rere in his Retreat, which ingaged him to face about, poloc. and prepare to Charge the pursuing Enemy; which so affrighted the Northumbrians, that dreading again to prove what they had already fufficiently experienced, they cast off *Eric*, killed *Amanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with great Presents appeafing Edred again, submitted to his Government, and quitting the Administration of their petty Kings, were thenceforth Ruled by Earls, of which one Ofulf is reported to be the first. Such is the account we have of this expedition in general, the onely particular of consequence is, that Wulftan the Archbishop of Tork sided, by Wulfam at least connived, as Malmesbury words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, Archibilitop of for which he was committed to Prison, where having continued a considerable time (but a year faith Stubbes) he was at last pardoned, and released out of respect to his coat and function. As Edred thus proceeded to equal the worth of Th. Stubber. his Predecessours, he was taken away in the flower of his Age, when he had f 1699.

Reigned some nine years and an half, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at

Winchester.

Sect. 10. 71. By this time Edwi, or Eadwig (as the Annals call him) the eldest Son of Eadric 7. Edmund, was advancing to Man's elate, and therefore now upon his Uncle's death Easys. Edwi made was admitted King, and crowned at Kinglon, in the forty feventh year of Con-

stantinus Porphyrogenitus so often mentioned as contemporary, as also the twentiof Otho the Great, in the DCC CCLV. year of our Lord. He was about fourteen years of Age, of Beauty, much above the ordinary comeliness of Men, which got him the Sirname of Pancalus or altogether Fair; which Youth and Beauty expo-Who is given fed him to the Arts and Allurements of bad people. He is generally ill spoken of, though by some his actions are not represented with that disadvantage, which particular prejudice in other writers may feem a little to have procured. By them he is reported to have given extraordinary offence by his inordinate plea-

fure on the very day of his Coronation. There was in his Court a Lady nearly allied to him, who had a Daughter far exceeding her felf in Beauty, though she was very handsome, called by the name of Algina. Mother and Daughter, by their unchaste deportment, had so infinuated themselves into his favour, that neither he could be quiet, nor any publick business be dispatched without them. The design of the Mother was he should marry her Daughter, yet is she said to have had as vehement a desire to partake of their lusts, which she often did, he being wont shamelesly to imbrace the one in the others presence. The Ceremony of the Coronation being over, the Feast was prepared, or else they fell into a serious consultation about publick matters. But the King quits the place, and without any regard to so venerable an Assembly as consisted of his Prelates and Nobles, flung away into the chamber of these women, where he cast himself upon a bed betwixt them. The Lords hereat exceedingly fretted, as they had reason, and confulted how to reduce the Youth into their company. This was undertaken by Dunstan, Abbat of Glastenbury, and Kinsi Bishop of Lichsteld, who was related to the King, and therefore chosen as one whose authority would sway the more with him. They enter the Chamber and find him in that indecent pollure; Dunstan rebukes the women, and gently reprehends the King, praying him by his absence, not to put so great an affront upon his Nobility. He sumes, they taunt and scoff, but Dunstan takes him by the hand, pulls him from them, sets the Crown upon his Head, which he had cast aside, and brings him back into the

72. The women hereat enraged to all degrees of malice and revenge, vowed to procure the ruine of Dunstan, which they to far profecuted, that the King caused all the wealth of his Monastery to be seized, and banished him into Flanders, nay wards Monks, fo great an aversion he conceived against men of his Profession, that miserable Dunthin of was the citate of Monks at that time, as William the Monk of Malmesbury affirms; who complains that his Monastery, which for two hundred and seventy years had been Inhabited by Monks, was now made a Stable of Clerks, for so he terms it. He and the Aurhour of Dunstan's Life, and this Monk are they who tell this story with such tart reflexions upon his Person, which others not so much concerned for the Monastical life, relate more indifferently. However he was a Child, and so apt to be seduced, by the pleasing allurements of women, and the conceit of his Royal Authority, which he lookt upon as uncontrollable. But Odo Is excommu- the Archbishop, is said to have excommunicated and pronounced a Divorce betwixt him and his Algina, and the People fo to have resented the affronts offered

Part of his to Religious People, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and Math Wil-Subjects rebell fet up his younger Brother Edgar, leaving to him the Kingdom of the Welt Sax-monaliterting up his ms onely, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies, Odo contented not himself with exercising his Spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off as putrid Members from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Affiftence of the Nobility, caused by force, and against the Kings will and pleasure, to be drawn out of the Court Algina the Daughter, because she did most harm to the King, and being nearer to him in bloud, was incestuously used by him as his Wife. But this feverity ended not here: they added marks of fcorn, defacing His Mistresses

her Beauty by branding her Face with an hot Iron; and they lamed her by cutting takes to heart the Sinews of her Hams, which done, they banished her into Iteland. Edwi hand ving been King four years, took these disasters to heart, and died not long after, (fome fay two years he lived after his Excommunication) and was buried in the new Monastery at Winchester.

Edgar King of 73. Edgar his Brother, a Youth of fixteen years of Age, by his Death became England. King of all England, in the one and fiftieth year of the often mentioned Conflantine Porphyrogenitus, and the twenty fourth of Otho the Great, A. D. DCCCCLIX

His Naval

No sooner was he advanced, but to serve the Interest of the Party that set him up, Sect. 10. Revokes his in an Affembly held at Branford, he revoked all the unjust decrees of his Brother, Predections took care for purfuing, taking and putting to death the Adultress of Edwi, and calls back St. for recalling Dunstan with great Glory, whom within a little time he promoted to the See of Canterbury. Concerning the Government of Edgar, Malmesbury gives us this fhort account, that not any one year is mentioned in the Chronicles, wherein he performed not fome great thing, and necessary for the good of his Countrey. Yet suffered his Kingdom no violence, either by domestick Treachery or outward Force, a flory going, that St. Dunfan at his Birth was told by an Angel, that Peace should flourish in England so long as this Boy Reigned, and as he himself should live. That this Peace and Tranquillity was not obtained by neglect and idleness, we may be sufficiently assured from his vast Naval preparations. He understood and practifed the true Interest of his Countrey, which was to give Laws, and to be Master at Sea. He was so wise as to know preventing Physick to be the best, better to hinder the Invasion of an Enemy, than suffer his own Kingdom to be the Seat of a War; which at best must bring devastation and poverty, and make the Conquerour a very great loofer by the Victory. He rigged up fuch a Fleet as for number of Vessels, may seem incredible. Every Summer, faith Malmesbury, immediately after Easter he commanded his Ships upon every Shore to be brought into a Body. He Sailed usually with the Eastern Fleet, to the Western Part of the Island; and then sending it back with the Western unto the Northern, and thence with the Northern he returned to the Eastern, being exceeding diligent to prevent the incursions of Pirates; and Courageous for the defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and the Training up of himself and

his people for Military employments. 74. Each of these Fleets we are told consisted of one thousand and two hun-

dred Ships, and these also very stout ones, so that the number of all must have amounted to three thousand and fix hundred Sail; which \* some of our Authours \* Hoveden speak expresly. But others write of four thousand Vessels, and there are that Florencius add to these three a fourth Fleet, by which means the number will be encreased wigorn. to four thousand and eight hundred Sail, as may be seen in Matthew of Westminster

and the Flowergatherer. To fustain this charge, besides the private Contributions of his Subjects (of which we shall hereafter more conveniently speak) he had Eight petty Kings, who being his Fiduciary Clients or Vassals, were bound to him by Oath to be ready at his Command, and serve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at Chefter, where he had given them order to meet him, as he Sailed about the North of Britain with a great Navy. Their Names are Kened or Kineld, King of the Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland (who at this time it feems hath this Name, though as we faid the Cumbrians had thrown off that Title, and taken the other of Earls as more modest) Macquie of the Isles, and five of Wales, the Names of whom were Dufval, Griffith, Huual, Jacob and Judethil. Having these then altogether at his Court at Chester, to set forth the Splendour and Greatness of his Dominion, he went one day into a Gally, and caused himself to be rowed by the petty Princes, he himself holding the Stern, and steering the Boat about the River Dee: Waited on by all his Dukes and Nobles in another Barge, he Sailed from the Monastery of St. John Baptist, where an Oration being made to him, in the same state and pomp he returned to his Palace. Here when he Arrived, he is faid to have told those about him, that then his Successous might boat themselves Kings of England, when by so many Kings they should be so attended, and Arrive, as Malmerbury expresses, at such a Precogative of Honours. As for these Princes, Macressus by Florent of Worcester, and Hoveden, is termed a King of very many Islands. Matthew of Westminster calls him King of Man, and very many other Islands, And Malmesbury calls him an Archpirate, by which word a Robber is not to be understood; but as Afferius and others of that Age use it, one skilled in Sea affairs, or a Seaman so called from Pira, which

in the Attique Tongue, fignifies Craft or Art, but afterward it came to be applicable onely to fuch as without any justice infest the Seas. Not long after, the Go-

vernour of a Ship of Pirates, came to be called a Pilote from Pile, the name of a

Ship in the ancient Gallick Language, fome remainders whereof still continue

among the Franks. After the infolency of these Northern Rovers and Pagans

grew to great, all the Maritime Towns throughout Christendom might well be fensible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance, as to express their

common Faith, and next their common Refuge under God, on one fide of their

Coin they stamped a Cross, and on the Reverse a Ship, which gave Original to

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Sect. 10, that, though much practifed, yet little understood custome of casting and naming Cross and Pile to this day.

75. Another of the Kings and those of Wales was Huual or Huwal, who though he be not placed the first in order, yet if we follow the Account of some Authours, must have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the rest performed obedience. The Book of Landaff bids us take notice that at the same Codex Landa time lived Edgar King of all Britain, Huwell Da and Margan Heu, which two yet nenfu, fol. 103, were the Subjects of King Edgar. At that time Morgan Head by Subjects of King Edgar. At that time Morgan Head Subjects of King Edgar. in peace and quietness, onely Huwell Da endeavoured to take from him Istradin and Euwiss. King Edgar having notice hereof, furnmoned Huwell Da, Morgan Heu and Heweyn his Son to his Court, where in full Council he debated both their Titles, and it was plainly found that Huwell Da had dealt ill with Morgan Heu and his Son Huweyn, and for this Reason Huwell was driven from the possession of these two Countries for ever without recovery. " Afterward King Edgar gave and granted to Morgan Heu and his Son Huweyn these two Lands, viz. Istradin and Euwiæ by name, lying in the Bishoprick of Landas, as his own Inheritance, " and the aforesaid two pieces of Land to him and his Heirs, without the Calumny of any earthly man, he has confirmed by our common Affent, and with " the Teltimony of all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Earls and Barons of all England and Wales. And curfed is he by our Lord the Father who separates thele two pieces of Land from the Lordinip of Morganuc, and the Parish (Diocese is meant) of Landaff; and blessed be he of our Lord Jesus Christ who " observes this, and by all Christian People henceforth for ever. Amen. Moreover you must know that the writing which on that day was made and written before King Edgar in full Council, was deposited in the Church of Landaff. Fare you well. Now this feems to be no other than the above mentioned Hoel Dha, in Latine called Hoelus Hælus, and sometimes Huual; one of these five Welsh Kings, whom Malmesbury relates, together with Kunade King of the Scots, Malcolm King of the Cumbrians, and Maccufius the Arch Pirate, or rather Chief of the Seamen and Governour of the Seas, to have met him at the City of Chefter, and in way of Triumph to have rowed him on the River Dee, by fuch a Spectacle to shew him as Lord and Monarch both of the British Earth and Ocean. This is that Howel Dha of whom we have already spoken, whose Laws saith Sir Henry Spelman I understand were Printed by one Salisbury a Welshman forty years agoe, and dispersed among his Countreymen; but I never had the happiness to see 76. This Pomp used by Edgar in the Attendance of these eight petty Princes

year he was folemnly Crowned, having the fixteenth year of his Age, wherein he was made King, omitted this Ceremony till he came to be thirty, out of penance for his former fins of Incontinence, as some would have it, whereas upon his Brothers death he might have received the Enfigns of Majesty e'er he came to be so guilty Is Crowned at of these youthfull Crimes. The Solemnity was performed with great splendour in presence of the Nobility, and a great confluence of all forts of Persons, in the old City Acmans cestre, say the Annals, otherwise called Bath, on the happy day On Sage of Pentecost. But as for his youthfull extravagancy toward Women being that eal an by-Murther laid alone wherewith he is charged as the blot of his life (for as for his cruelty which mg Ace mutther laid a forme where which he is charged as the boto of his line (not as for his cherry whigher manyers to his charge forme objected, of it we have no inflance, but one that follows) feveral Stories manyers with the account of it named Elfrida, famed for extraordinary Beauty, which caused the King to be populated in love with her upon bare report. But to be certain he fent Earl Athelword his jon nem-Secretary to fee her, resolving to Marry her if the were found to be so handsome nab. 7 cyindeed. Athelwold made hatte and got a fight of her, wherewith he was so xa) Pentermitten, that he concealed his Message and resolved to obtain her for himself, correner which being easily done, he vilifies her to the King as a Woman very ordinary, bag. and fuch a Dwarf as would much unbefeem his Royal Bed. The King's thoughts are hereby diverted upon other Obiects; but at last the Earl's Enemies bring all

to light how he had deceived his Master; whom to inrage they omit no words

to fet out, nay enhaunce the wonderfull Beauty of the Lady. The King conceals

his Anger, and refolving by another Device to overreach him, tells him in a plea-

fant manner on fuch a day he would fee his Wife, a Woman fo fair as she was eftee-

med. He exceedingly struck with a thing so unexpected, earnestly desires her to

provide for his fafety, by putting on bad Clothes and deforming her felf by all

other means imaginable. She had by this time perceived how for a King she had

76. This romp used by Hagar in the Attendance of these cight porty rinkes, was, as some write, but the Epilogue to a greater Act of State. For this very Handan,

Married an Earl, which raifed fuch Womanish Pride, and Indignation in her, that Sect. 10. against the coming of Edgar she dresses her self in the most amiable and tempting manner she could devise, which had such effects upon him, that his Love being the more inflamed by being to long defrauded of her, he appointed for a pretence, a day of Hunting in the Forest called Warewell now Harewood Forest, and there slew Athelwold with a Dart. The Earls base Son coming when the thing was done, and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King demanded of him how he liked this Game; to which he answered, That what soever pleased the King, ought not to displease bim; with which mild Reply the King's angry mind was so appealed, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth, and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father by the great kindness he shewed to the Son. Elfrida he speedily Married, who to make the usual amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the place where her Husband was flain.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edgar.

He is fleshly

77. Another thing is laid to his charge, that he took by force a Virgin veiled out of a Monastery, and used her as his Concubine, for which he was so sharply reproved by St. Dunstan, and laid it so much to heart, that he willingly underwent a Penance of seven years continuance, viz. Fasting, and the want of his Coronation. But it feems he could not abstain from all forts of flesh. Coming on a time to Andover a Town not far from Winchester, he would have the enjoyment of a certain Duke's Daughter much spoken of for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Virgin nordaring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Baud to her own Daughter, resolved to deceive him by the darkness of the Night, and sent a Waiting Maid she had in her room, one that was handsome enough, and not unwitty, as she made it appear. When it was Morning she offered to rife, and he demanding of her why she made such hatter Shereplyed, that she must up and doe the work her Lady had set her. The King wondering what she meant, as not having doubted but that she was the Duke's Daughter, the belought him to fet her free from the Service of her Mistress as a Reward for her defloured Virginity; a Boon his Majesty could not deny her. He for a time wavering and not knowing how he should take it, at last dissembled his Indignation, put off all with a Jest, set her free from her Mistress, and carrying her away with him, used her with all kindness, and onely kept himself to her till fuch time as he married Elfrida. These were the Vices of Edgar, of which more noise had been made by the Monks, but that he built so many Monasteries (every year one it's faid) that they could scarcely think any ill of one so devoted to their course of life, one perhaps as great a lover of Chastity as Solitariness, in another Person. But it's certain England flourished mightily under him, being a man so answering the Epithete given by Homer to a King, That not onely from Hollung Addit. cruel Enemies but Savage Beasts he secured his People, laying a yearly Tribute of

Exacts a Tri- three hundred Wolves upon Ludwal King of Wales, which when he had paid three but of the time initiated was upon the fourth he gave over, professing there were no more to be Malmuber. Sing of Wales, found.

78. What his Employment was in Summer we have already seen. In Winter Takes care and the Spring he usually rode a kind of Circuit to administer Justice to the People; that Justice be administred. and take care that his Officers did the like. A low man he was and slender, but of fuch Courage and fo strong made, that he would provoke the most robust he could hear of to graple with him, diffaining they should at all spare him out of His Courage respect to his person. It happened on a time, that Kened King of the Scots was at his Court, to whom, as Matthew of Westminster relates, he gave rich Presents with the whole Countrey of Lothian, on condition that he and his Successiours at high Festivals should come and attend on the English King when he sate Crowned; moreover many Lodging places he affigned him by the way, which to ease them in their Journey were till the time of Henry the Second still held by these Kings of Scotland. This Kened as he fate one day Feafling, faid jeftingly to those about him, That it was a strange thing that fo many Provinces should obey such a little Contemptible man. The words were brought to the King's Ears. "He fends for " Kened as to consult upon some important Affair, and carries him into a Wood, " where none being prefent but they two, he delivers into his hand one of two " Swords he had brought along with him. Now he tells him they were alone, and so he had a good opportunity to try his strength. He was resolved it should now be determined which of them ought to rule, and which to be Subject, " bidding him not ftir a foot but decide the Controversie with him, for it was an ugly thing for a King to talk at a Feaft and not be forward at a Fray: Kened hereat exceedingly abashed, without replying, fell down at his Feet, and begged His Issue,

Sect. 10. "his pardon for what he had fpoken in jest without any intended Resexion,
"which he readily gave him. So great was his Courage and his Power the effect thereof, that if a Charter of his be to be credited, he subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the City of Dublin, and was Lord of all the Isles as far as Norway : Adjust Right but of this no other Writer makes mention, and instead of a Warriour he is usually Character of ftiled Edgar the Peaceable. However such was his Fame that if he did not go to malderlamber Foreigners, they came to him out of Saxony, Flanders, Denmark it felf and other of the dir Christian places. Malmesbury observes, that their coming over did much detriment to the Unrational Places. Natives, who from the Saxons received rudeness and sterceness, Esfeminateness from introducendin those of Flanders, and Drunkenness from the Danes, being before free from these pad Spintyn. Vices, as contented to defend their own with a natural and innocent fimplicity, Conc. p. 4-2. and not given to admire the Customs and Fashions of other Nations. Hereupon the Monk tells us he is defervedly blamed in Story. But happy had it been for England had his Successours by their deserved Fame and Reputation given such occation for Reprehension. He died when he had Reigned about fixteen years in the flower of his Age, and with him all the glory of the English Saxons, nothing henceforth being to be heard of amongst them but Death and

79. He had by Egelfleda Sirnamed the Fair, the Daughter of Ordmer a potent Duke (it's uncertain whether his Wife or his Concubine) a Son Named Edward, by Wilfrida another Concubine a Daughter Named Editha, which became a Nun: and by Elfrida the Daughter of Duke Ordgar, Edmund, who dyed five years before his Father, and another Son called Ethelrede. Elfrida outliving him made a great Faction, labouring earnestly that her Son should succeed, by objecting Illegitimation to Edward. By the affiftence of Elfer Duke of the Mercians, the wrought a great disturbance, which by means yet of Dunstan and Oswald the two Archbishops was composed to the advantage of Edward, whom they maintained for Legitimate against her Pretensions, and shewed it to be the late King's Will Edward fucthat he should succeed him. Edward then succeeded his Father in the fifth year of Joannes Zimises Emperour of Constantinople, the third of Otho the younger Emperour of the West, A. D. DCCCCLXXV year of our Lord. Presently after his promotion Comets appeared, which portended either the mifery of the Inhabitants, or the alteration of the Government. For prefently followed barrenness of the ground, Famine amongst Men, death of Cattel, and an horrible Contention betwixt Monks and Secular Priefts, which we are to relate in another place, here hinting this onely, that it put the whole Kingdom into a Combustion. As for Edward, he was so extraordinarily Religious and mild by nature, that out of felf-denyal and for quietness sake, he let his Step-Mother order all things as the pleased, giving her all respect as to his Mother, and softering his young Brother with all love and tenderness imaginable. She on the other ride from his kindness and love, conceives greater and more implacable malice, and with the Sovereignty she already enjoyed was so ill satisfied, that she must needs have the Title it telf from him. Her purpose she covers by notable dissimulation, till a convenient opportunity prefent it felf for the Execution. At length the poor Innocent Youth wearied with Hunting and fore vexed with Thirst, while his Companions followed the Game and minded not what became of him, hearing that her House was near at hand, alone by himself rode thither, fearing nothing because of his own Innocence, and imagining every one meant as honeitly as he himfelf.

80. She receives him with wonderfull good words, and when (as it feems) he Who is stable, refused to light from his Horse, caused some drink to be given, but when the Cup was at his Mouth one of her Servants privately before instructed to stab him with a Poniard. He exceedingly affrighted with fuch unexpected kindness, put Spurs to his Horse and fled as fast as he could towards his Company, but the Wound being Mortal, fpent with loss of bloud he fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrop was dragged through by-ways and trac'd by his bloud by those the fent after him, who brought back the dead Body, and they buried it without Honour at Werham. Here they imagined they had buried his Memory as well as his Body, but the place of his Sepulture (it's faid) grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke Elfer that had an hand in his Death, interred it Royally at Shepton or Shaftsbury. Yet not withstanding this amends, as he thought he had made, did he die hortly, after eaten up of Lice. Elfrida was fo convinced of her wickredness that from her Courtly and Delicate course of life she betook her self to a very fevere Penance; wearing Haircloth, fleeping on the ground without a Pillow,

and herein she continued all her life. But so perished Edward after he had born Sect. 10. the Name of King three years and an half; for his Innocency and the Miracles wrought after his death, obtained the Sirname of the Martyr, which opinion of his Sanctity was more confirmed by other great Miferies which shortly after fell upon the Land, which the People did verily believe were inflicted on them for his Murther. The place of the Murther (which Hoveden calls Corfegate) was Corfe Castle (as Mr. Cambden affirms) in Dorsetshire, in the Isle of Purbeck; which for a great part of it is an Heath, and (Forest like) in his time was furnished both with Red and Fallow Deer. Shaftsbury is also a Town in that County.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred

81. Ethelred the fecond Son of King Edgar by Elfrida succeeded his murtheted by Eshelred. red Brother in the third year of Bafilius Junior Emperour of the East, and the feventh of Otho Junior Emperour of the West, A. D. DCCCCLXXIX. Malmesbury gives us this short Character of him and his Reign. That he rather besieged than governed the Kingdom for feven and thirty years. That the course of his life was cruel at the beginning, miferable in the middle, and dithonourable in the conclusion. To cruelty he attributes the death of his Brother, which he approved because he did not punish; he was infamous for his Cowardise and Idleness, and miserable in respect of his Death. His sluggishness was predicted by Dunstan from .his \* bewraying the Font at his Baptism; such a Story as is told of Constantinus Co- \*Alii de min-Dewrsying the roll as Baptani, a state of the state of th when he heard of his Brother's death he wept most bitterly, which drove his Mo- his verbis: ther into fuch a fury, that having not a Rod at hand she beat him with Wax Can-Minxie namdles that lay in her way till he was half dead, which caused in him such an averfion to them that he could never endure any fuch Lights to be brought in before Sacro fonte. him. But to come to the material points of his Reign, his Mother, after she had

Whois Crow- done her Feat upon Edward, affembled the Nobility together for his Coronation, ned by Dun- which was to be performed by Dunstan the Archbishop. His work it was, and he did it though with great Reluctancy, not thinking it convenient to fet any other Pretender up. But as he put the Crown upon his Head he could not contain himfelf, but broke out into these Expressions. Eecause thou hast aspired to the Kingdom by the death of thy Brother, Thus faith the Lord God, the fin of thine Ignominious Mother shall not be expiated, neither the sin of those that were her Counsellours, but by great bloudshed of thy miserable People, for such miseries shall come upon England as it never underwent fince it had that Name. Not long after, some three years, came to the Port of Hampton near to Winchester, seven thips of Pirates, and wasting the Maritime Coasts again departed; which (faith the Monk) I pass not over, because amongst the English there is great discourse concerning these

82. About the time of the Coronation which was followinged at Kingston, one Midnight, a Cloud fometimes bloudy fometimes fiery appeared all over the Land, portending the return of the dreadfull Danish Tempest which had long surceast. England infer- These barbarous and inhumane Rovers understanding what the Estate of England rates in feve- must needs be under the Government of a Child, in the third year of his Reign arrived at Southampton (as Malmesbury hints) and from feven great Ships took the Town, plundered and spoiled the Countrey taking away with them great Booty. Thence they went to the Isle of Tanet which they wasted, when about the same time others from Norway did the same by the Countrey lying about Chester. The following year these Pirates that had done so much mischief at Southampton harasfed again the Maritime parts of Devonshire and Cornwall, and in that which followed three other Vessels arrived and very much indamaged the Coasts about Port-House land, to which Mischiess this was added, that the City of London was burnt, by what Accident is not discovered; in the year of our Lord DCCCLXXXI. The Diforders hereby raifed in the Land were increased by Domestick Troubles. For a difference arose betwixt the King himself and the Bishop of Rochester, it's uncertain upon what occasion, but the King laid Siege unto the City. Dunstan the Archbishop sent him an affrighting Message, that he had best take heed how he provoked St. Andrew the Patron of the Place; who as he was very kind and favourable to fuch as well deserved at his hands, so terrible in his Vengeance upon such as incurred his displeasure. But though the King was little more than a Child he could not be removed with fuch Scarecrows, he continued his Siege till Dunstan was fain to purchase his removal with an Hundred Pounds, which to affected the Bishop as to put him into another Prophetical fit. "He sent him word, that be-

Sect. 10. "caufe he had preferred Silver before usu minus, seed the Calamities formerly related flould freedily come the Calamities formerly related flould freedily come the Calamities formerly related flould freedily come to the Calamities for the Calamities fo " cause he had preferred Silver before God himself, Money before an Apostle, and upon him, but he the Bilhop should first be dead. And within two years he died, his death being ushered in with strange Fevers upon Men, and Fluxes up-Febru homi-St. Dunstan

on varies.

8.3. Immediately followed these Mischiess, which one less than a Prophet might que dusid foresee, the Danes, having got a measure of the present weak estate of the Nation Journal and Land. through the King's floath and want of Spirit. But they themselves had at this autem fluxus time a Prince of a quite contrary Disposition, one Suene or Suene-Otto, as Adam Interanemum Bremensis calls him, the Son of Harald the Great, one so undutifully active as to dici poness. deprive his Father of his Kingdom. He made use of some whom Harald had constrained to profess Christian Religion, which now abjuring they renounced their Faith and Allegiance both together fetting up Suene against his Father, and declaring War against the old Man, who had therein the fortune to miscarry, and flying to a City of the Sclavi called Jamne there died of his Wounds. Suene now Suene deprives rid of his Father perfecutes Christians, and breaths revenge against the Sclavi; athe Kingdom gainst whom making War he is twice taken Prisoner by them, and redeemed with of the Danes. Vast Treasure. After this Heric King of the Swedes takes occasion to quarrel with him, and ingaging with him in several Sea Fights has the better of him, and at but is after wards outed length outs him of his Kingdom which he quietly enjoys all his life. Thus justly

by Heric King rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wanders up and down without relief. Thrucco of the Swedes, the Son of Haco then Prince of the Normans rejected him as a Pagan, and Ethelred the Son of Edgar (he calls him Adalread) remembring what mischiess the Danes Who being had brought on this Island, with scorn repells him. At length he is entertained repulsed elsewhere is en- by the King of the Scots, who taking compassion of him gave him free Quarter for fourteen years together. But so inraged was he at the repulse given him by the King of England, that ever after he made it his study how to plague and afflict the Countrey, fometime by his own peculiar Forces, and fometime by the affiftence of others, as we shall see. How true this Story is we cannot affert, the Affairs of the Northern Nations as to those times being involved in so great obscurity. However we thought it not amiss to relate it as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved fo great a Plague to this our Countrey that he feems to have been acted by fome extraordinary passion, whether of Revenge or Ambition or both together.

84. Not long after the death of Dunstan the Danes invaded the Maritime parts of Devonshire, against whom one Goda Lieutenant of that County, and Stremewold a most valiant Souldier, made head and put them to flight, but died themselves in the Combat. For two years we hear no more of them, but in the third they infested again the Eastern Parts and spoiled the Town of Ipswich (then and long after called Gippswich, from the River Gipping) their Leaders being one Justin and Hooden ad Guthmund the Son of Steitan. They were opposed by Bridnoth the most valiant Ann. 991. Duke of the East Saxons, who fought with them at Maldon, where a great Multi-

tude on both fides were flain, but the disadvantage fell to the English by reason of The Danes in- the loss of their Captain. Now were all Havens, all convenient places of Landvaongauparts are bought off, ang filled with the Danes who swarmed in such Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where most conveniently they might be met with. The readiest course, doubtless, had been for the King to imitate his Father in manning out a flout Fleet to scour the Seas. But he was too lazy to follow his example, and as generally the humour of a Prince makes a strong impression upon the minds of his People, especially the Nobility and those near about him, as he lay idle and useless, so they contracted a great Rust; and resolved it was by the Advice of Stricius the Successour of Dunstan in the See of Canterbury, and of two Dukes Ethelmard and Alfric, that those who could not be beaten with Iron should be bribed with Gold, of which ten thousand Pounds were given them on condition to quit the Countrey, and no more infelt the Coast. An Infamous Example (faith Malmesbury) and unworthy of men, to redeem their Liberty with Money, which no violence can wrest from an unconquer'd mind.

85. This stopt their mouths for a year or thereabouts, but then their appetite was more exafterated by what they had already rafted, being raught the way simulation to come by more. They land going in the North how to come by more. They land again in the North, and fet upon Bebbanburh, Deccentil now Bamborow an ancient Town in Northumberland, built by King Ida of which we have formerly spoken, which having taken they Plunder, and then directing their course to the Mouth of Humber, they waste the Countrey on both sides the River, Lindsey and Tarksbire, burning all the Houses, killing all the Men, Women

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and Children, and gather together vast Booty. The Countrey Men in an hasty Sect. 10 and discomposed manner made opposition, but coming to fight, three of their Leaders, Frana, Frithegist and Godwin being all of them Danes by the Father's fide, betrayed them, and procured their deleat. At the same time no less treachery was practifed at Sea, not upon the account of Confanguinity, but Revenge. It was now thought fit to Man out a Fleet to intercept those Rovers Humington, before they could land, the Conduct whereof was committed to Alfric the Son of ad Amn. 13. Re-Elser, Duke of Mercin; and another Nobleman called Torold. This Alfric, the gir Radireli. King for fome offence had formerly Banished, but now recalled, yet the affront had so inflamed him with malice, that being sent from London to surprize the Danes gorn. in some place of disadvantage, over night he gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them, as writes Florent of Worcester, which his Fleet perceiving pursued him, and took the Ship wherein he fled, yet he by some other convenience escaped from them, but by chance falling upon the East Angles they killed and England and ped from them, but by chance failing upon the East Angles they and other Parts. drowned many of them. But Huntingdon fays, that the Danes being forewarned

by Alfric, not onely all escaped, but afterward with greater number of Ships setting upon the King's Navy killed many of the Londoners, and led away in triumph many of their Ships, together with Alfric the Conful, as he calls him.

86. By this time was Swene King of Danemark arrived, who had brought to his Affiltence Anlaf (or as some call him, Olaf the Son of Thrucco) King of Norwey, and with a Fleet of nine Gallies entred the Thames. On the day of the Nativity Simeon Dunmakes another of the Blessed Virgin they set upon London, endeavouring to break into and Burn elm. ad, Ami. it when it was fearcely rebuilt, but the Citizens fo strenuously behaved themselves Dececciv. that by the affishence of God and the Virgin, as the Monks write, they forced them with great loss to retire from the Siege. Exasperated by this repulse, they

invade Effex and Kent, which they wafte with Fire and Sword, especially the Seacoasts, and then pass into Sussex and the Province of Southampton, where they burn the Villages, spoil the Fields, and without respect to either Sex, rage with all cruelty against Mankind and inrich themselves with great plunder. As length they horse their Foot, and then through many Countries make their outrageous progress, where they commit the same violence sparing neither Sex nor Age. To put a stop to their march by any force no preparation was made, the flug-Anlas bought gifh King and his as drowzie Counsellours implore again the aid of money, which by his Embassadours he offers to them to take them off from their furious courses. The fumm agreed on was fixteen thousand pounds, in expectation of which they

retire to their Ships and pass to Southampton, where they winter. This being a time for Complements rather than Action, Anlaf the Norwegian King received Hoflages for his fafety, and accepted of Ethelred's invitation to his Court which then was at Andover. Being royally entertained and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation (or Baptism) as also nobly presented, he ingaged to depart the Land and molest the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Countrey he

kept his word.

87. This was no ill advice given to Ethelred, to take off from Swene so powerfull an Affiftent. But as Arms fignific little abroad except there be good Council at home, so in cases of Hostility, Invasions especially, Consultations without strokes will not avail to remove a warlike, unfaithfull and pertinacious Enemy. The influence of the late Tribute or Bribe operated but for three years, or fearcely fo much, and then the Danes that had Wintred at Southampton and staid in England, fetching a compass about West Saxony, entred the Mouth of the River Severn ties acted by where pailing they wasted North Wales, Cornwall and Devoughire, and burning

very many Towns killed multitudes of poor People, which done they fetcht another compais about Devenshire and Cornwall, where having acted the same Hostilities at last they came to Tavestock and there Wintred. The next year they failed Simon Du to the Mouth of the River Frome, and walted the greatest part of Dorfetshire, plens, ad Ann. which done they made many Incursions into the Isle of Wight, and thence often December returned into Dorfershire to long as they continued in the Island receiving Provi- &c. fions out of Suffex and Hamfbire. The English several times made Head against them, but still as they were going to fight were hindred either by treachery or fome other misfortune, and turned tail against their Enemies. The year that followed they had the confidence to come nearer to London, passing through the Mouth of Thames to the River Mediuny, up which they advance to Rochester, and laid Siege to it. The Kentish Men took the Alarm and gave them a sharp Encounter, wherein many fell on both fides, but the Danes remained Masters of the Field. Now they horsed their Foot, and spoiled in a manner all the Wes-

fion of the

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Sect. 10. tern Coast of Kent, which things at last rouzed Ethelred and his Counsellours, so that they prepared both a Fleet and Land Army confisting most of Foot. But King and Commanders being all alike, they delayed their march from day to day, and oppressed the Countrey where they lodged. Neither the one nor the other Army, did any thing at all tending to the publick good, but burthened the People, wasted the publick Treasure, and by their ridiculous and esseminate carriage more imboldened the Enemy to proceed, who the year following passing over into Normandy, upon what account we know not, at their return did more mischief

88. King Ethelred and his Officers dare peep out when there is none left to hurt them, and are grown fo valiant, that who is he that dare oppose them. They not onely threaten the absent Enemy, but go to seek some out in Cumberland, where and in the Isle of Man the Danes of the old standing, lived as quietly

as did the Natives. These unarmed People they set upon, harassall the Countrey with a Land Army, the Fleet being ordered to fail about and meet them, which hindred by contrary winds, it could not doe but those that were therein shipt, saw there was no danger of Foes in the Isle of Man, and therefore landed and overran

Another inva- it. But the Danes the next year returning out of Normandy, entred the Mouth of the River Exe, and presently laid siege to Exeter, the wall of which they battered, refolving to storm it; yet did the Inhabitants receive them so warmly, that not liking their entertainment they thought fit to retire, and vent all their malice on the poor Countrey which went fadly to wreck, having none but helpless People to defend it, which were murthered in great multitudes, after the loss of their Goods and Houses. At length those of Devonshire and Somersetshire assembled themselves together, and made some resistence at a place called Penho, but being overpowered in Numbers were repelled with great flaughter. This both incouraged and inraged the infolent Enemy, who now horfing all his men, did greater mischief in Devonshire than ever, and so returned to his ships, wherein he

passed to the Isle of Wight, and sometimes in it, and other whiles in Hamshire and Darfetsbire, without any relistence followed his ordinary course of Life, doing

fuch Execution by the Sword against Men, and by fire against Villages, that he affrighted every thing called English, from medling with him either at Sea or Land. The King good man, was not a little troubled, he and his People bemoaned

one another with one Finger in the Eye, and another in the Mouth.

89. At length they shake their Pockets, where finding something still rattle, they are again fuddenly comforted, and a gay and effeminate Courtier called Leoff, by advice of the Nobility with great Vapours, but fitter to eat than fight, except in the Combats of Venus, is fent to offer to the Danes a bountifull Prefent from the King who, brave Soul (they must know) did it out of his Munisicence A third Summ not any necessity that he or his had to court them. A third Tribute, for fo it paid to pur chafe Peace, must be called is accepted but the summ inhaunc'd to twenty four thousand Pound, which paid down, the Danes abstained till the next time from all Hostility. The parture of the Mcflenger Leoff, while the business was transacting, basely killed another Noble-Dante. man as valiant as himself, one Easte one of the King's best Officers, for which he underwent the pains of Banishment. Ethelred having done so great a work as to buy off his Enemy, in the strength of Reputation gained thereby, resolves to make a new Alliance. He had formerly had a quarrel with Richard Duke of Normandy, the first of that Name about his entertaining and protecting certain dangerous Persons that had fled the Kingdom, and it arose to so high terms, that Pope John the Eifth; whose Letter is extant in Malmesbury's History, was fain to interpose and dispatch his Legate into England, by whose mediation the King was wrought to fend his Commissioners to Roven, where a piece was happily concluded. Now though we cannot fay, that the falling out of Lovers here, proved the renewing of Love, yer their falling out proved the occasion at length of Love-An Alliance matters. For after about ten years the Wife of Ethelred being dead, he asked betwist Ethil and obtained the Daughten of Richard in marriage, which having now gallantly red and Rich-ard Duke of freed himself from all solicitudes, he had time and opportunity to solemnize. A great Train of the chief of his Nobles is fent to fetch the Lady, more being found ready to goe upon this errand, than to fight against the Danes, and into England they bring her with wonderfull magnificence. Her name was Emma called by the English Elgina a Lady of admirable beauty, whereupon she was styled the Flower and Pearl of Normandy. Her Mothers name was Gunnor, descended from an eminent Danish Family, and therefore did the King enter upon this great Design, out of greater reasons of State. For it was hoped, that her interest might be able

to work upon the unreasonable Danes, and so save him both blows and money. Sect. 10. 90. Such was the great Plot when he entred at first upon the treaty of marriage, the full advantage yet of which he did not then thoroughly understand. But having fully perceived the strength of his Alliance;he scorned now to buy a peace,he would by his actions command one, and make the Barbarians pay dear for all the Extravagancies they had committed within his Kingdom. One would now think he would rouze up himfelf, take the Field, provide himfelf by Land, of ftout and experienced Souldiers, by Sea of skilfull Mariners fuch as knew how and durft effect such gallant Orders as he should send them. The Danes had by the Sword done much mischief, and by the Sword indeed he resolved they should be punished, they had broken many Leagues and Treaties, and it was no crime to deceive Abloudy Mac. the Deceiver. But this must be done, not in the Field but at their private Houses, not by a fair Enemy but through furprise, not by a fight, but in a Mailacre, Letters

Danies here in being fent into all Countries, commanding all the King's Subjects upon a certain day (the ninth of fuly) to fet upon them, and without mercy to de croy them all. The pretence was (as no Mallacre but has fuch kind of excuse) that they had a Design to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life, and to destroy all the Nobility, that so they might bring the whole Island into their own Dominion. The Math. West-Command was executed, and the Danes thereby, who by a League folemnly fworn monast. had been admitted to inhabit quietly amongst the English, were most shamefully and barbarously murthered. No Sex or Age escaped. The Women were butchered as well as the men, and the Brains of Children dashed against the walls. At London, when execution was to be done, many of them fled into a certain Church of that City, but so sacred a place was no security, for they were all without pity murthered as they stood by, and embraced the Altars. The Archdeacon of Lib. 6. ad An. Huntingdon informs us, that when he was a Child he heard some very old men 1002. who lived at that time, report that the King fent private Letters into every City, wherein Order was given to fet on the Danes unawares, and either kill them by the Sword, or burn them to death. But they found out other Devices when they perceived themselves Masters of their Game. They were so barbarous in their washington revenge, that they digged holes in the ground, and therein set the Danish Women in typing. up to the middle, which done they fet fierce Mastives upon them, which cruelly Neuftrie.

Inhumane

91. A Popular fury, especially, when backed by Authority knows no bounds, nor Authority it felf, when it has broken the bounds of publick Justice. There were feveral Persons of great Quality in the Land, received upon the publick Faith as Hoftages, to ratific the Peace lately accorded. Among the reft a Princes called Gunildis, the Sifter of King Swane, and Wife to a Count whose Name was Paling. She had feveral years before this come into England with her Family, where she received the Christian Faith. She was a Woman of great prudence and temper, had often interpoled to make Peace between the Nations, and now lately had given up her felf, her Husband and her onely Son as Hoftages to King Ethelred. Duke Edric, to whole care she was committed, caused her Hus-Math Westin band and her Son before her Face to be pierced through with four Lances, and after that her felf to be beheaded. She most gallantly and undauntedly took her death, not the least fear or change of colour appearing in her Face, but assured the Murtherer, that her bloud would cost England very dear; which she might easily fay without gift of Prophecy, fearcely ever any Masacre having happened, which procured not to the Actours much farther trouble. But that day that the Order was executed at London, where lay in the Streets vast heaps of dead Bodies, some of our Men of the Danish Nation, more swift than their Pursuers feized on a Boat in the Thames, with which adventuring to Sea they passed over Which arere- to Denmark, and there related to King Swane, the butchery of their Countreymen in England. The King hereat conceived fuch forrow as was answerable to the matter related, and affembling his Princes together, acquainted them with the Tragical Act, and defired their Advice what was to be done. Inflamed with rage Who prepares I region Act, and defined their Relations, they refolved that Revenge was to be for an Invalin. taken with all the force the Kingdom could make, whereupon they were fent Wallingham back into their feveral Countries to make Preparations, and Posts were dispatched ubi full

to the Neighbouring Nations, to invite all strangers to join with them in the Expedition, wherein they proposed to them great hopes of vast Spoils and rich

Possessions. King Swane, now resolved to make another fort of War than formerly, not like a Pirate by taking Advantages and flying here and there, but like a just Enemy to push for all, and conquer the Kingdom. And his Provocation being just, he prospered accordingly.

92. This is the Account of the Massacre, as it is given us by the Generality of our Historians, all who charge King Ethelred alone with it, affirming, that his The account heart being puffed up with pride after his fecond Marriage upon confidence of his Alliance, on flight fuspicions he exposed the Danes to the Revenge and Fury of the People. But the Monk of Westminster, who disagrees in the Account of ten Math. West-years from the rest, has a story to tell by himself of one Huna General of the man. ad data. King's Forces, and his chief Minister, he taking notice of the Insolence of the Danes, 1002. how insupportably arrogant they were grown after the late Agreement, forcing the Wives and Daughters of the English of best Quality, and offering them all the Affronts imaginable, made a grievous complaint hereof to Ethelred, who conceiving from his words an implacable Indignation, by advice of the faid Huna, fent his Letters above aid into all the parts of the Kingdom. Whence foever the Suggestion was received the thing was done by the King's Command, and fo much innocent bloud fo perfidiously shed, crying for vengeance, procured him the loss of that which by this means his pretences were for to preferve. The Danes lost no time, but affoon as the Spring opened, the frozen Seas with a powerfull Fleet invaded England. Some fay their first Hossility was acted upon Torkshire, where King Swane leaving his Forces to refresh themselves, after their Voyage, sailed into Normandy, and there with the Duke made a firm and perpetual League, by virtue whereof, the Normans were to have all the Spoils got in the War with En- Walingham gland, fold to them at reasonable rates, in recompence for which privilege all that Dun. Nam. were fick or mained in the Davijh Army should have as kind entertainment in Normandy as if they had been in Demmark it felf. But our Authours who trace the steps of the Danes, make no mention of 'this Invasion of Torkshire; and though Ethelred doubtless contracted great obloquy and reproach from his Neighbours by the late Massacre, yet can we scarcely believe that the Norman would join in a League against so near an Ally as the King of England.

93. The first impression they certainly made was upon the South Western Sim Duncture. land, wating Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of Hugh a Norman Count indeed, whom Huming the Country Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of Paradhire they throbe into Huming in feveral pla. Quech Emma had preferred to the Government of Devonshire, they broke into Howden. Exeter, and having demolished the City walls from the East to the Western Gate, retired with great plunder to their Ships. After this they wasted Wiltsbire, where a strong Body of Men, drawn partly out of that Countrey, and partly out of Hamfbire, advanced to give them Battel. But when the Armies were come within fight of each other, Affric the English General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out for his Fathers betraying the Fleet unto the Danes, now it feems intending to be revenged upon the King, counterfeited himself fick, and feigned a fit of vomiting, whereat the Army discouraged, instead of fighting every Man shifted for himself, which Swane perceiving and laughing in his sleeve at the mad Couduct of the English Affairs, went to Wilton, which he plundered and burnt, and having dealt in the fame manner with Salisbury, then returned to his Ships. The year following to the Coasts of Norfolk he failed, where he landing, Sim Dunche, and he plundred and burnt Norwich, using such expedition, that he surprised Zifketel at dam half. the Duke of the East Angles, and a very front Commander, who having no time to leavy an Army, took advice with the Nobility of his Province, and made Peace with him. But this Peace Swane perfidiously brake, after a Fortnight or three Weeks time stealing from his Ships to Thetford, which he plundred, lodged one Night in it, and the next day fet it on fire. Ulfketel having notice of his expedition, ordered a Party to go and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which they either durft not attempt or neglected to doe. He in the mean time with what fecrecy and speed he could gathered together his Forces, and marched courageously against the Enemy, and as they retreated to their Ships made a fierce onset. But he was inferiour in Numbers, and therefore most of the best Quality among the Eastern English lost their Lives. The Danes also received very great loss, and with difficulty recovered their Fleet, which they had never done, had all the Force of East England been present. They confessed that in the Island they never met with fo rough an Ingagement, as this they had with Olfketel.

Then follow94. The following year happened to great a Famine, that it forced a Cellati-Sim Danda.

cd a Great Fa- on, driving Snane back into Denmark, but fupplied, as it were, the Place of his add Ann. Mr.

mine by Land. mine by Land Sword in the Destruction of the poor People of England, as many of which are faid to have perified by Hunger, as formerly had done in a year by his Cruelties. Most dreadfull was the Estate of England at this time, which all forts of mischiefs contended how to harafs. A King it had so stout and warlike, that as if he had been born to fleep and nothing elfe, was little moved by any of its Calamities,

or if at some time he began to awake and rouz'd himself upon his Elbow, yet Sect. 10. either his own drowzinels or his adverse Fortune pulled him down to slumber again. The guilt of his Brother's Bloud lay heavy upon him. No man can well reckon how many Armies at length he raifed, how many Fleets he rigged, how often he gave out orders to his Officers, but all this to no purpose. For these Armies wanting the Authority and Courage of a Prince to give them life, and being rude and undisciplin'd either mouldred away before they came to Action, or else easily were overthrown when they came to it. In War Malnett. the presence of a General avails much, much his known and approved Valour, but especially Exercise and Discipline, which these Armies wanting procured irreparable mischiess to the Inhabitants, and afforded matter of scorn and mirth to the Infulting Enemy; a fort of Men most rapacious if not restrained by force, but if vigoroully opposed base and cowardly. What the sluggishness and cowardife of the Prince and People effected not, the Winds and Weather procured ; for when the Ships lay at Anchor upon the Coasts for their fecurity, suddenly would a Tempest arise and dash them to pieces one against another. And what Tempests at all these still left unfinished was completed by treachery, folly or fearfulness of Officers. If they met at any time in Council they never agreed in their Opinions, feldom did the Major part concur in any thing that was feafonable and fit to be done, having ever a greater respect to their private animosities than the publick good; but if it chanced at any time that they hit upon a point convenient, their Councils were speedily betrayed to the Danes. For besides

Contemp, with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred.

And the Trea. Elfric the Son of Elfere who murthered the late King, there was one Edric whom And the Treather of Ed. the present had made Earl of Mercia, the dreggs of Men (so the Monkwords ric, which ruit) the opprobrium of the English, a flagitious Glutton, a crafty Knave who had not been inriched by any thing received from his Ancestours, but by his own prating and boldness. This Fellow being a crafty Dissembler, and an egregious Counterfeit, as a faithfull Councellour would dive into the King's Secrets, and like a base Traitour discover them. Often was he sent to the Enemy to mediate a Peace, and as often stirred them up to profecute their former course of Hostility. Ulfketel or Ulkil (as he calls him) was the onely Man that made any considerable resistence. At length that no fort of misery might be wanting, what War had left, that Famine destroyed; and the Enemy so freely and without controll ranged about the Countrey, that from any place within fifty Miles distance from the Sea they fetcht away all they pleased without the least jealousie of any Ambushes, or the least fear of Intercepting.

95. The year following in July an innumerable multitude of Danish ships were Simeon Dufeen in Sandwich Road, whence swarms of Rovers overran Kent and Sussex, sparing nelm, MVL neither Man nor any thing elfe more than they had done formerly. King Ethel-red to oppose them raised an Army out of Mercia and West Saxony, but never could ingage them, for they shifted from place to place, not thinking it fit to hazzard a Battel, and robbed as they could; fo that till Winter they confumed the time, and retired then with infinite Booty to the Isle of Wight, and there staid till Christmas: when understanding that the King was in Shropshire (where if he could not kill Enemies he could murther Subjects, procuring by means of Edric, as was thought, Alfhelm a Duke of great value to be flain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they overran Hampsbire and Berksbire as far as Reading and Wallingford, which they burnt with other places. Thence passed they to Ashdown, and coming to the River Kenet, found the Inhabitants of the Countrey make head against them, but they ingaged and easily routed them, and thence without molestation, returned to their ships. The King and his Courtiers were fufficiently tired by that Dance the Danes had led them: They thought they had done as much as reasonably could be expected from Mortal men; no course remained to be taken with these cowardly pilsering Villains, but to give them more A fourth Sum Money, a thing which a generous Soul values not. They fent to them again and Idem ad Ann.

offered to purchase their offer to buy them off from their Ravenous course, but the price is still increased, MVII. it being as easie to obtain more as less of such easie Enemies. The Sum is now six and thirty thousand Pounds, which is raised of the People throughout England already ruinated by their Rapines. And if some tell true, whom we are not wil- Chronic Melling to believe, Ethelred in the Agreement of this year MVII, yielded to pay an cofense MS in Annual Tribute of thirty fix thousand Pounds to the Danes, for a longer continu. Biblioth. Cotance of the Peace. We reade indeed that he yielded to the payment, but no where toniana. do we reade or find that he did pay it and stood to his word. This year it was that Ethelred advanced Edric, firnamed Streone, to the Dukedom of the Mercians;

Sect. 10. a Fellow who having raifed himself, as we said, to a great Estate by his cunning and a plaufible Tongue, proved shortly a mighty Instrument in the ruine of England.

96. The next year produced fomething laudable, which shewed the King to Simeon Du. have a little care of his Estate. He enacted, that every three hundred and ten mim. et al. Hides of Land should set out a Gally and every nine \* Hides find a Corslet and Head Marianu piece, and throughout all England he commanded ships apace to be built; which Scoun. being made ready, he Victualled and Manned with choice Souldiers, and appoin- Florenting. ted their Rendezvous at the Port of Sandwich, to secure the Bounds of his Kingdom \* Allie of o li. from the Irruptions of Foreigners. Now a Hide (as the Archdeacon of Hunting das habens us don and several others tells us) was so much Land as a man could Till in one year nensis, Math. with one Plough, being the same with Cassata and Carucata in barbarous Latin. That west it was a custome to tax the richer fort by the number of Hides in those days is very Math. Parin. evident both from the Saxon Laws and the Breviary or Notitia of England, called Doomsday Book. But as for what Huntingdon adds, that there never had been fo great a number of ships before in Britain, which also the Saxon Annals of Abingdon do testify, another Notion of Hide we must have to make this agree with their opinion. For if Mr. Cambden's Account be good, who out of the ancient Records of that Age casts up the number of Hides not to exceed two hundred forty three thousand and six hundred, the number of ships must have amounted to no more than seven hundred and eighty five according to the Tax; so that this Navy could not have matched that of King Edgar by some thousands. Others therefore there are who determine otherwise concerning an Hide; and most certain it is as a lear-Selden imman ned man observes, that it was very various according to the different custome of c. 11. Countries. Whatever the number of the ships was one would now have imagined that England was in a fair way to be protected, when suddenly Diffention the bane of all good Deligns, fprung up among the Great Ones. For this very year did Brithric the brother of Duke Edric as ambitious, proud, and deceitfull almost as himself, falfly accuse Wulnoth a great Officer of the South Saxons to the King, whereupon he judging it not fafe to trust his life in their Hands, who he knew would condemn him right or wrong, got him to Sea with twenty ships and plaid the Pirate upon the Coasts. Upon a report raised that he might be easily taken, Brithric with eighty Gallies went in quest of him, but when he had failed for fome time, so grievous a Tempest rose that it wrecked all the Vessels and cast rather a burn them upon the shoar where Wulnoth soon after burnt them. This misfortune so benefit to the ditheartened the King and his Nobles, that they fairly returned home, and the Fleet by his command came up to London. And so was the People taxed and troubled to no purpose.

97. Thenext year after, which was the MIX of our Lord, Turkill a Danish Earl arrived with some ships in England, and in the Month of August was followed by simen Du an innumerable company of Danish Vessels commanded by Hemming and Eilas Mix. which landed in the Isle of Tanet, and joyned with Turkill: To Sandwich they pass, where landing they go and indeavour to break into Canterbury, the Inhabitants whereof with their Neighbours of the East part of Kent purchase their Peace by the payment of three thousand Pounds. The Danes then going back to their thips fail to the Isle of Wight, whence passing to the Coasts of Suffex and Hamfbire, they exercise themselves in their usual Trades of plundering and burning. Ethelred was again fo fensible of his Peoples miseries as to leavy Forces throughout the Land, which he bestowed in places near the Sea to restrain their Irruptions, but it was done to unskilfully, at least to unfuccessfully that they came and went Who might fecurely for all this, and practifed their Rapines as before. On a certain time behave been cut ing gone farther than usual from the Sea, the King stept betwixt them and Home, Treachery of feizing upon the place through which they were to return with many thousand men, and resolved to die or overcome, as was the whole Army. But the Traitorous Duke Edric (who now might practife his Treasons more colourably, having married the King's Daughter Egitha) by subtile Arguments urged, that as Circumstances now stood, it was their Interest to let the Danes repass untouched. He perfwaded them, and the Danes got back fafe to their ships with great Joy, and much contrary to their expectation. After this when Martinmass was now past they went to the Coast of Kent and resolved to Winter in the Thames. They maintained themselves by what they got out of Esfex and other places, lying on each fide of the River. They often also attempted to seize on London, were beaten back by the Citizens with very great lofs.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred

98. E'er Winter was over, in the Month of January they left their Ships, Sect. 10. and through Chiltern Wood passed to Oxford, which having burnt they returned by the River Thames, and wasted the Countrey on both sides in their Passage. In their return they had Intelligence that a great Army was gathering together at London to intercept them, which caused that part of their Army which marched down the North fide of the River to pass over at Stanes, where joining with the other and loading with extraordinary plunder they passed through Surry to their Ships, in repairing of which they spent in Keat the Lent following. Eafter being over they departed into East England, where near to Ipswich they came to a place called Ringmere, having heard that Ulketel lay there with his Forces. He entertained them very warmly, and a fierce Battel was fought. But the Eng. \*Turceil Milish at Pougth gave back, a certain \* Danish Servant, on purpose, so it seems, be-renebeved id ginning the flight and lost the Field, though the Cambridgeshire Men as long as they est caput forcould stood to it, and fought very manifully, † which procured them much home fine primus nour so long as the English Kingdom stood. Here sell Eshelstan the King's Son-in go appropriate Law, Of in a Noble man with his Sons and many other, together with a great meruit fempi. After a Battel number of the ordinary fort. The Danes being Masters of the Field now had East ternum. Hunthe Danes be- England at their discretion, which horsing themselves they spared not no more + Sie Hunthe Dans be. England at their discretion, which noting transfer months in plundering, tingdoments of Eaff ang-or Eaff ang-burning and killing all they could meet with. Having done what mischief they Grantening. could in the Fenns, they burn Thetford, and Grantebrig, or Cambridge; whence fire viriliter (as Huntingdon writes) going back over most pleasant Hills of a delightfull place obstiterunt, called Baleform (now Gogmagog Hills) they silled all they could meet in their gir against way toffing Infants on the points of their Spears. But one man (faith he) there zum, land was who deserves to be remembred for getting into a Steeple, and there desending Grantebrigihimself from the whole Army. After this the Foot by Sea, and the Horse through cia floruit. Effex, returned to the Thomes, where continuing not many days again they quit. lib. 6. Hiftor. ted their ships and went through into Oxfordshire, which first, and then the ad Ann. MX. Counties of Buckingham, Bedford and Hertford they wasted, and having burnt

the Towns, and killed Mankind, with all other living Creatures, they returned

again to their ships as so many ravenous and noxious Wild Beasts glutted with

bloud to their Dens. Yet still about the Feast of St. Andrew they burnt Northamp-

ton with all about it, as far as they pleased; and then passing to the Thames went

into West Saxony, where having wasted that called then Cuningamerse, and the

greater part of Wiltsbire, they returned after their accustomed manner to their

99. They were neither yet so wearied with travel, nor satisfied with wealth,

And wafte part of West

thips about Christmass.

is offered.

Canterbury is plundered.

but that the year following they took a larger scope than ever. For on the North fide the River, with Fire and Sword they wasted all East England, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, the Counties of Oxford, Bedford and Cambrigde, with half of Huntingdon, and the greatest Part of that of Northampton: on the South fide Kent, Surrey, Suffex, with the Counties of Southampton, Wilts and Berks. After all these Messengers are sent to solicite for Peace, promising more Money to buy them off from these horrid devastations. They give good words and accepted the Tribute, but without any intention to keep their Faith, which they presently break, first by Plundering the County in several Parties, and toward Michaelmas by belieging Canterbury, which on the twentieth day of the Siege they take by the treachery of Almere the Archdeacon, and burn part of it. Here they committed all forts of willattles against the poor Inhabitants, whereof fome they flew with the fword, others they burnt; many they threw down headlong from the Walls, and fome they hung up by the Privy Members. The Women they drag by the Hair of their Heads through the Streets, and then cast into the fire. Infants being matched from the Breasts of their Mother they either fruck upon the points of their Spears, or erafhed to pieces by driving Carts over them. Affect the Archibifion they take Priloner, baid and contumelicully use. coeffer, Teofrana Albels of the Manners of St. Mildrede, Elfrede the King's Governous, with Monks and Clerks, and a vaft number of the Common People were also taken : Christ Church they burn, Monks, Men, Women and Children are decimated. Whereof hine are killed, and the tenth referved to a life worse than death; so that of the whole minimum eremained onely four Monks, and eight With itaArch hundred Men. The People being flain, and the whole City plundred and burnt, the Michbillion is taken out of Prilon; thiven away bound and wounded to the the Fleet, where he is kept close seven Months together. In the mean time these H h 2

Sect. 10. cruel and more than barbarous Miscreants are visited with a Plague in their Guts, whereof two thousand of them miserably perish. Those that lived were

forely affiicted with the same Disease, and thereupon the Christians take occafion to urge the delivery of the Archbishop, but they still defer it.

100. As foon as Spring appeared, before Easter that traitorous Edrick Stre-Simen Dn. one, and all the rest of the Nobility of both Orders Assembled at London, where MATL they held their Councils and continued fo long till the Tribute was paid to the Danes, which now amounted to eight and forty thousand Pounds. In the mean time Alfeze the Archbishop had his Ransome set at three thousand Pounds, which he constantly refusing to pay or procure was at last murthered by them when they were heated with Wine, and farther exasperated by his prohibiting any one to offer any fum of money for his liberty. Being brought out into their full Assembly, they fell upon him with Swords, Stones, Bones, and whatever came to hand, and at length one Thrum whom he had Confirmed but the day before, out of an impious fort of Piety brained him with an Hatchet. His Body was the day following conveyed to London, and buried in the Church of St Paul: Afterward the Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oaths on both sides, the Danish Fleet was separated, onely sive and forty Ships remained with Vide Simeon.

fides, the Danish Fleet was reparated, oney have the King for the Defence of England against all Foreigners on these terms, to Danish Flother King for the Defence of England against all Foreigners on these terms, to Danish Flother From the Old Superior From the Ol the maintained by him with Victuals and Cloathing. From the Old Saxon Howdman Laws it appears that for repressing of Pirates, Robbers, or others insessing the Sea, Lambarda & it was refolved that a yearly payment should be made of Money, which from profit and those who usually were the Practisers of this Trade was called Danegeld, that Danegeld, that Danegeld that Danege is to fay, twelve pence upon every Hide through the whole Land, for the Pay ad Dantes of those that should be employed to hinder the Irruption of Pirates. This we are nummus specific fields. told by feveral Authours, continued from this or the following for thirty eight or Gen. Gelgit thirty nine years, till it was remitted by Edward the Confessour, the Son of King & Gommin Danegeld rai. Ethelred. The Reader must take notice that there were two forts of Danegeld. Numman, Va. The one was, that Tribute or Tax so often mentioned by us, whereby our Eng-cabatur dist

trom Pirates, lish Saxons were forced to purchase Peace, and remove Hostilities and Rapines Depetylsupon occasion, the several sums whereof we have expressed in their places militaris. It was not paid yearly, but levied now and then as the necessity of the Lege Ingul-Kingdom required. The other was this first raised in the Year of our phum.

Lord MXII. (the same wherein the eight and forty thousand Pounds were paid) to pay the Danish Navy which was now hired to guard the Sea, and defend the Coasts. 101. But both forts alike contributed to the Ends and Deligns for which they

were paid. The former took but off the perfidious Danes for a small time, who then again without regard to Oath or Promise violated the Peace in expectation of another gratuity to be beltowed upon them. And this other was fo far from securing the Coasts by scouring the Seas, that Turkill who staid behind as Admiral of this now English Fleet seems to have done it to no other purpose (befides the fleaing of the poor Nation of more Money) than to give Intelligence Swane and his to Swane when it would be most seasonable to reinvade the Land. In July the Danes are ma- year following with a strong Fleet he landed at Sandwich, where having staid but. nero of greater few days, coasting about East England he entred the Mouth of Humber, whence he passed up into the Trent (which together with Ouse out of Torksbire falls into Humber) and fail'd to Gainsborough where he landed and encamped himself. Hither without delay repaired to him Earl Uthred with the Northumbrians, the Inhabitants of Lindsey ( that Part of Lincolnshire Northward of Lincoln wherein Gainsborough Hands) afterward those of Fishurgh, and by degrees all such as inhabited Northward of Wailing Street (the great Highway crofling the Land from the East to the Western Sea) yielded up themselves to him, and delivering up Holtages twore to him Allegiance. He onely now impoled upon them the furnishing of his Army with Hories and Provisions, and then delivering the Hoftages and the Fleet into the Hands of Canute his Son, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from amongst the English, undertook an Expedition against the Southern Mercians. Having passed over Watling Street he gave order to his Men to waste the Fields, burn the Villages; rob, the Churches, kill all the Males to walle the ricits, purn the vinages for the conditions, and an adjusted they could meet with, referve the other Sex for the fift, and dog all other forts of milchiels they could devile. This being fully graculed, in the terroir thereof he came to Oxford, and became Malter of it fooner, than he expected, where having received Hoffages he hafted to Wincheller, the linearitants of which conducts. conque-

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred.

conquered also by the terrour of his Cruelties, without delay made Peace with Sect. 10, him, giving up what and how many Hostages he required.

102 From Oxford he bent his course for London, and in passing the Thames being neither carefull for finding out a Bridge nor a Ford lost many of his Men. He endeavoured both by force and all forts of devices to take this City, but King Ethelred, together with Turkill the Dane being then here Resident, he was beaten off and went to Wallingford, after that to Bath, where wasting all in his way he staid some time and refreshed his Army. Thither came to him Ethelmar the Earl of Devonshire with other Officers of the Western Parts and made ts a king e-fleemed. Peace with him, giving up their Hostages, which things accomplished according to his desires, and being returned to his Fleet he was by all the Nation of the Eng-

lish both stiled and accounted King, if by right one can call him a King saith our Authour) who acted all things in a manner like a Tyrant. The Citizens of London concluded that it was not fafe for them to strive against the universal current, and therefore fent also their Hostages and made their Peace, for they fear'd he would be so inraged against them that having spoiled them of all they had he would either command their Eyes to be pulled out, or their Hands or Ethelred (ends Feet to be chopped off. Ethelred now in a manner unkinged thought it most confistent with the straitness of his Fortune to send away Emma his Queen, with his Treasure and his two Sons Edward and Elfred into Normandy to her Brother Richard, the Second of that Name, Duke of that Province. He himself continued sometime at Greenwich with the Danish Fleet then lying in the Thames, and thence removed to the Isle of Wight, where having kept but a fad Christmass he followed them into Normandy, and at Rouen was iplendidly entertained all the time of his abode. In the mean while Swane the Tyrant at Gainsborough laid insupportable Taxes upon the Countrey, besides the contribution for maintenance of his Fleet And Turkill at Greenwich was not behind hand in his Exactions for inriching of himself and his Followers. So that they were fully agreed in this

by their Violence and Rapines to harass and exhaust the poor English Nation. 103. But Swane to all his other cruelties and impieties, added one, which in Smalle exacts the opinion of our writers, completed his condemnation. He exacted a grievous a fibite from Edmindency.

Tribute from the Town of St. Edmindes Bury, or that where the Body of that Edmindency.

Tribute from the Town of St. Edminds Bury, or that where the Body of that the Body of the Edminds Bury, or that where the Body of that the Worth St. Margarian he would often detraid from the worth King and Martyr then rested: Moreover, he would often detract from the worth of the Martyr, and dared to affirm he had no holiness. In case the money were not speedily paid, he often threatned that he would certainly burn the Town over the heads of the Inhabitants, utterly subvert and demolish the Church of the Martyr, and put the very Clerks to various Tortures. Now to tell a story which is fo generally told, and was fo univerfally believed, because he would not moderate at all, fay they, his wickedness; Divine Vengeance would not suffer the Blasphemer longer to live. At Gainsborough, as he held a general Assembly, when it Denique imgrew toward Evening, being incircled with Armed Men, he cast out these said pera diet qua

Is killed by

threats, but he saw presently St. Edmund coming Armed upon him, whereupon he in generalis cried vehemently out, Help, help, fellow Souldiers, look here, St. Edmund comes to placing quad kill me, which words as he was speaking, he received a mortal wound by the burb tenuerat Saint's hands, fell from his Horse, andilying till the dusk of the Evening in great haceadem mi-Saint's nands, tell from his morie, andhynogran the dusk of the Evening in great mitam rei-torment, he then died on the \* fecond of February, and was carried to Iork and teravit. Ge. buried. So our writers report from the Legend of St. Edmund, which feems to Sim. Dunelm. hint this truth to us, that Swane was killed by an unknown hand; to be fure here ad Ann. 1014. † he ended his days, and by his death ennobled this Town more than by his + De Edmund making it the Seat of his Kingdom or Tyranny, for so it was; here being his segum. Fer chief Residence all the short time of his English Royalty; here lay his Ships, hence in English: he made excursions into all Parts. qui fortissimè

Danorum Regem qui Swano patri apud Gainsburh mirabiliter & mijerabiliter extincto successerat, regnum tandem cum coden Cnuto aque partitur.

104. This Town conveniently feated upon the River Trent, which here Ebbs and Flows to a confiderable depth, and by the convenience of Navigation and Traffick, hath procured it two famous Marts in a year, each of them of nine days continuance, is both ancient, and was of good account before it became more Gainsborough, known by being the Rode of the Danish Ships. To omit impertinent Etymologies Quidan in

nuper Edito bac habet: Gener bupuh, vel eforte antiquius Genepp bupuh ab Angl. Sax. Genep Perfugium Afylum & Bupuh Oppilum, q. d. Oppidum perfugii Afylum.

as

And Gaini

Sect. 10, as if it had its name from being an Afylum or Refuge of I know not who, or from what, it was called Gainsborough or Gainsburh (in Latin Gainorum burgus) as indeed being the cheif Burgh, Borough or Town of the Gaini or Gains. If it be demanded who these Gaini or Gains were, I answer, the same with those of which Ethelfred the Father-in-law of King Alfred, was Earl. Afferius writes, that Alfred Married Oxorem de Mercia Nobilem scilicet genere filiam Ethelfredi Gainorum Comitis qui cognomin batur Mucil. That Alfred Married a Wife out of Mercti, one of a Noble Stock, viz. the Daughter of Ethelfred, Earl of the Gaini or Gains, who was Sirnamed Mucil or Great. There was then a fort of People called Gaini or Gains, and these Gaini were seated in Mercia, to which Kingdom of old Lindjey did belong, as is most evident, and not to Northumberland, from which it was separated by that River, though some particular Conquests of these Petty Kings of that Tract might cause sometimes some places to be mentioned, as within the Bounds of their Kingdoms, to which for the main they did not belong. The Reader must observe that, besides the common Names of Jutes, Angles and Saxons, when these People Planted in Britain certain Select Companies of them had peculiar Names, even as the ancient Britains themselves had, which cither happened to them from their Principal Leaders or Governours, or were Names they brought from beyond the Seas, or else proceeded from some other accidents. Thus some of the Northumbrians were called Deiri, others Bernicii, the West Saxons were called Gevissi, and we reade of a People called Wincin, and another Meanvari Seated in Hamshire, not far from Portsmouth, besides the Girnii, who as appears from Ingulphus, lived not very far from the Gaini, and Inhabited the Fens, lying in the Counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. Those Gaini were such a fort of People, from which this place being their principal Town or Burgh, received its name, as did Ethelfred his Title, though he was descended of the Bloud Royal of Mercia. The Burgh of the Gaines it was, and long after the death of Swane gave it not name, yet Habitation to the Noble Barons of Burgh, who by the Scotch Earls of Athol, and the Percies descended from Sr. William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, by whose intercession it obtained from King Edward the First (after the Conquest) the liberty of having a Fair. This digression is too much not to be practifed upon the name of every Town; but so much I ought to this out of gratitude, having received in it a great part of my Education; though born in that of Nortinghamshire, which, on the other side of the River, flands over against it. Coude chosen 105. Swane being dead, his Subjects the Danes, chuse Canute or Couve his Son, Malmush.

King of the for his Successour. But the Inclinations of the English were toward their own Matth. West.

Ethebred received from the time to come, as being disciplined sufficiently by adversity, they be the strength of the strength vers his King- their hands, thought fit to fend over his Son Edward to promife all good deport-

ment, and found the affections of the Nobility and People, who having found all things correspond with his defires, returned back with confidence to fetch his Father. The King was received with all goy and applaufer imaginable, and to · make a Show, that he had offered violence to his former disposition, and of compliance with their expectations, used all dispatch in leavying an Army against Cnute, who lying now at Gainsborough, with the Fleet and Hostages was not wanting to himself, but spent his time in raising Men, and getting Horses, threatning Driving Unite out of Linds to chastise severely the Revolters from his Father's Empire. But Ethelreds Forces fer, and those took him before he was fully prepared, and constrained him to quit the Parts of Lindsey, the Inhabitants whereof, for their fo readily siding with strangers, as they found them, they put to death. Cnute Sailed away with his Fleet, and by the course of the Winds, was driven into Sandwich Road, where to revenge himfeif upon the English Nation, he miserably deformed the Hostages he had in his power, cutting off their Ears, Noses, and Hands, and depriving some of their Genitals. This done, he set them on shore, and departed into Denmark to recruit his Army. These Danes being gone, another Calamity succeeded them; for on the twenty seventh of September, the Sea arose to such an height by the impeut ofity of Wind and Tide, that it brake the Banks, and overwhelmed many Villages, drowning a great multitude of furprized People. However the Nation was hereby impoverished, yet necessity urging a Tribute of chirty thousand pounds,

true and natural Prince, whom hoping that he would demean himself more like a ad Ann. 164.

was levied for paying the Danish Fleet, which lay at Greenwich. 106. The year following, being the MXV. of our Lord, a great Affembly of the Estates was held at Oxford, as well of Danes as English, where by advice of

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred. CHAP. II.

Edric Streone, the King caused several Danish Noblemen to be put to death under Sect. 10. pretence of a Conspiracy against his Person. Sigeferth and Morcar, the Sons of one Earngrun, of a place called Seanenburg in Northumberland, Edric drew by Compara good words into his own Lodging, and there fecretly murthered them. Their Ser
dum. Sim Du
cum. Sim Duvants and Dependants thereupon arose, and endeavoured to revenge their death, neim. but were beaten back by the King's Forces, and fo closely purfued, that they were constrained to betake themselves into the Tower of St. Frideswith's Church, where Fire being fet to the Steeple, they were burnt to Ashes. The King seized upon the Estates of the murthered Earls, and commanded Algitha the Wife of Sigeferth, to be conveyed to the Town of Maidulf (or Malmesbury) and there to be kept in Custody as a Lady of great Nobility and Interest. But not long after, Edmund the King's Son coming thither, fell in love with her, and without his Father's knowledge, married her, after which, he took her along with him into Northumberland, and there seized on the Estates both of Sigeferth and Morcar his Brother. At the same time Arrived King Cnute from Denmark, together, as some write, with two other Kings, Lachman of Sweden, and Olan of Norway, and made for the Port of Sandwich, where it's faid that Turkil joyned with him, and gave the English a notable defeat. To be sure Cousting about Kent, entred the mouth of the River Frome, and by it passed up into the Counties of Dorfet, Somerfet and Wilts, where he committed all forts of Hostilities. King Ethelred at this time lay fick at Cosham, a Town in Wiltshire, but had his place very well supplied by his Son Edmund, whose onely infelicity it was, that the false and traitorous Streone was joyned with him in command, which not onely hindred his present success, but brought him into great danger of Life. For Edric made a faction in the Army, and plotted how to have him flain, which being timely discovered, the Prince was forced for his security to depart from the Edric revolts, place where he lay. Now whether this discovery made him desperate, or for that he was before prepared, and refolved fo to doe, for other reasons, he openly revolted; carrying away to Cnute forty of the Danish Ships which served the King. to whom he submitted as his Leige Lord. The West Saxons awed by his Inrodes, did the same : gave up Hostages, and made provision of Horses for his

107. Cnute being thus strengthened beyond expectation, in the following Sim. Dunchm. year, which was the MXVI. of our Lord, with Edric the Traytour, passed over Ad Ann. the Thames at Greeklade, about Christmass Holydays, and Invaded Mercia, where in Warwicksbire especially, he burnt all the Towns, and killed all Personshe could meet with. Edmund the King's Son, upon the Report, gathered together what Forces he could, but when they were to march, the Mercians refused to ingage against the Danes and West Saxons, except King Ethelred and the Londoners would joyn with them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it felf. But Christmass being over, Edmund raised more Forces, and sent to London to his Father to come to him with all the preparations he could make, Ethelred complied with him, and they joyned their Forces together, but by the craft of the Enemy, a Rumour was spread abroad, that if the King did not carefully look to himself, he would speedily be betrayed. This struck such a fear into this pusillanimous Prince, that he disbands his Army, and retires back to London, which done, his Son haftes into The Countrey Northumberland, as was imagined to raise a greater Army against Canute. But in this they feemed well agreed, that whereas on one fide Canute and Edric wasted the Countrey, on the other, he and Othred Earl of Northumberland, did the like,

this being the onely difference that one Party haraffed the poor People, because

they would not revolt, and the others pretended to punish them for their neutrality; for, first Staffordshire, and then Shropshire and Leicestershire, they miserably

wasted because they refused to fight against the Danes. In the mean time Canute

and Edric Streone, committed all acts of cruelty in the Counties of Buckingham,

Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln and Nottingham, and at last peirced

into Northumberland. 108. This approach of theirs obliged Edmund Clito, as our Writers call him, to leave off his Trade of pillaging, and to betake himself to London. Othred hereupon hasted into Northumberland, where shortly after he was constrained to submit himself to Counte, to give up his Countrey, and deliver Hostages into his Hands, which notwithstanding either by Command or Permission of Cnute, he was killed by one Turebrand a Danish Nobleman, and with him one Turketel, the Son of Navene. This done, Coute preferred one Eric to be Earl of Northumberland, and hasted Southward by another way to his Fleet; with

Sect. 10, which he joyned his Army before Easter. About the same time Ethelred died at Lozdon on the two and twentieth of April, after a tedious and ill management of Ethelred dies. affairs for feven and thirty years, and was buried in the Church of St. Paul. Edmund his Son by the Nobility at London was chosen his Successour, not his Son by Emma his Queen; but as Matthew of Westminster says by an ignoble Mo- De east ther, though others affirm her the Daughter of an Earl called Thored, and E. Miller Edmund. ther, though others anim her the Daughter of an Earl Cancer Footen, and D iffe Edminby Edmand in Instrated the Ignobility of her Descent by the Ingenuity of his Mind, and the Emmanaum Will Saxway. Activity of his Rody, and indeed such was his Courage and indefationable Industry fedex quaden Activity of his Body, and indeed fuch was his Courage and indefatigable Industry, alia quant factority of his Body. that he obtained thence the firname of Ironfide. He having obtained the Title ma obscurare. hasted into West Saxony, where he was received and owned by the People of those condit. Deggs. parts, while a far greater Number with many Bishops, Abbats, and others of Angl. lib. 2. the Nobility obeyed Canute as their Sovereign, whom being affembled they can to

Therestobey had chosen for their King, admitted at Southampton to that Dignity and sworn to him Allegiance, having abjured the Race of Ethelred, and received an Oath from him of good Government in all, as well Religious as fecular Affairs.

109. Canute much animated by fo powerfull a party hasted to London with his Fleet about Rogation week, where being arrived on Surry fide, he caused a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his ships Westward of the Bridge. The City he begirt with a deep and broad Trench, and with armed men, and often attempted by force to take it. But the Citizens fo manfully demeaned themselves, that perceiving he lost but time, and that the Defendants were to be starved out, he left a guard for his ships, and hasted into the West to attack Edmund e'er he could be provided, who indeed was provided ill enough, but as he was with the Com-Several Battels pany he had got together, he ventured to give him Battel at a place then called Peonum (or Pen ) near Gillingaham in Dorfetshire with such success, that he forced his Enemy to retreat. Encouraged herewith he made greater preparations, and Midfummer being now past resolved to fight Conte the second time, whom meeting near a Town called Swarstan, he gave him Battel but could onely defend himself, though he performed all the Offices both of a stout Souldier, and an expert General, because Edric the Traitour together with Almar and Algar, the chief of the Nobility, having command of the Hampshire or Wilishire Men, fided with the Danes. It was a drawn Battel, this day the Armies being parted by the darkness of the Night. The next Morning they renewed the Fight, and King Edmund had wone the Garland, but for the cunning device of that pertidious Edric, who perceiving Victory inclined to his fide, cut off the Head of one Ofmear, a Man that in the face very much resembled the King, and lifting it Sim. Danaelm up on high, called to the English bidding them behold the Head of their Party, Malmell. and if they respected their own Lives, be gone as fast as their Heels could carry them. This very much startled and discomposed them, till Edmund sensible of the cheat from an Hill made known himself to his Souldiers, and tossed a Javelin against Edric, whom yet it had the fortune to miss. They continued the Fight till it grew dark, and then parted as they had done the Night before.

110. Canute seeing what little advantage he was like to receive from a pitcht Battel discamped in the dead time of the Night, and making towards London where he had left his Ships, again belieged the City. Edmand when he knew he was gone, with speed marched into Welfex to recruit his Forces, and now the perfidious Edric, having sufficient experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought the onely way was to be reconciled to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Infinuations give a Check to the current of his good Fortune. He made application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, swore for the time to come to be faithfull to him, and obtained Pardon for what was past. Being sufficiently recruited, he hasted to London, and railed the Siege, beating off the Danes to their ships. After two days he passed the Thames at Brentford, where many of his Men were lost in the Water, yet coming upon the backs of his Enemies, he put them to the rout. By his lofs fuftained in passing the River, and the several Ingagements, the Number of his men was fo diminished, that he found himself obliged to return into Westfex, to Counte besieges fill up his troops, which the Danes perceiving returned and laid close siege to

London, which they attacqued by all means possible. Yet did the Industry and Courage of the Inhabitants, still frustrate all his Attempts, so that despairing he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet, entred a River then called Arenne, where Florentia Wie landing in Mercia, he burnt the Villages, killed the Countrey People, and made germings havock of all things at his pleasure. The Foot he caused on ships to pass to Medway, Arene.

and the Horse by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean time Edmund Sect. 10 Ironfide was not idle, but the fourth time having levied a strong Power of Men out of all England crossed the Thames again at Brentford, and marched into Kent, where at a place called Offord, he found and ingaged the Danes, who not able to sustain his violence fled such of them as were horsed into the Isle of Shepey. All he could take he put to the Sword, and had his Prudence aswell as his Courage flood by him, he had obtained a complete Victory. But he was so blind as not to perceive the Treachery of Edric, who by specious allegations procured him to stop his persuit at Englesford.

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edmund.

111. Edmund finding the Westfaxons most firm and true to him, after this Success for Recruits returned into that Countrey, the opportunity of whose abfence Canute took to vent his malice and revenge upon a naked People, for going into Effex he thence invaded Mercia, where he shewed more Cruelty than ever; commanding his Men to omit no Act which could be committed against Enemies. Edmund Ironside with an Army gathered out of all Countries over-

took, and ingaged them in their Retreat at a place called then Assaulune (or Abloudy Bat \* the Hill of an Ass) now corruptly Ashdown in Esex. The Battel was fought \* In month with great resolution and vehemence on both fides, and Edmund had great hopes gui Assandor of gaining the Victory, which the wretched Edric Streone perceiving as he had fifth sominating aged formerly to Coute (having coming over for fuch a purpose) with the cur, also make the conformation of the conformat Troops he commanded fled over to him, and so leaving the English overmatcht, est consecutation, sim Downston whom by casting out † words again of the King's death he had laboured to dif + clamavie courage, by his Treachery procured their Defeat and Ruine, for they never re- Anglorum ceived a greater blow, almost all their Nobility here falling, particularly Alfris, Engler File Godwin, Oliketel and Etbelward all Dukes: Eadnoth also the Bishop of Lincoln Engle, File (of Dorchesser ather) and Wolf an Abbat who came to the place to pray for Edmand, and the Army account to the collection of the collection of the Army account to the collection of the collection of the Army account to the collection of the collection of the Army account to the collection of the collection the Army, amongst the rest lost their lives, yet did not this disaster, so far discou- Fugire Angli, rage Edmund, but that e'er long he was in case to make another Trial of his right-mornin Fortune in the Field, of which Edric and those of his Faction fearing the Islue, a eft Edmund. gain circumvented him by their wiles, perswading him for quietness and Hist. lib 6.

Upon which a fecurity fake to divide the Kingdom with Cnute. After much reluctancy he was Division of the drawn to consent, and after many messengers to and fro, and Hostages received, an Interview of the two Kings was appointed at Deorkirst in Glocestershire, a place situate somewhat low upon the Bank of Severn, Edmund with his men taking the Western, and Canute with his Danes, the Eastern parts side, both the Kings from their Armies wasted over into a small Island called then Olanege, now the Eight, where by oath a Fraternity and firm Peace they established, and divided the Kingdom, which concluded they interchanged their Arm, and the Habits they wore, and having fetled the Pay which should be allotted to the Fleet, each repassed to his Followers.

CHAP. II.

tel at Assan-

112. Such is the Account which the History that goes under the name of A farther ac Simeon of Durham, gives us of this matter: others do otherwise relate it. Malcount of the mesbury having said what the Issue of the Battel was at Assauding, tells how Edcord betwixt mund sirnamed Ironside betook himself with very little Company to Glocester, there to gather new Forces, and fet upon his Enemies who he thought would be fecure after the late Victory, as he saw convenient. Chute was aware of him, and so industrious as to attend and watch his courses. They were coming to a fresh ingagement when Edmund demanded a single Combat, that for the ambition of but two men, the bloud of many innocent Persons might not be shed, and they two without any inconvenience to their Subjects, might decide the controversie in their own Persons, and hereby obtain for the care of their People, great renown in future Ages. But Canute was deaf on this Ear, affirming he had Courage enough but not strength sufficient to encounter a Man of so vast a size, and for an expedient propounded, that each of them should enjoy what their Fathers had held, from whom they had both received just Titles. The proposal was well received by the Armies as very equitable, and which would give some breathing to the poor English Nation, so miserably spent by these perpetual Hostilities; and Edmund by this universal approbation was overcome and silenc'd, the Accord being that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should hold the West Saxons with the Southern, and Canute Mercia with the Northern Parts. Thus one of our Authours speaks of an Accord without so much as the mention of a Combat, another hints that mention was made of a Combat but it took no effect; but another there is who writes both of the Proposal, and the Fighting of the Duel.

Sect. io. Another Re-

113. Henry the Archdeacon of Huntingdon speaking how after the Battel at Elefdune (as he calls it) the Armies in Glocestershire the seventh time faced each other, adds, that the Noblemen on one fide dreading the courage of Edmund, on the other of Coute, began to mutter among themselves what Fools they were fo often to yenture their Lives, and how they should let them fight alone, who defigned alone to Reign. This faying pleafed well enough the Kings, for Coute was a King of no final honesty. The Kings therefore fought a Duel. Their Darrs and Lances on both fides being broken, they fell to it with their Swords upon each others most incomparable Armour, the noise of which struck the ears of the Lookers on with terrcur, as their eyes were dazled with the fire which was flruck from the Swords upon fuch admirable Metal. At length the incomparable vigour of Edmund prevailed, whom Coute very strentiously resisted, yet fearing the success. with fair Language instead of foul Blows thus accosted his Adversary. Toung man, of all others the most valiant, what necessity is there that either thou or I should die by the Sword, out of desire of Reigning. Let us be Adoptive Brethren and divide the Kingdom, let me have a start in thine, and do thou command in mine Affairs. Denmark also shall be at the disposal. With these words the generous mind of the young King was mollified, and a kifs of Peace was given on either part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for joy, Edmand had the Kingdom of Welflex, and Caute that of Mercia, who thereupon returned to London. Thus much Huntington, with whom agrees Matthewof Wellminster as to the Duel, mentioning Edite as the man who first moved it amongst the Nobility. But both Hoveden and Florent of Worcester agree with the first Relation of

114. The Danes retiring to London after the agreement (which was certainly made, whatever might be the Circumstances or the manner) were received by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City, where, Edmund dies about the Feast of St. Andrew died King Edmand Ironfide unexpectedly, and was buried with his Grandfather Edgar at Glastenbury. Concerning his death our Authours write variously. The Hiltory of Simeon, Florent of Worcester, and Roger de Hoveden, tell us onely that he died, without mentioning the cause. Malmesbury confesses it was uncertain of what Disease or Casualty he died, but adds, that Fame charged Edric with hiring two of his Chamberlains, to whose Fidelity he committed himself, to murther him which they effected by thrusting a sharp Iron Leaving Issue. into his Body as he sate at Stool. Huntingdon will have it done at Oxford by one

of the Sons of Edric as the King fate in an House of Office, with whom accords Matthew of Westminster; Radulphus de Diceto names neither place nor a certain perfon, but fays it was done by an Iron Spit at Edric's procurement. Edmund thus in the fame year both began and ended his Reign, leaving two Sons behind him, Edwi fome call him, fome Edmund, and Edward. By his own Mother he had a Brother called Edwin, and by Emma his Step-Mother two more, viz. Elfred and Edward. These Relations he left, but Canute resolved none of them should succeed him but to Reign himself alone. "He summoned all the Bishops and No-

Who are out- "bility to meet at London, and cunningly demanded of fuch as had been prefent ed by Chute." at the agreement betwixt him and Edmund, what provision was made by that " agreement for the Sons and Brothers of Edmund, and whether in case he died " before Canute, any of them was to fucceed in the Kingdom of the West Saxons? " They overcome with fear answered, That to their knowledge Edmund neither li-"ving nor dying had made any provision for his Relations, but deligned him the Protectour or Guardian of his Sons, till they should come to Age. For this their false Testimony they hoped for great Rewards, and some of them indeed he afterwards rewarded with an Halter or some Instrument of such like Desert. But

Canute taking the advantage it afforded him, exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily chose him for their King, and abjured all the English Line, which was disposed of as we shall see hereafter, and set aside for a certain time.

SECT. XI.

The Monarchy of the Danes in Britain, from the beginning of that of Canute or Cnute, to the Death of Hardecnute, and the Resistation of the English Line in Edward the Confessour.

The space of Twenty fix Tears.

Anute thus obtained the Kingdom of the English, of which his Father ra-Sect. 11. ther had a prospect than firm possession, about two hundred and twenty feven years after the first arrival of his Danish Nation, two years after his Father's death, in the one and fortieth year of Bafilius Junior Emperour of the East, the feventeenth of Henricus Junior the German Emperour, in the Reign of Robert the Son and Successiour of Hugh Capet King of the Franks. A. D. MXVII. 2. The Danes had formerly in some parts of the Land, as East England and Nor-

thumberland fet up their petty Kingdoms, but now obtained the fetled Monarchy

of all England. Formerly they had been Strangers, now come to be the principal Inhabitants, not in Numbers but in Reputation. Before time they were fierce invaders, cruel and Savage Enemies, as bloudy, as Ravenous, and base as ever any Invader had ever been, but now were turned Proprietours, and one of them Lord of the whole; fweetned and civiliz'd not fo much by Christianity and good Education, as by felf-feeking and worldly interest, for the late Inrodes made by Cnute were accompanied with as great Cruelties and Devastations, as those of his Predecessours. Baseness and fear made the English Nobility servilely to truckle, so that there was no need of any thing more to work his Will but his bare Commands. Nay they would prevent his Commands by doing those things, to which Edminthe Son they knew he was but inclined. For Edwir or Edwin the Brother of Edmund, a being banish- young Prince of excellent Endowments, and exceeding great hopes, they immediately voted to Banishment, which Resolution as soon as Canute perceived so full of flattery and injuftice, he went much pleafed into his Chamber, and calling to him the perfidious Duke Edric asked him by what means he might trepan young Edwin to his death. The Traitour answered, that he knew one Ethelward who could eafily doe it if he would speak with and promise him a great Reward. Cnute fent for the man, and telling him what the Duke had faid of him, not onely promifed him all that his Ancestours had injoyed, but to hold him more dear than a Brother in case he would doe him that Service. He promised to use his utmost indeavour, but as yet had no fuch intention, and faid it onely to put him off; for he was descended of the most Noble stock of the English Nation. 3. Cnute being setled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all England, divi-

He divides the

ded his Kingdom into four parts, whereof one he committed to the Government of Edric, viz. Mercia, it not being as yet feafonable to lay him aside. East England he affigned to Earl Turkill, Northumberland to Irc or Eric, and reserved Well Saxony as that which being the ancient Possession of the English Line had most rea-Punishen the son to bear respect to it, to his own Care and Vigilance. Then the first thing he Murtherers of did was to purish such as had an hand in the death of Edmund, whom having difcovered their wickedness in hope of Reward he kept close up, and now in a great Assembly of the People caused to be put to death, as those whom their own mouths condemned. Having thus fweetned his way, a Covenant with all the Nobles and the whole People now he made, which was confirmed by Oath and an Amnesty decreed for whatfoever had formerly past betwixt the Nations. But this could not put him out of his fears fo long as Edwi Etheling lived, who was commonly cal-

SECT. XI

Sect. 11.led King of the Countreymen. Banishment would not serve his turn, but after a feeming Reconciliation to enfnare him by his earnest Solicitations, he procured him to be made away by those whom he had most trusted. Edric now that his hand was in, advised him to put to death also the young Sons of Edmund, the Clitunculi, as Simeon calls them, viz. Edmund and Edward; but it being esteemed a thing very odious, and which would much incense the People to have them murthered in England, within a while they were fent to the King of the Swedes there to be made away, who notwithstanding the League and kindness betwixt him and Cnute, abhorred the fact, and by all his Intreaties could not be brought to commit it, but conveyed them to Solomon King of the Hangarians, by him to be carefully brought up. Edmund in process of time in that retirement ended his life: but Edward Married Agatha the Daughter of Henry the German Emperour, by which Lady he had Margaret Queen of the Scots, Christina that turned Nun, and Edgar Etheling hereafter to be spoken of. This is the Account given by the general Assent of Historians, although there be a Passage amongst the Laws of Edward the Confessour, which hints, that this Edward out of fear of Cnute, fled to one Malesclot King of the Rugians, who both received him with honour, and bestowed on him in Marriage a Lady of that Countrey.

4. Cnute having rid himself of all his Competitours, for the Sons of Ethelred by Emma were escaped into Normandy, and all others of the Bloud Royal he had banished, thought he should much farther establish his interest by Marrying with Emma, which he effected in July following, concluding that it would win him the hearts of the People, and take off the thoughts of her Brother Richard Duke of Normandy, from the Sons she had had by Ethelred, and he approved of the Match fending over in July his Sifter into England. Being now arrived at the top of his Expectations, he thought fit to remove the Ladder by which he mounted left it should serve the end of some other Pretender. What use he had all along made of the Treachery of Duke Edric has been fufficiently discovered. Now instead of loving he abominated the man not so much in hatred to his Vallany as for his own preservation, imagining that he who had betrayed those who had so well descrived of him, would not stick to doe the same by him a Foreigner, when there hould but a fufficient temptation or opportunity prefent it felf. The former Treason serving his own ends, he loved, but hated the Traytour, because in his destruction he doubted not but he would be ready to serve the ends of others, and therefore resolved to make him away. It's reported, that after he had procured King Edmund to be slain in the manner before related, he came to Cante, and bade God fave him now the onely King, to whom when he had told all the Story, the Henr. Hum. King answered, that for so great a piece of Service he would make him higher tingd like. than all the English Nobility. Remembring therefore that Promise, he caused him in the time of Christmas to be Beheaded, and his Head to be set upon a Pole on the highest Tower in London. Ingulphus the Abbat of Creyland, who lived in or near those very days, writes, that unsatisfied it seems with what had been done for him, he upbraided Cnute with his great fervices in betraying the two King Ethelred and Edmund, and by his own Mouth being convicted of Treason, was as a Traytour hanged and thrown into the Thames. Later Authours in compliance with this Relation, fay, that suspecting the King's intentions of depriving him of the Mercian Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Services, Gnute faid to him with an angry Countenance, Traytour to God and to me, thou shalt die, thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master, my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed, and thereupon caused him to be Strangled in the Room, Causes Edvic and thrown out of the Window over the Wall of the City into the Thomes, where and others of his Trunk lay unburied, his Head being fixed on a Pole and fer on the highest Towthe Nobility to er, which as some say, Eric at the King's command struck off. Upon this occasion either for that they were familiar with Edric, or upon some other jealous grounds, as his Complices he put to death feveral other Noblemen, as Norman the Son of Duke Leofwin, and the Brother of Leofric, Ethelward the Son of Duke Aglemar, and Bribtric the Son of Elfege who governed Devonsbire, all reputed Innocent Persons. For all this he thought himself not yet secure except he kept on foot an Army, for the maintenance of which, the following year, he fqueezed out of all England seventy (some say eighty), two thousand Pounds, besides fifteen thoufand out of the City of London, But no less than these severities could be expected from an Usurper and a Foreigner. After some years he sent back his Army at Vide in trie the Importunity of the Nobility, having by a fevere Law made against killing any Danes, taken fecurity for the fafety of his Nation.

5. These things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Quarrel Sect. 11 arose between Malcolm Son of Cyneth King of the Scots, and Othred the Son of Waldelf Earl of Northumberland, or rather his Successour Eric, for Othred was (as we have heard) flain by Cnute two years before. The Rupture proceeded to a great War (as our Authour terms it) wherein on the part of the Scots, Eugenius Calvus King of the Lutinenses or Lothians was ingaged; but what the effects of fo great a controversie were, he doth not tell us. Chute having united the English and Danes in one Government, though the best Cement would be to frame their minds to the same Laws and Customs, for which purpose he called a Convention to Oxford, where both Parties agreed to observe the Laws of King Edgar. Now he thought he had so well setled his matters here, that he might without any danger give a Visit to his ancient and Native Kingdom of Denmark, whicher he failed the year following, being the third of his Reign, and continued there the whole Winter. The Archdeacon writes, that he led thither an Army of English and Danes against the Wandals, by which he must mean no other than Swedes. That incamping near his Enemies with intention not to fight till the next day, Godwin the English General (Conful he terms him) without his knowledge by Night fer upon them at unawares, killed many and put the rest to flight. When it was day the King imagining that the English were either run away or had revolted to his Enemy, fet his Danes in order of Battel, and marched toward

the Swedish Camp, but here he found nothing but Bloud, Carkasses, and Plunder, which thing caused him exceedingly to prize the English, (who by their valour procured their Captain an Earldom and renown to themselves) and hold Incubure igithem in no less esteem than the Danes themselves. In Spring he returned into Eng-tur viribus land, and in Easter Holydays held a great Council at Circester, in which he banish toriam Con-- ed Duke Ethelward or Edward as others call him. This fame year in the place fummantes of the Battel fought at Essandune, which won him the Kingdom, he was present Duci, sibi lauat the Dedication of a Church which there he had caused to be built as others in dem parave-At his return other places of the Fights he had been in. In this building he was affifted by Tur-runt. Milbuiltheth. kil the Earl, whom the year following, suspecting it seems his power, he banished meth, whis further Nobles. out of England with his Wife Egitha. With Turkil others joyn Eric or Iric the Math Westm.

Duke of Northumberland, a Dane also by descent. As soon as they set foot in Denmark, Matthew writes, that Turkil (who had been the procurer of the death of St. Elphege, and had first perswaded Swane to invade England) was killed by the Noblemen of the Countrey. But whether it was that those he banished and sent home, stirred up the People against him, or that being absent his Authority was despised. Huntingdon writes, that in his ninth year he carried over another Army into Denmark against Olf and Eilaf, who had got a great multitude together against him both by Sea and Land, and now gave him such a Defeat, that of both Nations English and Danes very many were lost. But others make this the same expedition with the former. 6. And indeed had his matters been so much imbroiled now in Denmark he

would not have cast his thoughts so soon upon Norway, whence having intelligence

that the People despised their King Olaus for his plainness and religious simplicity, Simeon Duhe fent great fums of Money to make way for him, that rejecting their true and nelm. ad Ann.

MXZITIS G. natural Lord they should revolt and chuse him for their King. His Gold had such effect upon them, that not able to withfland the Operations thereof, they promifed him a good reception whenfoever he would come, which the following year and the MXXVIII of our Lord he did, failing into Norway with fifty ships. The Subdues Nor-King Olaus he drove out of the Countrey, and then eafily subdued it to his own Command, whither Olaus the year after returning to try the minds of the Revolters was flain by them with all his Followers. The year after his Conquest he returned into England, but not till the Feast of St. Martin was past, where being arrived under a pretence of an Embassy, he sent into Banishment Hacun a Danish Count, who had Married Gunilda his Neice by his Sifter and the King of the Winidi. This man was grown so powerfull and popular, that he stood in sear of being killed or deposed by him, and thereupon he drove him to such straits, that within Twelve months he either perished on the Sea, or else was killed in the Me of Orkney. Such were his fears, fuch were the means he used to prevent what he feared, sparing neither fair nor foul, sticking at nothing how unjust soever, for fixing the Diadem on his Head. Now he had no occasion nor temptation to be bad, and therefore refolved to be very good, and eminently religious, as fuch who have arrived at great wealth by griping and fordid Practices, many times think to make Heaven satisfaction by dedicating some of their ill gotten Goods to Religi-

5. Thefe

Sect. 11. ous Uses. To Rome he will go to visit the Tombs of the Holy Apostles, a Pil-Simeon Du. grimage which would obliterate all Crimes whatfoever. On St. Peter the Prince MXXXI of the Apostles, he confers very great gifts of Gold and Silver, with other pretious things. He procures from Pope John a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the English School there, both in his way thither and in his return gives large Alms to the Poor, buys off feveral Tolls and Impositions laid upon Travellers: and at the Sepulchre of the Apostles, vows to God an amendment of his Life and Manners. So much are we told by that of Simeon and other Histories."

7. In the History of the Monk of Malmesbury is extant an Epistle which from Counte Rex 19-Rome it's faid he wrote to Ailnoth or Egelnoth, the Metropolitan, to Alfric of Tork & Danamar. Written from With all the Bilhops and Primates, and the whole English Nation aswell Noblemen chia & Naas Plebeians. "Herein he gives an account of his Journey, both the reason of mergia & as rienerans. Herein he gives an account of his journey, both the reach of partification which his undertaking it, how he was received at Rome, what he had negotiated for rum difinally "the benefit of his Subjects, and then gives directions and command to his Metropolita "Officers to doe all juftice and right to the People in his absence. The thing he between the fays long before, but never could till now accomplish what he omnibilities decreed he lays long belove, but her defety of all his Subjects. He Epifeopii & had defigned for the pardon of his Sins, and the fafety of all his Subjects. He Perimanibus, "fignifies that he was received by all the Princes who at that time were with Pope of toti genti "John folemnizing the Feast of Easter with extraordinary respect and honour, Anghumaten but especially by Conrade the German Emperour. That he had dealt with them Mobilion "all about the concernments of all his People both English and Danes, that their faturem. " passage toward Rome might be more free and open; and had obtained that af-" well Merchants as others should with all safety pass and repass without any Toll " or Imposition. He complained to the Pope that his Archbishops paid vast " fumms of Money before they could obtain their Palls, which grievance by "Decree was taken off. All these Immunities procured from the Pope, the Emperout, King Rodulphus and all other Princes \*through whose Territories he Tra- \* A monte perour, ring roampous and an other than Teltimony of four Archbishops, and Gargaro of yells were confirmed by Oath under the Teltimony of four Archbishops, and que ad ishad twenty Bilhops, with an innumerable multitude of Dukes and other Noblemen preximum that were present. "Then follows a Thanksgiving to Almighty God, that what mare, "ever he had designed in his Journey had prospered. After this he desires it " may be published to all the World that having devoted his Life to Righteous-" nels, and resolved to Govern the People subject to him in all Piety and justice " with a respect to Equity in all particulars, in case any thing had slipped in his "Youth which might jufly be taxed with Intemperance or Negligence, with "the help of God he was ready to make for all fuch Extravagancies full amends. "Therefore all his Officers whatfoever, Sheriffs or others, he charges that nei-"ther for fear of himself, nor out of favour to any other Person they pervert "Justice, not in respect to himself because there was no necessity that by any unjust exaction there should be any Collection of Money. At last after a great affeveration how much he studied the profit and convenience of his People, he "adjures all his Officers before he should arrive in England they would procure "all Debts to be paid due according to the Ancient custome, as Almes for the " Plough, the Tithes of all Cattle brought forth in the same year, Peterpence, " in August the Tithes of Corn, and at Martinmas the first Fruits of the same " called Curescot, or rather Circescot because given to the Church. In case this "were not paid before his Return he threatens to animadvert upon every one according to the Laws.

8. It's not much that a Foreigner and Usurper should mention the Laws; for fuch having, though by lawless courses, obtained the secure Possession of what they aimed at to gain the People, usually both observe the Laws of their Predecessours fo far as they contradict not their Ends and make themselves very good ones. There be but two courses, viz. absolute Conquest, and force with Sword and Halter; or else such as may win and cajoll the People. The former is dangerous, and must have a standing Army, and the Conquered must be turned out of their Estates, which are to be distributed amongst the Officers and Souldiers; the other Omnet enim more practicable and fuitable to fuch as have a mind to live at ease. Especially Legard and the Laws of King Ethelred he commanded under a Penalty to be kept, the latest right Regular the Laws of King Ethetred he commanded under a Penalty to be kept, the latest grand and most fitting the present case and temper of the Nation, but whereas the Monk of hundler adds in all Ages or Times, he understood not that positive Laws or Statutes must fine Exercise be changeable according to the mutability of the flate and condition of a People. Remainder the reinforcing of these former I gave others he will the intermediate. Befides the reinforcing of these former Laws, others he published in his own Name, regise multias we shall see in another place. From Rome he went to Danemark, and thence persons we this time (as some would have it) passed into Norway and expelled Olaus the vari process.

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Cnuite. CHAP. II.

King, but better Computers place this Action four years before. At his return Sect. 11. he spent his time in building and repairing Monasteries and Churches, which with the Monks the Writers of those times hath so far repaired his Fame and Esteem, that notwithstanding all his violence and injustice, nay notwithstanding he was the Depriver of one of their Saints, King Olaus, and the Procurer of his Death, (if not immediately by fending Affaffinates to murther him, as some have Written, yet mediately by procuring the Rebellion, and reducing him into the hatred of his People) they difmis him with a very fair character. Nay some tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, viz. that of Scotland, which, as appears from Matthew of Westminster, at this time depended on this of England, for he writes that the Scors now Rebelled, and that upon that occasion he led his Army thither where he eafily Conquered Malcolm the King, with two other Reguli which Huntingdon mentions by the Names of Melbeathe and Jermare. From forme Godwinu: :: passages in the Ecclesiastical Assairs of these times it also appears that Wales was London Esubject to him as it had been formerly to his Predecessours, although one Rithe-piscop. rech was styled King of all Wales, by which this onely was meant that there were feveral other Petty Kings which acknowledged his Superiority. But if the Kingdom of Scotland was given him for his Piety, that of Heaven followed not long after, for within two years he Died on the twelfth of November at Shaftsbury, and was Buried at Winchester in the Old Monastery, after he had Reigned twenty years. It cannot be denied but that he was a Magnificent Prince, bountifull both to Religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. His fault was that he could never have been fo Magnificent or Bountifull, but that he came to that greatness by Indirect means. His method and means were bad; but few that have obtained Crowns fo unjustly have managed their Power once obtained with fo much Justice and Humanity; fo that well may he bear away the Title generally given

Dies.

His Character, him of Canutus the Great.

9. And this he may the better deserve if that Story be true which is commonly told of his fenfibleness of his own Meanness as a Man and his afcribing absolute Greatness onely to him in comparison of whom Kings themselves, though in respect to one another they may be styled Great, yet are to be accounted little greater than Nothing. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon having told us that before him there was never a King of England fo Mighty, as being Lord of all Danemark, Scotland, adds that besides his many Wars he waged, he was eminent for three things especially. The first was his marrying his Daughter to the Emperour with unspeakable Riches. The second was the diminishing or abating to one half all the Exactions or Impositions upon Travellers between France and Rome. The third was this: when the Tide came in he fet his Chair on the Sea Shoar, and as the Sea grew to be high he spake to it in these terms: Thou art under my Dominion, and the Land where I sit is mine; neither is there any, who without due punishment shall resist my commands. I command thee therefore that thou rise not so high as where I sit, neither presume to wet the Cloaths nor the Limbs of thy Lord. But the Sea according to the cultome without any Reverence, flowing up, first to the Feet and then to the Legs of the King, wet as he was he leaped back and faid. Let all Inhabitants of the World know that vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings; neither is there any one worthy that Title but he alone whose Command by force of Eternal Laws the Heaven, the Earth and the Sea obey. He adds, that after this he never fet his Golden Crown upon his head, but placed it upon a Crucifix. Some fillily blame his carriage as Superflitious, others fay fuch a Demonstration of Almighty God's Prerogative was needless. But the passage was seasonable enough to convince and reprove such as were apt to be dazled with the worldly glory of those who have so small command over the Sea, that at land it self the Power of the greatest of them extends it felf scarcely one intire Mile from the place where they stand, either upward, or below; the furface, fo long as he pleases too, they can onely call their

10. Cnute by Algiva of Northampton his Concubine the Daughter of Earl Alfelm had two Sons, whereof one was called Swane, and the other Harold, as the current opinion went, though some speak doubtfully, as if to conceal her Barrenness, the former she had procured from a Priest's Wife (or a Woman Malmesh. Servant) and the latter from the Wife of a Shoomaker. By Emma the Relict of Matt. Westing February and the Relict of Matt. Westing for the Relict of Matt. Westing King Ethelrede which he seems to have Married in the life-time of Algiva, though Hoveden others call Algiva Queen, he had a Son Named Hardecoute, and a Daughter of alii. great Beauty called Gundhilda, married by her Brother afterward to Henry the

Sect. 11. Emperour of Germany, Before his Death it's faid that he appointed Swame to be Sim. Daniella King of Norway, Hard coute King of Danemark, and to Harold affigned the Kingdom of England. But this feems no ways probable that he would separate the Son of his dearly beloved Wife so far from her, especially if that be true, which fome have written, that he formerly promifed to leave the Crown of England to

fuch Islue as he should have by her. However Harold by means of the Danes Elegerum cam and the Citizens of London (whom Malmesbury writes to have been almost Danie G Lonby this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourse with them) during the by this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourse with them) qui jum pass and afterward by injustice obtained the English Crown, but not till after much con- in Barbarians

tention. For each Pretender endeavoured to strengthen himself with Friends and rum more rention. For each recentled the Danes and Londoners stood for Harold; so most quentum tin-

of the English contended for Edward the Son of King Ethelred, and some for Har-villum tranof the English Contended for Ensural theorem. No expectation was there but of a firam. The decentre the Son of Courte by Queen Ensura. No expectation was there but of a firam. The definition of the courted firm of the courted for the cour got the dreadfull wastes made by the Danish Inrodes) to quit their Habitations, charaand betake themselves into watrish and senny places where they thought the E- Indulphus Malmeth. nemy either could not or would not purfue them, particularly to the Monastery of Croyland, where they caused such a disturbance that the Religious of the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All feemed now to tend to a flaughter, when by the Interpolition of some of the more sober fort

Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to meet and hold a Confultation to prevent the effusion of Christian Bloud. The place appointed was Oxford, where when they sufficiently debated the matter by the Major part it was at last Which is en-concluded, that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt Hareld and Hardecoute,

fo that Harold should have all the Countries lying Northward from the Thames, together with the City of London; and Hardecnute enjoy all the Southern 11. Hardeenute's disadvantage was that at the time of his Father's Death he

was in Danemark, whither he was fent to order matters, and by his entercourse to gain the affections of the People, and indeed he feems to have been deligned by his Father both to the Succession of the one Kingdom and the other. Harold took his opportunity to gain Friends, and some think that at first he was chosen King alone by a prevalent Party, but Hardecoute arriving e'er he had confirmed his Pollellion, this Agreement was made betwixt them for dividing the Kingdom, which fetled, Hardecnute's Affairs called him back into Danemark, and then again Harold taking an advantage at his Absence, being already in Possesfion of the greatest part, seized upon all. But whether in this juncture of Affairs Hardeenute returned into England or was absent all the while, Harold got to be fole King by affiftence of the Danes, the Londoners, and now at length of Godwin created for his former Services in Danemark, Earl of Kent, who being a Man made up of ambition and cunning, at the beginning of the Contest had professed himself a stout Champion of Emma and her Children, but now upon the turning of the tide resolved to swim with the stream, or was wrought upon by the promifes of Harold, who made as if he would Marry one of his Daughters. Yet did the Clergy stick close to the Children of Emma, and though the Nobility fided with Harold, fo much contended for them, that Egelnoth the Archbishop of Canterbury refused the Office of Crowning him, protesting that as long as any of the faid Children lived he would never give his Affent or Benediction to any other, and affirming (as some write) that Counte on his Death-bed had commended them to his care and fidelity. The Ensigns of Royalty he laid upon the Altar, denouncing a Curse against his Brethren the Bishops in case any of them should deliver them to Harold, and inhibiting him from medling with such things, and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to \* Ind deline God and that Holy Place. Yet for all this was he Crowned, for we cannot but \* Ind deline Manafara believe \* Ingulphus, that he bestowed on their Monastery the Robe of his Coro-nofire Chination. That this Archbishop notwithstanding all this adoe overcome either by maken containing his threats or promises, performed the Ceremony, though one of his Successors date for the first survey of the containing writes, yet we dare not affirm. † Others will have him Elected King without the ifque floribu

Royal Ornaments, but herein they are not to be credited. 12. Harold having secured now, as he thought, his Royal Estate, so far as the secretarian People were concerned (which if Simeon tell true, he had by means of Godwin communation and others fo far cajolled, that from being King of the Mercians and Northum-in cappum. brians, together with the Nobility, they chose him to Reign through all England, + Parker in abjuring Hardecnute, who it was pretended, though fent for, would not return out of during Both Danemark)

Denmark) cast in his mind, as the custome is, how to entrap and obviate his Emulatours Sect. 10. and Rivals. Emma or Algina, as some call her, his Stepmother, he had already deprived of the greatest part of the treasure which his Father had left her, so the less reason he had to sear her effectual tampering with any for her Sons, having nothing present wherewith to allure them, and it being accounted but a spare dier to fede merely upon hopes. But her two Sons, Alfred and Edward, hearing in Normandy how matters passed, could not forbear looking on, if they could not be the principal Actours in these Revolutions: into England they come with a splendid attendance of Normans, and haste to their Mother then lying at Winchester. But passing through Kent, the Charge and Residence of Earl Godwin, Alfred falls Simeon Duinto his hands, and then pretending (at least) to be going to London to the King namen Dulinto his hands, and then pretending (at least) to be going to London to the King namen Ann. who had fent for him, is stopped and put into close Cultody: Godwin affirming it was dangerous under pretence of Kindred, to bring fo many strangers, and those

A Mussiage of of a craity Nation into the Land, of his followers, some he put into Chains; of the Normans. some he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the Hands and Feet, and many he caused to be sold, some he tortured by pulling their Skins over their Ears, of others he caused the Guts to be bound about a stake, and then their Bodies to be turned round the stake till all the Entrals were drawn out, and in conclusion, by various and miferable deaths, fix hundred Men he murthered at Guilford; fome write, that he onely spared one in ten, and after that was done, thinking that too many Normans still survived, he decimated them over again, and amongst the rest thus murthered were twelve persons of great Nobility. Emma having notice of this Massacre, sent away her Son Edward into Normandy, to be out of harms way. And well did she ground her fears; for while the one Brother thus shifted for himself, the other that was entrapped by command of Earl Godwin and others, was fent away to the Isle of Ely, where he was scarcely Landed, when others, was tent away to the me of Ety, where he was rearcely Landed, when Apud Gillinge-most cruelly his Eyes were pulled out of his Head, which done, he was led to ham us ferithe Monastery, and there delivered to the Monks to be safely kept. But he trou- bit Malmeth. bled them not long, prefently after his fight ending his days, and in the Southern Porch of the Western End of the Church, was decently buried.

13. Thus cruelly was poor Alfred dealt with, but still greater was the cruelty, whom Alfred if it was procured and ushered in by the treachery and forgery of Harold, who is killed by the as the Encomium of Emma (the Authour whereof feems to have lived about those times ) gives us the Relation, on purpose to get those young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother. "Herein personating "her, the chides them gently for their delay in looking after their own concern-" ments, feeing they could not but know, that it procured the dayly confirming " of the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Arts whatsoever to gain the chief "Nobility to his Party. He assures them yet that the English Nation had much " rather that one of them should be their King, and in conclusion, desires they would " come as speedily and privately as they could to consult with her what course " was to be taken. The Letter was conveyed by a suborned Messenger, who by presents sent as from their Mother, and by his infinuations plaid his part so well, that the truth of the Message was not doubted of. Now some Historians say, that Wallingham. the better to conceal themselves, they came into England several ways. Others in Hypodigm. fay, that Alfred onely Arrived, and that Edward with forty Sail of well man-Neufria, fay, that Alfred onely Arrived, and that Edward with forty Sail of well man-Neufria, ned Ships came to Southampton, where he found the Coast guarded with Souldiers to prevent his Landing. He adventured to fight, and that with good fuccels, but finding himself too slenderly provided to march up into the Countrey, and Conquer the Kingdom, with much Booty he Sailed back into Normandy. Indeed, confidering that Alfred onely was taken, these Relations seem nearer to truth, and that Alfred with a few Ships, and not many Men Landing in Kent, He banisheth fell into the Snares laid for him by Earl Godwin. The Children being thus dispofed of, the Mother he thought fit not to fuffer here to remain, but presently after banished her the Kingdom, though Winter was begun, she retired not into Normandy, because, as some alledge, Duke William, the base Son of her Nephew Robert, was then brought up in the French Court, and some add what may be more improbable, that her Son Edward was then gone into Hungary to confult with his Cousin Edward, Sirnamed the Outlam, whom as we faid, Coute had banished thither. She went streight for Flanders, where she was courteously received by Earl Baldwin, who pitying the Case of a distressed Lady and Queen, affigned her Bruges to dwell at, and munificently provided for her all the time the there staid.

14. After two years she was visited by her Son Hardecoute out of Denmark, and they comforted themselves as well as they could with hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the English would relent, or that the Usurper would by fome other means end either his days or his Reign, in which they were not much beguiled. Harold on this side the water, as much incouraged himfelf in his hopes strengthened by present and actual possession, the main point in the case, and resolved to omit nothing, which now they were gone, might serve to keep them out. For this purpose he provided himself of a Fleet, the onely Bullwark of the Island, for the furnishing of which to fixteen ships every Port pay'd Eight Marks of Silver, as had been done in his Father's days, as writes Henry the Archdeacon of Huntingdon. Hereby he incenfed the minds of the English against him, which the Welsh it feems perceiving, or for some other reason, began to be fo unruly that some stirs happened thereupon, wherein many of the English Nobility were slain, by name Edwin Brother to Earl Leofric, Turkil and Algeat the Sons of Eff, both of them great men, and many others. But these things could not accomplish the hopes of the banished, which was left to be done by death,

Harold dying shortly after when he had reigned four years, and as many Months. Some fay he died at London, some at Oxford; but he was to be sure buried at Some tay nedted at London, tolled at Organical Vertices, that he had a Body like an Hare, Ifte Hardian Wessimilster. Henry Knighton strangely writes, that he had a Body like an Hare said which habitit Corpus he means furely hairy like that Creature, and thence was called Harefoot, which admediate. firname others derive from his swiftness of foot. Brompton the Abbat of Jornal poil, & idea gives him this Character, that in all regards he degenerated from the worth of dicebatur D. his Father Canute (but others suspected him not to have been his Son) for he eventibut Anwas altogether careless both as to matters of War and Peace, onely he would gially 1.66. was altogether careless both as to matters of wal and later than the purfue his own Will, and what was misbeleeming his Royal Estate, chose rather am Rejain to goe on foot than ride, whence for the lightness and swiftness of his Feet he cellstudinen was called Harold Harefoot. He being dead, the Nobility with which now the positionals Londoners joined, fent messengers to Hardecoute still at Bruges, with his Mother, quam Equi intreating him to come, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he hat-equirebut riok ted into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there to fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there is no fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there is no fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, there is no fettle his matters, which done with fixty ships, and ma-proper levitated into Denmark, the proper levitated into Denmark is not the fixty ships. ny Soldiers he came over in August, and landing at Sandwich was chearfully recei-cursus Hardved, and both by English and Danes admitted as King. 15. Hardecoute began his Reign over England, in the fixth year of Michael extinit appel

Hardecnute

therers of his

the Fourth, the Paphlagonian Emperour of Constantinople, the second of Henry land. firnamed the Black, Emperour of Germany, in the Reign of Henry King of the Franks, A.D. 1040. Having obtained the Kingdom he did little worthy of his condition, or the place he bare, but made them advantages onely to gratify his Who punish- exorbitant Passions. The first thing was to be revenged on Harold, for the In- Alfraign Einjuries offered to himself and his mother, whose Body he caused to be digged up raconfirm in puries offered to himmel and his mother, whole hour he cannot to be digged up disting daily by Alfric Archbiflop of Tork, Earl Godwin and others, the Head to be cut off, and sum Content, both it and the Trunk to be cast first into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the Styr majoren Thames, where being caught in a Fishermans Net, it was by some of his Relations Down Market Comments of the Relations Down Rel I names, where being caught in a runermans ivet, it was by tothe of his Relations conveyed to land and buried in a burying place of the Danes, which constant Tras area, I read in the Danes is the Danes in the Dane dition affirms to be this Church and Church-yard of St. Clement without Tem-fum camifple-Bar, in which Parish we reside at the writing hereof. Following on this em@distingual digit.

Course of Revenge (which some style piery to his Kindred) he deservedly deprived that with Living Bilhop of Worceffer, who had an hand in the Murther of his Brother Alfred, Lindonian but then again within a year, was bought off with money and reftored him. Godmin Hardis cape the cunning Earl was glad to buy his Peace with a Gally excellently rigged, fineling the plant of the cunning Early was glad to buy his Peace with a Gally excellently rigged, fineling in the current of the cunning and the cunning Early was glad to buy his Peace with a Gally excellently rigged, fineling in the current of the current that comming Lail was given furnished with all all conveniencies both for War and granus projections a guilded Stemm, furnished with all all conveniencies both for War and granus projections. Pleasure, and manned with Eighty choice Souldiers, every of which had upon Sim. Dail each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing fixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corllet and Am. M. R. gilt as was the Hilt of the Sword with which he was girt, a Danish Scimiter adorned with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left hand he held a shield, the Boss and Nails of which were also gilded, and in his right a Lance, which in the Language of the English was called A Tegar. But this would not ferve his turn except he also took an Oath, that Prince Alfred had not his Eyes put out by his advice or defire, but therein he merely obeyed Harold, at that time his Lord and Master, together with most of the Nobility of the

16. At the same time he thus animadverted upon such as had been cruel to his Tax upon the Relations, he incurred the high difpleasure of the People by a Tax he laid upon them, for the payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a burthen that scarcely any could bear, which caused

these who had procured his Advancement forely to repent them. However he Sect. 11. exacted the Tax with all rigour, imploying his House Carles as they were called, exacted the 1ax with all rigour, improving the Subfidy throughout the Land, where-sus tulcar-or his Houlhold Servants, in gathering the Subfidy throughout the Land, where-sus tulcar-of the Worcestershire Men slew two called Feadur and Turstan, having sted into a minus semi-Tower belonging to a Monastery of that City. Hardenute exceedingly incensed ful Provincias at their death, fent to revenge it Legfric Duke of the Mercians, Godwin of the designdum and their death, fent to revenge it Legfric Duke of the Mercians, Siward of the Northumbrians, and others with great Forces, and or ratiribusum. ders to kill all the men, to plunder and burn the City and waste the Country Sim. ad Ann. Walter War- round about. On the Evening preceding the thirteenth of November they be- 1041. gan their injoyned work, and continued wasting and spoiling both City and Coun-

trey for four days together. But few of the Inhabitants themselves they could lay hands on, the Countreymen shifting for themselves every way as they could, and the Citizens betaking themselves to a little Island in the Severn called Beverege, which they fortified, and floutly flood upon their Guard till their Oppofers tired out made Peace with them, and suffered them to return home in Peace, which yet was not done till on the fifth day the City being burnt, the Army retreated But is kind to loaded with Plunder. After this Act of severity, Hardeenste (as if he had spent Edward and his Gall and evacuated his ill humours) began to be good natur'd. For shortly after he gave kind entertainment to Edward his Brother, the Son of Ethelred and Emma, who now returned after a tedious exile in Normandy. To his farther com-

mendation he took good care of his Sifter Gunhilda or Gunildis preferring her to be the Wife of Henry the German Emperour. She was a Lady of admirable beauty, and in her Father's time had in vain been courted by feveral Lovers. Her Brother fet her forth with all the pomp imaginable, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Ship, and contributing to the Expences as much as every one could bear, belides what the King's Exchequer could furnish. But Covetousness

was not his crime in extravagant Expences, especially in Feasting he much delighted. Four Meals a day he allowed in his Court, which Huntingdon attributes to his bounty, rather, he faith, defiring that Meat should be taken away untouched from fuch as were invited, than that fuch as were not invited should complain for want of Victuals; whereas the cultome of our time is, either out of Covetousnefs, or (as they pretend) because they cannot eat, for great men to allow their Followers but one Meal a day. As Hardecnute lived so he died in his beloved

Then dies at trade of feafting, at Lambeth at a Wedding, which with great pomp and Luxury a feaft was folemnized betwixt Tovy firnamed Prudan, a Danish Nobleman, and Githa the Daughter of Ofgod Clapa a great Lord also of that Nation. As he was very jolly and merry, Caroufing it with the Bride and some of the Company, he fell down speechless, and died on the eighth of June in the flower of his Age, when he had

reigned but two years.

17. Such was the end of this diffolute young man by that Vice which was but too familiar to the Danish Nation, to the cruelty of which before they got possesfion of the Land, when they were once fecure and at their eafe, Gormandizing and Drunkenness succeeded. But as he exceeded all of them in this kind, so though he was born in England, and upon that Account might have been addicted to the Inhabitants and Customs of this Countrey, yet out of Sympathy with their humour did he bear most affection to them; nay, suffered them most infolently to domineer over the English. "In case a Dane met an English man Circonic Joh. dominier over " upon a Bridge, the Engliss man durst not stir a foot till the Dane was pas-Brampro the Engliss man durst not stir a foot till the Dane was pas-Brampro

"fed over. If an English man when a Dane passed by did not bow the Head in "934. " an humble manner, his head should be broken, or for his Clownishness he " should be soundly Bastinado'd. If Henry de Knyghton the Canon of Leicester Editionis Beemay be credited, this Hardeenute so far increased this Insolence, that upon every iana column English Family he imposed a Dane as their Lord and Governour, whence some 2326. have believed that the word Lordane came, which fignifies a Lubberly Idle Fellow. These Danes received into their Houses, ravished their Wives, defloured their Daughters and their Maids without controll; and many other Villanies they committed to put Affronts and difference upon the English Nation. The fame Crimes, viz. Luxury and Effeminateness, of which the English formerly were guilty, and which procured their Rule and Domination over them, were now come to an height in the Danes, and as in all great changes of Kingdoms and States procured their Ruine here, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the English were grown vertuous and good, for they were still sick of such Distempers, as within a few years procured the utter destruction of their Empire, as we shall see hereaster; but Despair and Necessity are powerfull Motives, such K k 2

them banifh-

as will make even the Lame man to find his Legs, and the Coward to grow valiant. Not able to bear the continual Indignities and burthen put upon them. they took this opportunity to shake off the yoak, reassumed some Courage and gathered together (faith mine Authour) a great Army, which was called Howneher, from one Howne who first gave the Advice and was their Captain in the Enterprize. Many Danes they flew, and the rest they banished out of England, (that is, fuch as they had most cause to be angry with, for that Multitudes had imbodied themselves with the English Nation and still continued, especially in the Eastern and Northern parts is evident enough) whither they never afterwards returned, when they had here tyrannized by times for above two hundred and fifty years, and of these been possessed of the Supreme Power or Royalty, twenty fix.

## SECT. XII.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons restored in Britain. From the Promotion of Edward the Son of Ethelred (afterward firnamed the Confessour) to the Death of Harold the last King of the English Race, the final Period of the English Saxon Empire, and the Conquest of England by Duke William the Norman.

The space of Two and twenty Tears, Six Months, and odd Days.

THe English being rid of the Danes, resolved to have no King but of

their own Native Race, and having so good an opportunity to discharge their Resolution, by reason that Hardicoute died Childless, agreed to pitch upon one of the Polterity of their late King Ethelred. The generality of Hiltorians concur as to Edward his Son by Emma, that their eyes were fixed upon him, yet Henry of Huntingdon tells a Story of Alfred his Brother, as if he were still alive in Normandy, and was now fent for by the Nobility, whom the concurrent Testimony of others affirms to have been before this blinded and imprisoned in the Edward made Isle of Ely. Most of our Writers will have Edward preferred by the means and Ring by the procurement of Earl Godwin effectally, yet fome others tell a Tale, that Godwin affiliance of for fear of life as Confessor of what he was confessor of the confessor of t for fear of life, as Conscious of what he was guilty of in reference to the Relati- Bromon. ons of Edward was fled into Denmark and returned not till he was owned as King and held a Parliament in the City of London, by Mediation whereof he obtained pardon. But in this case we have best reason to trust to the \* Testimony of In- \* Post 1918 gulphus, who himself lived in this Edward's days, and writes expelly that his simumum Eletime Promotion happened by the Advice and Perfwalion of Earl Godwin. William of in Edwards Malmesbury after him, the Authour of most credit, gives us the Relation in this Concordant, manner. Hardicaute being dead, Edward was at a great loss in himself, not maxime communication of the state o knowing what way to turn him, or what course to take, but at last resolved to wine comits, cast himself opon the Counsel and Fidelity of Earl Godwin, who being sent to for a friendly Conference for forme time fluctuated in his thoughts whether he should be confirmed own him or not, but at length was content to speak with him. "Edward get rime like " ting Access, was about to fall at his feet, which when he would not furfer, 6-13-" he told him the fad Story of his Brother Hardicaute's death, and with great

"Promises craves his assistence for his safe return into Normandy. Godwin gives

"him this unexpected answer, that he had better live gloriously a King in Eng- Sect. 12. " land, than dye ignominiously in Exile; that the Crown did of right belong to "him, as the Son of Ethelred and Nephew of Edgar, one who was of ripe Age, "inured to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order publick Af-" fairs with Justice, and had been taught by his own late afflictions how to re-" move and prevent the miseries of his People. To bring this about there would be no obstacle, for if he would but trust him, he should find that his Interest was very great in the Land. He told him that Fortune would be favourable to his inclinations, which way foever they tended, and if he took it upon him he was fure there would be none to contradict. On condition he would establish a fast Friendship with him and his House, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he should shortly see himself a King, who now as one Shipwrackt in his fortunes, and a Man Banished from all Expectations, implored the help of another

2. Edward's Case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but agree to every thing, and comply with the state and condition of the times, whatsoever he required he promised by Oath. Godwin was a Man sitted by Nature for managing fuch a Bufiness, having a very smooth and pleasant Tongue, fo copious and eloquent, that he could work upon the affections of the People, infinuate whatfoever he defired, and draw them with eafe to any thing, which he could but defign. He procures a Council to be fummoned to Gillingham, (fome Copies have it London) and there fome he perswades by his own Authority, some by promises, and others inclined before to favour Edward's Cause, he fully brings over to his Party, the rest that made opposition, were overpowered at present, disgraced, and afterward hurried out of the Land. On Easter day, which this year fell on the third of April, he was Crowned at Winchester by the two Archbishops, Edsi of Canterbury, and Alfric of Iork, affished with other Prelates, of whom, Living Bishop of Worcester, contributed very much to the bringing about this design. Thus was the Empire of the English restored to the En glish Royal Bloud, and the People so unexpectedly delivered from the D. nish Tiranny, were exceedingly fatisfied, yet still making a way for another Revolution, which they little imagined to be so near. Betwixt the Death of Hardicnute and the Coronation of Edward, intervened about ten Months, the one happening in June, and the other in April following, so that this alteration required some confiderable time, and probably found as confiderable opposition, notwithstanding the great power of Earl Godwin. This Promotion of Edward, if we reckon no Interregnum, and begin his Reign where Hardicnute's ended, fell out in the first year of Constantinus Monomaclius, Emperour of Constantinople, the fourth of Henrigus Niger the German Emperour, in the year of our Lord, MXLII. But if we reckon from his Coronation, his beginning is to be fetcht from the year next fol-

CHAP. II.

3. Edward the creature of Godwin, after his Advancement, conformed himfelf wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The first thing he did, was to seize on the Treasure of his Mother Emma, then at Winchester. The Cause pretended was, that the had been harsh to him in the time of his banishment and necessities; and indeed, she is thought to have born no great affection, either to Ethelred or his Children; but Godwin however feems to have been the Instiller of this Indignation into the King's mind, bearing her malice for concerning her felf about the cruelty exercised toward her Son Alfred. Simeon writes expresly, that Edward did it by advice of Leofric, Godwin and Giward, who accompanied him from Glawom or Glocester to Winchester, where coming on her at unawares, he took away from her whatsoever Gold, Silver or Jewels she had then about her; to which Relation, Matthew of Westminster adds, that he yet commanded that she should be supplied with Necessaries, and be free from all farther disturbance, which how far it was observed, we shall see anon. But whatever his Actions were towards his Mother, Godwin would take care he should deal fairly with him, in the marriage of his Daughter Editha or Egitha, which about this time he procu-And marries red to be Solemnized. The Lady indeed for her perfections, both inward and outward, deserved a Crown, so that this was not the particular wherein this Earl imposed on him. Herein we may give credit to *Ingulphus* the Abbot, who knew her very well, and to hites that the was most beautifull, most chaste and vertuous, especially humble, and very well feen in humane Learning, favouring nothing of the rudeness either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modest, faithfull and honest, never doing any ill Offices, so that it became a Proverb, that as a Thorn pro-

Sect. 12 duces a Rose, so Godwin begat Egitha. When he was a School-boy, and came Siem spian.

To see his Father, then living at Court he saith he met her very often, and she of the seminal would often oppose him of his Lesson, both in Grammar and Logick, wherein the was very expert, and when by her fubtile arguing the had non-plus d him, the would order her Maid to give him money, and not difmits him till he had also filled his Belly with good chear, thus she obliged him: but though she did this to him when a Boy he wrote not the story till he was Abbat and an Aged

Danifb No-

4. Edward thus fetled in the Throne, yet thought not himself secure as long as He banishes any eminent Persons of the Danish Bloud continued in the Land. He bas simen ad An. nished Gunbilda, the Daughter of Wortgern (King of the Vandals fay fome) and 1044.481. the Sillet of King Cnute, married first to Hacun, and then to Harold both Earls, but now a Widow, and with her her two Sons Hemmung and Turkill were also fent away. They first went to Bruges in Flanders, and thence afterward proceeded into Denmark. But while he thus as he thought prevented ftorms at home, a Tempest had Simeon ad An. like to have fallen upon him from the North, where Magnus King of 1045. Norway, the Son of Holy King Olane to revenge, it feems, the Injury done here to his Father in the Days of Cnute, prepared to invade England. Edward to secure himself provided a strong Fleet which lay expecting Magnus in Sandwich Rode, but Swane King of Denmark, though he had no reason to befriend the English who had so lately expelled his Countreymen, yet to hinder the growth of his next Neighbour, diverted him by making an Inrode into his Kingdom. This procured fuch feuds betwixt these two Northern Kings, that Magnus in revenge the year following entred Denmark, whence he quite expelled King Swane, and made himself Lord of the Countrey. Now Swane sent his Ambassadours to King Edward, hoping he would return fuch a kindness as he had received from him when he was in danger. Godwin was for supplying him with a Fleet of sifty Veffels both to requite Swane, and to give a check to the Success and Ambition of Magnus, and the thing had heen done but for the opposition of Earl Leofric and others, who thought it fafer the King should fit still and be a looker on than perhaps disoblige the Conquerour, and bring danger upon himself. And whereas Swane had formerly indeed by the Inrode he made into Denmark, done that which tended much to the repose of England, yet seeing he took his measures from his own Interest not that of Edward, he could not take it amis, that Edward also

should steer his course by the same compass. 5. And their Counsel had this effect, that as Magnus during his Life (all which he enjoyed the Kingdom of Denmark) offered no more to attempt any thing upon England, so Harold Harvager his Uncle and Successour, assoon as he came to the Crown fent Ambassadours to Edward, and made a League and Alliance with him. Thus above ground there was nothing but quiet and ferenity, when within the Earth happened on Mayday being Sunday a great motion and concussion, at Worcefler, Derby and many other places. A great mortality of Men, and a Murrain amongst Cattel followed, and Fires in the Air, or those Meteors which being kindled are called Ignes fatui, in Derbyshire and other Countries burnt many Engages with Villages and much Standing corn. But while Edward was free from Wars at Henry the Em-Home, he was ingaged by the Emperour Henry the following year against Baldperour against win the Earl of Flanders, with whom he had a quarrel about a Palace of his Baldains Earl of Flanders. Countrey, which the Earl had fired. Pope Leo and Swane the King of the Danes Simeoned dis he had to affift him by Land, and left Baldwin should escape by Sea he procured the 1645 King of England to secure the Coasts, which he did, lying so long with his Fleet form. before the Port of Sandwich, till he had an intelligence that an Agreement was made betwixt them. In the mean time Swane the Son of Earl Godwin, and whom fome make Earl of Berksbire, Oxfordsbire and Glocestersbire, having formerly been banished, or at least left the Land, for having defloured Edgida the Abbels of Chester whom he would have married, came back from Denmark with eight ships, pretending a great desire to be reconciled to the King. Beern an Earl, and his Coulin German the Son of VIf a Dane undertook to make his Peace. The War being at an end betwixt the Emperour and Earl Baldwin, this Bearn and Godwin who commanded the Fleet with forty two ships, by the King's leave were removed to Pevenjey, the rest of the Navy, except what the King kept with him, being dismissed. To Pevenjey Swane comes and solicits his Cousin Beorn, according to his promife, to carry him to the King, then lying at Sandwich and obtain his pardon; Beorn mistrusting nothing because of their Consanguinity rea-

dily went with him attended onely by three Servants, but he having brought

him to Bosenham where his ships lay at Anchour, and having carried him aboard Sect. 1 caused him first to be bound fast, and keeping him till he came to Dertmonth, there he murthered him, which done he cast his Body into a deep Ditch, and covered it with a bundance of Earth. Six of Swane's ships the Inhabitants of Haftings took, and killing all the Men they found aboard them, carried them to Sandwich to the King. With the other two he fled into Flanders, where he continued till fuch time as Aldred Bishop of Worcester brought him back and reconciled him, for all this, to the gentle King.

6. Crimes of this nature were at this time but too common and too little punished, such was the wickedness of the English Nation which now fell again into fecurity, though the late dreadfull Rod was but just removed from their backs. Nay it was at this very time again as it were shaken over them. For Ofgod Clapa being it seems banished with his Wife as well as other Danes, had got together nine and twenty ships, with fix of which taking his Wife from Bruges he sailed into Denmark, the rest went to the Coasts of Essex, where doing very much harm in their return they were feized with a mighty Tempest, and lost but two, which being driven into foreign parts were feized, and the men put to the Sword. But not The Sea-coast onely were they put in mind hereby of the Danish Cruelties more lately practised, but by something then happened on the other side of the Island of the old Devastations made upon these parts by the Irish Scots, but here was the difference, that

whereas formerly the Britains were fufferers, now they were become Actours with them. For, as Florent of Worcester writes, this same year in the Month of August, certain Pirates from Ireland with thirty fix ships entring the Mouth of the River Severn, landed at a place called Wilesceaxen, where joyning with Griffin King of Southwales, they foraged the Countrey and did some mischief. Then he at the head of them passed the River Weage, they burnt Dunedham, and flew all the People they could find, the Alarm being now taken by the adjoyning Parts, Aldred Bishop of Worcester with some Glocester and Herefordshire men hasted against them, but certain Welsh men that they had with them sent privately to Griffin, and gave him notice when he might most conveniently fall upon the English, and he taking the opportunity together with the Irish Pirates fell accordingly upon them early in the Morning and killed many, the rest making their escape. The next year that followed but one, King Edward, to com-Ingulphus.

Danegeld remitted by him. fort and relieve his People, forely vexed with a Famine of which many thousands died, took off the Tax of Eighty thousand Pound, formerly imposed by his Father,

and called Danegeld, which had lain heavy on them for eight and thirty years. But as this effect of his good nature to them, tended much to their ease and convenience, fo other Acts of his kindness to Strangers this very year, proved of ill

confequence unto the whole Nation.

7. Eustace Earl of Boloign Father to Godfrey and Baldwin who were afterward Vide Malmerb. He is kind to Kings of Jerusalem, and King Edward's Brother-in-Law by a Marriage with his ubi supra cap. Sifter Goda, from Whit and failed over to Dover, and having had conterence with Dunelm, ad the King ahout some affair of consequence, and returning back in the month of Ann. MLI. September, one of his Harbingers at Canterbury was fo rude with a Townsman in feeking for Lodgings, that he provoked him to kill him in heat of Anger. Euftace inraged hereat with all his Company, hasted to revenge his Servants death, and killed him that had flain him with other eighteen of his Company; but thereupon the Citizens rifing fell upon him and his men, whereof one and twenty they flew, and wounded many others, he himself hardly escaping with one Follower from the Tumult. To Court he posts with great Clamour, and assisted by some of his own Party, greatly incenses the King against those of Canterbury. Earl Godwin is sent for and commanded with all speed to march with an Army and punish the Offenders. He on the contrary affirms, that no man is to be condemned before he be heard, and frets that the King should sayour all Strangers more than his own Subjects, for many of them he had preferred to great places, and trust in the English Church and State; one Robert a Norwan lately Bishop of London he had made Archbishop of Canterbury, and another of that Country cilled William, he had promoted to the See of London, which thing exasperated the English against the Normans. Being backed by some others that loved their Countrey, he urged that the chief Actours in the late disorders were first to be fent for and fairly tried; in case they were found innocent to be dismissed, but if culpable to be fined, or undergoe some corporal Punishment for the breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront they had offered to the Earl. He farther put him in mind, that it was his part to protect his People, and not condemn

uo Arms.

Sect. 12 them without due process. In conclusion, the thing he refused to doe, not essecming the King's Anger which he thought would be but a fit; but Edward difpleased with his refusal, and farther egged on to revenge called an Assembly of Godwin and all the Nobility at Glocester, that the matter might be therein debated. All the Queeires to Nobility was present or few excepted, onely Godwin and his Sons appeared not, timeggii profulpecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's humour, but Armed certaining carthemselves, Godwin raising Forces out of his Earldom, containing (as Simeon venire. writes) Kent, Southfex and Westfex; his Eldest Son Swane out of his, which comprised Oxfordshire, Glocestershire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire and Berkshire; Haroldus de

and Harold his Youngest Son out of his County, wherein Essex, East England, Suo comitans, the Shires of Huntingdon and Cambridge were included. 8. They took up their Quarters at Beverstan, and gave out that they Armed Anglia Him. against the Wellb who designing mischief against the King had fortified a tindunens s

place in Hereford/hire, where Smane the Son of Godwin then lay Incamped under Granding that pretence. But the Welfb having some notice of the Device prevented it by eit, &c. clearing themselves at Court, where Godwin and his Sons were rendred so odious, that the King's Army was expected to March against them. And Edward had fent to Leofric Earl of Mercia, and Syward of Northumberland to come and succour him in his extremity with all the Power they could raife. They at first came but with a few; but fending afterwards throughout their feveral Commands, got together in a little time great Forces, with which Rodulph the King's Nephew by his Sister Goda, and her former Husband Walter de Maunt joyned himself though with small expectation, for being Earl of Hereford but a very Coward, he had turned (as we shall see) his back of the Welsh Men, and less his County with the City and the Bishop in it to their Sword and Fire, and they had done greater mischief if Harold had not by his industry and valour timely prevented it. Godwin and his Sons in the mean time proceed into Glocestershire, and Incamped themselves at a place then called Langtree, whence they send to the King then lying at Glocester, and demand Earl Eustace and his Company, together with such Normans and Bulloignois as held the Castle at Canterbury to be given up into their hands, upon refulal denouncing War. The King was very much discomposed at the Message, not knowing what course to take; but when he understood that the Forces of Leofric, Syward and Rodulph were on their March, he flatly refused to give them up, and with that Answer sent back the Messenger. They were scarce gone when the Armies came to Glocester so inraged that the King had much adoe to keep them from going out immediately to engage Godwin. Now Leofric and others of the wifer fort ferioully confidering the fad consequences of a Civil War perswaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which there was the more hopes because Godwin had given order to his Sons not to fall on first, but defend themselves in case they were attacked by the King's Forces. They brought the Parties to this Accord, that Hostages should be given on both sides, and the whole matter referred to a farther Debate to be held at

9. The King hereupon encreases his Army by Leavies in Mercia and Northumberland, and up to London he comes; Godwin also having done the like in Westfex comes up to Southwark. " Here his Son Swane to appeale the King's anger is commanded to be gone, Godwin and Harold to appear before the Council unarmed and accompanied onely with twelve Attendants, and to give up all " their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded they could not give " up themselves into the Hands of their Adversaries without sufficient caution " and fecurity, otherwife they were ready to furrender their Forces, and doe all " things else the King Commanded which were consistent with their Honour and " Safety; but to come unarmed was to hazard their Lives, and but with twelve "Followers their Reputation. The King by this Answer was farther exaspera- Rex in such ted, and thereupon an Edict was published by consent of the Council and Ar-concilio Estate. my that they should quit the Land in five days. His Souldiers it seems fearing nie exercing Who at length the Island to the Arrange of the Island to t it was fafelt to give way to the times, he departed with his Wife Gytha, and his quinque filies three Sons Swane, Gyrth and Tosti into Flanders to Earl Baldwin, whose Daughter em exulus three Sons swane, Gyren and 10st into Fianaers to East Datawn, whole Daughest Judith his Son Tost had Married; with as much Treasure as the Ship could car-free detection. ry. Harold and Leofwin his other Sons went to Briftol, where taking a Ship ibid. that their Brother Swane had provided for himself they sailed into Ireland. Harold's Earldom was conferred on Elgar the Son of Leofric an Industrious Man, who as willingly afterward furrendred it to him again as now he received it.

And the King still pursuing his Indignation deprived Edgytha his Wife of all her Sect. 12. Jewels and Treasure, and putting her away sent her with one onely attendant to Jewels and Treature, and putting he was a way of the Abbels his Sifter. The Wakewell a Wakewell to be there kept in custody by the Abbels his Sifter. The Wakewell was a way of the water o Enemy thus gone, William the Earl (as they call him) or Duke of Normandy Malmesh. William Duke with many of his Normans comes over into England, where he and his are libe-Simeoni. of Normandy, rally Feafted, all other ways nobly entertained, being after some time as richly pre. Som Res lor ville Edward, sented they return home, after they had been most improved they and down norther his fented they return home, after they had been most imprudently led up and down cipiens, & ato Castles and Forts, and shewed the whole strength of the Nation and what liquandin soelfe. after fome little time was to be their own. Although, as the Abbat Ingul- um retinens phus writes, there was no hope as yet of Succession in the Kingdom, at least no castella regia mention made of it betwixt the King and the Duke.

another occasion.

CHAP. II.

10. The year following \* Emma the King's Mother Died, and was Buried at humanitatem Wincheffer; we have faid before how ill she was treated by her Son, who under exhibent tan-Bing's Mother pretence of her harfhness to him in his Adversity took away from her all her donatum mu-Treasure. She had several Enemies which incensed him against her, but especially neribus ad Robert the Norman whom he had first made Bishop of London, and then Archbi- propria dimiflop of Canterbury, who accused her of being too familiar with Alwin Bishop fir. De successions of Winchester: Hereupon she was fent to the Abby of Werewell having first all Regni spec adthe had taken from her; and the Bishop was committed to Prison, Robert crying but aut mention nulla fasta out that fuch villany was not to go unpunished, lest it should be an encourage-inner as fuit.

ment to others to doe the like. She being kept not very strictly wrote to all the \*Simoni El-Bilhops of England whom the knew to be her Friends, professing that she was give Emana.

In chara in chara in the controlled at the disgrace offered to the Bilhop than at her own infamy, and the Englands. that she was ready to clear his innocency by passing, after the manner of Ord-Ecclesia Chris-The manner dele, over red hot Iron. The Bishops hereupon met, and had easily brought the "Gamuar Red of Tryal by King to put up the business but that Robert opposed them. He demanded of his ma Imma 3" Brethren how they durst take upon them to defend that Wild Beast and not a Elmena Timma. Woman which had defamed the King her Son, and that had called her uncon-fuit, Saxoniflant Lover, The Anointed of the Lord. "But loe (faid he) this Woman will bus wel Danis purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her that consented to the Death of her Elfgiva. Son Alfred, and prepared Poylon for his Brother Edward ? But be it so that " she may prevail above the condition of her Sex, If so be she will pass bare. " foot over nine red hot Plowshares, four stedy paces for her felf, and five for the "Bishop, let her pass for Innocent. The day for Tryal is appointed, which come, the King and all the Bishops, Robert excepted, are present: she having the night before earnestly invoked the Affistence of St. Swithin at his Tomb, when the time came, passed unhurt over the Plowshares to the great joy of her self and all the Beholders, as also of the King that she had so purged herself, though to his great forrow that he had been fo credulous as to admit those Calumnies against his own Mother, whose pardon he begged, as also that of the Bishop, and received Penance from them on his bare Back, as some interpret it. But Emma for fo great a deliverance gave to St. Swithin nine Manors, and as many gave the Bishop, the Innocence of them both being hereby cleared: moreover the King is faid to have bestowed on the Church of Winchester the Isle of Portland and other Possessions. The substance of this Story is delivered both by John Bromton and Henry de Knighton, and Harpsfield hath enlarged it with some

11. This same year wherein Emma Died, Griffin the Welsh King made an Inrode into Herefordshire, and wasted a great part of the Countrey, against whom the Inhabitants arose, and the Normans that held the Castle of Hereford issued out and gave him Battel, but were defeated, and he returned home with great Booty. Not long after Harold and Leofwin the Sons of Earl Godwin returning out of Ireland passed with many Vessels up the River Severn, and landing in the Counties of Somerfet and Dorfet there they spoiled many Villages, and when out of Devonshire and Somerset many went out against them they routed them, and having slain thirty principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary fort, returned with much Booty to their Ships. King Edward alarmed with the noise, and expecting Earl Godwin was not far off, dispatched away forty Ships very well furnished into Sandwich Road to prevent his landing, but for all that he made a shift to come ashore undiscovered in Kent, whence he sent Messengers

circumstances. But Ancienter Authours, as Malmesbury and others, fay nothing

of it; and that which follows spoils all, viz. that Robert (whom some will have

Bishop, and others Archbishop, at this time) fled out of the Land, whereas he

continued in the Kingdom longer, as we shall see, and fled out of England upon

Sect. 12, round about, and drew into his Party first the Inhabitants of Canterbury who owned him as a Sufferer for their fakes, then those of Suffex, Effex, Surry, all the Mariners or Boat-men ( Buth secarlas Simeon calls them ) of Hastings, and others of these Maritime Parts, who promised to live and dye with him. The Fleet having notice of his landing some were sent to pursue him, but he still concealed himself; they returned to Sandwich, whence they shortly after came up to London. Godwin then went to the Isle of Wight, and coasted about till he met with his Sons Harold and Leofwin who joyned their Ships with his, which done they yet forbore all Hostilities, onely made bold with Victuals and other necesfaries. On the Coasts and elsewhere by fair means they drew as many Men to them as they could, especially Seamen, and so made for Sandwich Road, where no fooner they were arrived but the News thereof flew to London, and fo startled them at Court, that command went out from the King to all his loving Sub-

The English Saxon Monarchy restored in Britain,

jects to hafte and help him in a time of fo great necessity.

12. Yet they delayed so long that Godwin had leisure enough to pass up the Thames as far as Southwark, where lying for a Tide he spent the time in conserring with the Londoners, whom he procured to doe whatfoever he defigned. It being High Water he advanced farther, and no opposition being made upon the Bridge, rowed up by the Southern Bank till fuch time as he met with his Land Army, which he formed into a Battalia terrible for those on the other side to look on; and his Navy now he directed toward the King's Gallies, shipping his Men and making all things ready to follow. Edward by this time on Middle-fex fide had got together a competent Force, and all lookers on expected an Ingagement, but the Souldiers on both fides agreed in this, that they were unwilling to fight English against English, which gave the wifer fortan opportunity of mediating a Peace, by virtue of which the two Armies were speedily Disbanded. Are reftored The conditions of it were, that Godwin, his Wife and Sons were reftored to to their Estates their former honours and Estates, all except Swane, who as a Penance for murthering his Coufin Beorn had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot and bare-leg from Flanders to Jerusalem, and in his return Died of a Cold he had got in Lycia. The King receives Editha his Wife the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Justice is now promised to all Men, and such Normans as had abused his Authority, and given him ill Council against his good Subjects are Banished the Land. Some few, as Robert the Deacon, and Richard the Son of Scrob his Sonin-law, Alverede the King's Groom, Axfrid firnamed Cookesfot, and some others whom the Ring much favoured, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to flay. But Robert the Archbishop of Canterbury, William the Bishop of London, and Ulf the Bishop of Lincoln with their Followers hardly escaped and got over

Sca. Yet asterwards William being a good natur'd Man was permitted to re-

turn. Ofbirne sirnamed Pentecost, and his Fellow Hugh surrender'd their Castles,

and by leave of Earl Leofric passing through his Government into Scotland were

there entertained by King Mackbeth. This same year on St. Thomas's Night hap-

pened so great a Tempest, that it overturned many Churches and Houses, and A great Tem-

broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable quantity of Trees. 13. The next year being the M. LIII of our Lord, Res the Brother of Griffin Simeon. King of South Wales being taken Prifoner, as a Publick Enemy, for the many Mat. Wiftin. Infolencies he had committed, was by command of Edward put to death in a place called Bulendum, and his Head sent to the King then lying at Glocester. This ministred matter of discourse, but as little Noises are supprest by the greater, this was presently quashed by the Rumour and Talk about the death of Earl Godwin, which happened this same year at Easter. King Edward celebrating this Feast at Wintenia Winchester, and Godwin, as his custome was, fitting at Table with him, was sud- ar Houndale level with the great a Bildmann of anything the support with the great a Bildmann of anything the support with the great a Bildmann of anything the support with the great and the support with the great and the support with the support wi denly feized with fo great a Diflemper as ftruck him speechless, and made him nensis air Edfinck down from the Seat on which he fate. His three Sons, Harold, Tofti and prandiff a Gyrth being prefent removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a pad Wind. Fit, and that he would speedily recover, but he lay in that languishing condition las (nume four days and dyed on the fifth, being the fifteenth of April, and was buried in Windson at the old Monaftery. This is the account of his death to which the April, and was buried in plantamm manufactured. the old Monastery. This is the account of his death, to which the Normans, and nere sold hard for the sold monastery. fuch as write in favour of them, add a Circumstance which much shews either dd. Am. Ed. his guilt or their malice. It chanced at Table, that mention was made of Alfred mardi. 12. the Brother of the King, who thereupon looked very fowerly upon Godwin. He to vindicate himself, told Edward, that he perceived how upon every mentioning of that Prince he look'd with a frowning Countenance upon him, But (faith he) let not God suffer me to swallow this Morfel, if I be guilty of any thing done, either

toward the taking away of his life, or against thine Interest. After which words Sect. 12 ftreight choakt with the Bit he had fwallowed, he funk immediately down, and mever recovered. A man of an active and turbulent Spirit, not tender Conscient De eo fie Innever recovered. A man of an active and turbulent opinit, not tender conficient gulphu Wilced in getting or keeping, and not to be excused for his fo much medling and forfielmi Norcing his Sovereign to what he lifted. But had he not been fo great a lover of his manni pane Countrey and an enemy to Stranger, those that wrote in the Norman times, and discrim mandurst not but write what would please their Masters, would have dismissed him withour this Story, and with a fairer Character than usually they give him. His first 1000 cour this Story, and with a fairer Character than usually they give him. His first 1000 come to story, and with a fairer Character than usually they give him. His first 1000 come in with the story that they will be story that they give him. mounting an Horse given him by his Grandsather, was carried into the Thames and mensa Regis nounting all note given many instances for there drowned. The Mother was killed by Thunder, a Judgment which it was denee fair believed fell upon her for her Cruelty, for the made a great Trade of felling hand. frairs imperience in the formal for the cruelty, the standard fell upon her for her Cruelty, for the made a great Trade of felling hand. fome Boys and Girls into Denmark. After her death he Married another Wife, post multa saand by her had fix Sons, viz. Harold, Swane, Wined, Tolki, Gyrth and Leofwin, cramenta tan His Earldom, fome fay his Dukedom, of Westfex was given to his Son Harold, cellam degluand the Earldom of Harold, viz. Esfex, and the rest was conferred on Algar the tiendam ab-Son of Leofrid the Earl of Leicester. 14. The next year, which was the MLIV of our Lord, was Siward that vali- tata continued

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CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edward.

Earl Simard

fittes on Scot ant Earl of Northumberland fent with a great Body of Horfe, and a strong Fleet sufficient in-land, sering into Scotland, where he fought a Battel with Macbeth King of that Countrey, whom he defeated, having flain many of his Scots, and fuch Normans as we mentioned to have gone over to him, and driving him quite away, made King in his flead Malcolm the Son of the King of Cumberland, according to the orders he had received from King Edward. But this Victory cost him dear, the lives of many both English and Danes, besides that of his own Son, of whose death when he heard he demanded whether he had received his Wound before or behind, and when it was answered before, he said he was glad, and otherwise should not have thought him, though his own Son, worthy of Burial. King Edward having fent him into the North to fight, much about the fame time fent Aldred Bishop of Worcester with great Presents, to treat with the Emperour of Germany about sending for out of Hungary his Coulin Edward the Son of King Edmund Ironfide, and remitting him into England; for having no Issue of his own to succeed him and the Sons of Godwin, being very powerfull, he took care for his nearest Kinsman. to whom the Crown of Right should belong. But Siward the Duke of Northumberland furvived his Victory, and his Son not long, dying the year following at Tork, where he was buried in the Monastery of St. Mary without the Walls, built by himself, as writes Ingulphus, though Simeon talks of his being Interred at a Monastery called Galmanho of his own Erection. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who gives him the Epithete of Conful Rigidiffimus, tells us his Difease was a Dysentery, and that he was much grieved he should end is days in such a manner. Perceiving his death to approach, he faid, " How ashamed am I that I should not die in " fo many Battels, but thus to be reserved to the Ignominious Death of Cowes. Put upon me my imperetrable Corslet, gird me with my Sword, and set my Helmet up-" on my Head; give me in my left hand my Buckler, in my right my guilded Sci-" miter, that being a most valiant Souldier, like a Souldier I may die. So he faid, and as he faid he died in that honourable posture he defired. His Son Walteof being very young his Government was bestowed on Tosti the Son of

15. This same year King Edward in an Assembly held at London, banished Earl Algar the Son of Leofric, without any cause saith Simeon, but Huntingdon writes, that he was in the Council convict of Treason. Whether guilty or not, he thought himself so aggrieved that he went over into Ireland, and there getting together a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Vessels, he therewith failed to Griffin King of the Welsh. and defired his Affiftence against King Edward Griffin ready to serve him in this particular, raised speedily great Forces, and joining with Algar invaded Herefordshire, against whom made Head as we formerly hinted Rodulph the Sister's Son of Edward, one who defired rather to Eat than Fight, and meeting them some two Miles from Hereford on the four and twentieth of Odober, horsed all the English contrary to their custome who were wont ever to fight on foot. But the Gentleman eer the Fight was well begun, with his French and Normans first began to run, which the English seeing thought it was no shame to follow their Leader, but in their flight four or five hundred of them were flain, and many wounded. Griffin and Algar encouraged by this fuccess entred Hereford, where they slew seven Canons which would have maintained the great Door of the Principal

Siward Duke

CHAP. II.

Sect. 12. Church against them, which done they burnt the Monastery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, killed fome of their Townsmen, took Prisoners more, and having plundred and burnt the City went their ways inriched with great spoil. Edward foundly alarmed with the noise hereof, commanded Forces to be raised throughout England, which meeting together at Glocester he committed the Conduct of them to Earl Harold, who Marching speedily into Wales incamped himself beyond Straddale where Griffin and Algar durst not look him in the Face, but knowing him to be a Man both of skill and metal fairly betook themselves into South Wales. He perceiving they were not to be reached, left there the greater part of his Men with orders to engage the Enemy if they could come at him, and with the rest returned to Hereford, which he fortified all ways possible; during which employment of his the two Captains thinking it best to obtain Peace, send their Messengers and procure a meeting at a place called Byligesleage, where a firm Peace and Friendship was concluded, in pursuance whereof Algar sent his Ships to Chester till he could pay them off, and he himself went up to the King from whom he received his former Command. But Griffin the year after broke the Peace on his part by fetting upon Leofgar Bishop of Hereford at a place called Glastbyrig, whom he there flew, together with his Clerks, Agelnoth the vice Earl of the Coun-

16. The next year being the MLVII. of Our Lord, Edward the Son of Edmund Ironside at the desire of his Uncle came into England out of Hungary, being destined by him his Successour; but he Died not long after at London, and was Buried in St. Paul's Church, leaving behind him Edgar Etheling, and two Daughters Margaret and Christina. Not long after he was followed to a better life by Earl Leofric, who Died in his own Village of Bromleage, and was Buried in a Monastery of his own Founding at Coventry, a Pious Charitable Man, and the Neftor of his Age, to his Councils all the Kings he ferved, and the whole Realm of England being beholden. In his Earldom fucceeded his Son Algar, but quickly found a miss of him, being Banished the second time not a year after his Father's Death. Yet by the affistence of Griffin, the Welsh King, who would not desert him, and a Fleet of Norway Men, which by chance came into his help, he is faid shortly after by force to have recovered his Government. The following The Scots in year, Malcolm, King of Scots, came and gave a vifit to Kind Edward, and contracfelt the North ted fo great a Friendship with his Neighbour, Tosti the Earl of Northumberland,

who brought him on his way, that they became fworn Brethren, though to what effect, the event shewed within two years; for Tosti being gone to Rome with Aldrid the Archbishop of Tork, to fetch his Pall from Pope Nicholas, his sworn Brother fell in upon the places under his Government, which he cruelly wasted, and brake the Peace of St. Cuthbert, in the Island of Lindisfarne, as Simeon complains. While Malcolm thus disturbed the Northern Parts, Griffin the King of And the Wellh, ceased not by his frequent Inrodes and Depredations, both by Land and Sea, to hurry the Western, which gave so great discontent to King Edward, that sensible how much he was concerned in honour, he dispatch'd from Glocester, where he then lay, after Christmass Holy-days, Harold against him with a Party of Horse, if possible, to surprize him. Yet got he notice of his coming, and made a shift to escape; but lest behind him most of his Ships, which he commanded to be burnt, and so returned. But about Rogation week, having got a Fleet in readiness, from Briftol he set Sail, and compassing the greatest Part of Wales, joyning himself to the Horse, with which his Brother Tosti, by the King's Order, 50m. met him, and did such mischief in the Countrey, that the Britains yielded themfelves up to him, delivered up Hostages, consented to pay Tribute, and renounced quite their King Griffin. At present Griffin escaped, but the following year, Who are sub- he was taken by Griffin the King of North Wales, and slain, his Head, with the Head of his Ship, being fent as a present to Harold. He sent them to King Edward, who was so kind as to bestow the Dominions of Griffin, upon his two Brethren, Blechgent and Rithwalan, who in Harold's presence, swore Allegiance to

> had been paid out of the Countrey to former Kings. 17. Griffin left behind him a Son named Caradoc, who could not digest his Inheritance, thus made over to his Uncles. Harold, as a curb to the Countrey, and for his own ( or the King's as he pretended ) convenience for hunting, caufed in the British Countrey, at a place called Portascith ( now Potskewoth in Monmouthshire, upon the Severn Sea near to Wymouth) a great House to be erected, and furnished with all conveniences for eating and drinking. Caradoc having no-

> him, to obey him, both by Land and Sea, and ingaged to pay without fail, what

tice of it, out of difdain and revenge, on St. Bartholomew's day, the year follow- Sect. 12. ing his Father's death came down upon a fudden, flew all the Artificers that there were at work, and took away all the good chear that was provided. Thus was Harold robbed of his good chear, in those Parts; and within a little after. his Brother Tofti was in danger of being bereaved of his Life, by a Conspiracy raifed against him in his own Government, upon these occasions. There was one Gospatrick, an Officer in Northumberland, with whom he having a quarrel, his Sister, Queen Egitha, caused him to be slain at Court, the Christmas before. The quarrel being taken up by the Friends and Companions of Gospatrick, two of them, viz. Ganiel the Son of Orne, and Ulf the Son of Dolphin, he himself having treacherously drawn them in, had also killed in his own Chamber. Besides he had laid intolerable impolitions upon the People, which fo incenfed them, that three or four of the principal Men, viz. Ganiolbarn, Dimstan, the Son of Agelnoth, and Gloinevrn the Son of Heardulf, with four hundred Men in Arms, entred Tork a little after Michaelmas, and first slew two of his houshold Servants, ( his Huscarles ) Amand and Ravensheart, having reached them, though they were fled out of the City, and the day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North fide of the River Humber. They broke open his Treafury, and having rifled all they could find, then went their ways. Tofti hereupon made a loud complaint to the King, and at his defire, was appointed Harold his Brother and others to take up the Business. But as they were going down into the North for this purpose, the whole Countrey in a manner met them at Northampton, where, and afterward on St. Simon and Jude's day at Oxford, they vehe-Tofi one of mently opposed the Resolution of Tofi, and by no means would admit of Recon-Goderius Som ciliation, and so vehement they were and resolute, that after the Feast of all Saints, they procured him and his Ministers to be banished. He went over with

Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edward.

his Wife to Baldwin the Earl of Flanders, his Father-in-law, and Morkar, the Son of Algar, was made Earl of Northumberland in his room.

18. Such was the occasion of Toft's banishment, as most probable, though Ad An. Edio. For his cruel the Archdeacon of Huntingdon ( who lived in the time of the Normans their 24. murthers and Rule over England, and heard many tales of the hated Earl Godwin, and his Sons) tells us another story. On a day, as the King sate at Dinner at Windsor, he was ferved with the Cup by Earl Harold. Tofti being present, and not able to endure that his younger Brother should be more favoured than himself in the King's presence, flew in his Face, and caught him by the hair. The scuffle being parted, the King foretold that their destruction was nigh, and that the wrath of God no longer would be deferred. For they were come to that height of barbarism and cruelty, that if they but liked the House or Possessions of any one, they would by night procure the owner to be murthered, with all his Off-fpring, to get his Estate: And those were the Justitiaries of the Kingdom. - Tosti in great rage leaving the Court, went to Hereford, where at that time his Brother Harold had made vast preparations for Entertainment of the King. There he made a most terrible havock of his Servants, into each of the Veffels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, putting either a Man's Leg, or an Arme, or an Head, fending word to the King, that he thould take no care for pickled Meats, as for other forts he might carry them down with him to his Farm. For this fo horrid a villany, the King commanded him to be banished, which the Northumbrians understanding, for the many murthers he had there committed, they drove him thence with all his Family, as well English as Danes, and seized on his Treasure and Magazine in Tork. Into his Place they preferred Marger ( so he calls him ) the Son of Earl Algar, who with them, and multitudes out of Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Notinghamshire, went as far as Hamton. Against him marched Edwin his Brother, with Men under his Command, and many Britains, and at last came up Earl Harold, whom the Northumbrians procured to goe to the King, to get leave that Marcher might be their Governour, which he granted, fending back Harold to them to Hamton. They in the mean time burnt and pillaged the Countrey, killing many of the Inhabitants, and when their request was granted, many thoufands they took along with them, doing that part of the Kingdom fo much mifchief as it could not recover many years after. Such is the account which Huntingdon gives us, strange as to the manner of the behaviour of the Northumbrians. And had Tofti been guilty of fuch a rash Act toward his Brother in the King'sprefence, the King would never have interceded with those of Torkshire, for hiskeeping his Place as it appears from Simeon that he did. Nay, Malmesbury tells us plainly, he had it from those that knew that another was put into Toste's place by

Tiareld ano-

Sect. 12 the indeavour of Harold, quite contrary to the inclinations of the King, who bore a great love to Toft, but being fpent with his Difeafe and Age, he now began to be lighted by all, and could not succour whom he affected, but thence fell into such trouble of mind, that his Distemper being thereby increased,

he died not long after.

19. But if the King upon this or some other occasion predicted the Ruine of the Sons of Godwin (who doubtless were enough to blame) to be near at hand, he was fo much in the right, that their ill Stars about this very time began to operate; for if Tofti was banished by the King, Harold was also driven from England by the very Winds and Weather. About the time that his Brother went into Galaria Ship Flanders, he being for his recreation at his house at Bosebam in Suffex, upon the recent Sea side; for his farther Pleasure, he took a Fishers Boat, meaning to plye up and down, but going farther off to Sea than he was aware, a Tempest rose and carried him cross the Chanel to the French Coast, where glad to be sase any where, he was forc't to Land in the Territories of the Earl of Ponthieu. The men of the place (according to their custome and that barbarous practice which is on footin most places, to make a prey of distressed and shipwreck'd Persons) presently fall to work. Armed they feize upon the naked, a multitude upon a few, on their hands they put Manacles, and Fetters on their Feet. Harold confidering what was to be done, hired a Messenger to goe to William, by whom he acquaints him how he "was fent by the King, by his word and prefence, to confirm what other little "Mellengers had but whitper'd, but was kept Prifoner, and hindered from the "discharge of his Message by Gwido Earl of Ponthieu. It appeared they had a "barbarous and extravagant cultome in that Countrey, that such as escaped drown-"ing, should on Land it self be endangered, that it would suit well with a man "of fo great repute as he was, not to juffer fuch villany to goe unpunished, ha-"ving detracted from his Authority, by daring to cast bonds upon one that had "appealed to his Justice; if with money his Liberty was to be redeemed, he would "willingly pay the price to Earl William, but not to fuch an half Man as Gwido "was. By command of William he is quickly fet at liberty, and by Gwido conducted to his Court, where being honourably treated in all respects, he is also invited to an expedition into Little Britain, where at that time the Norman had War. By his Wit and Valour he so approved himself to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him, to whom, that he might the more indear himfelf, he promifed by Oath, that in case King Edward died, he would deliver up to him the Castle of Dover, which belonged to him, and procure him to succeed in the Kingdom of England. This said, the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him, and he was sent home with great gifts.

20. Some faid he was fent over on purpose by Edward, who finding himself decay, had in his thoughts pitched upon his Kinfman William for his Successour, but Malmeibury approves of the other report, that he was driven by Tempelt. However, by this promife of his, he intangled himself and incurred the indignation of William by his breach of it, which procured him his end, so that he had reason to curse the time of his knowing Boseham, which because it was wrongfully and deceitfully got from the right owner, feemed indeed to draw down a curse upon him the second Possessiour of it, and it is not amiss here to insert the flory, the more to discover the humour of his Father Earl Godwin, who as by this and other paffages, it appears, so he but got, cared not by what means he Byfelium how came at it. This Bofelium (or Bofenham, as anciently it was called) lying under-obtained by neath Chichefler, in the confines of Hantlbire and Suffex environed round about neath Chichester, in the confines of Hantshire and Sussex, environed round about with Woods, and the Sea together, was formerly before Bede's time, onely famous for a small Cell, which one Dicul a Scotch Monk had in it, where he lived with five or fix other Religious Perfons, very poorly in the Service of God: Afterwards it came into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Godwin upon Waltern Mifight of it had an itching defire after it, and therefore with a great Train of Gal- want high lants, comes finding and jetting to the Archbishop, with their words. My Lord, Curichian.

I pray you give me Boscham. The Archbishop much marvelled what he meant, but at length, whether he thought he alluded to Bassum a Busse, as now we term it, which in times past was used in doing Homage, or was unwilling to displease him, answered; I give you Boseham. He hereupon, immediately with his Followers, falls down at his Feet, as was beforehand ordered, and kiffing them, with many thanks went back to Boseham, of which as Lord, he kept possession by strong hand, and having the stender Testimony of his Friends and Followers to Eack him, praifed much the Archbilhop to the King, as his Benefactour, and so held

it peaceably till he left it, as it feems, to his Son Harold, whose passage hence into Sect, 12. Normandy, procured the Shipwreck, though not at present, both of his Person, of his Fortunes, and indeed of his Father's Family.

21. But as to the Message carried over to Duke William, there are still more opi- Ad Ann. nions. Ingulphus obliged by the Duke, and therefore a favourer of him, writes, 1065. that King Edward, not long before his Death, perceiving his Kinfman Edgar Ethecounts of Ha- ling, the Son of Edward Clito, lately deceased, both in respect of his body and

Mind, unfit for Government (of which temper his Father is also reputed to have been) and that the evil Off-spring of Earl Godivin, daily increased, and got more strength and interest, fixed his thoughts upon Earl William of Normandy, his Kinfman, and fully refolved to have him fucceed him in the Kingdom of England, for he was then become famous in War, had triumphed over the French King, in the Exercise of Arms, was invincible, a most just Judge in deciding of Causes, as well as most Religious and devout at Divine Service. Hereupon he dispatched to him Robert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint him that both in respect to his Kindred and Merit, he had designed him his Successour. Besides this, Harold the Major domo of the King's Palace, going into Normandy, fwore not onely to keep the Crown for him, after the decease of King Edward but to marry also his Daughter, which things having passed, he returned magnificently rewarded. This is the account we have from Ingulphus, but fuch as will not hold in reference to the Messenger, for Robert the Archbishop, was driven out of the Land before, and therefore King Edward could not fend him from his fide, or prefence, as the Abbat words it. Simeon has another Story, which fends wardin Reberties. Harold into Normandy, but upon another occasion quite different. When Godwin, was Archiehe tells us, was reconciled to the King, he was constrained to give up Hostages risonmentor Edward's security, which were Wulnoth his own Son, and Hacun his Grandson, unit have by his Son Swane, and were fent into Normandy to William the Bastard Son of suo direction. Rodbert, who was Son to Richard the King's Mothers Brother. In process of time, when Godwin was dead, Harold asked leave of the King to goe and fetch home his Brother and Nephew, to whom he answered, that he would not be Authour of his Journey, but that he should not say that he hindered him, he might goe whither he pleased, and try what he could doe; onely he foresaw his Journey would tend to the detriment of the whole Kingdom of England, and his own difgrace. For he was affured the Earl was not fuch a Fool as to difmiss them, without he knew it would redound to his own convenience. But Harold ventures to take Ship, and by a great Tempest, is cast upon the Coast of Ponthieu, into the mouth of a River called Maia, where his Veffel is feized on, as a wreck by the Lord of that Countrey. Hereupon he procures one to goe to William, to let him know in what a condition he was, who immediately fends to the Lord of Ponthieu, to discharge him, and upon refusal, a second time, threatning else to setch him away by force. Being now fet at Liberty, he goes to William, who, very courteoutly receives him, on purpose to draw him over to his design.

22. When he thought him fitly prepared he broke his mind, acquainting him how when his Cousin Edward lived there with him in exile, he seriously ingaged to him, that if ever he came to be King of England, he would transfer the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon him. He added, that if he would oblige himself The Ingagemilertrance of the Kingdom upon him. He added, that if he would oblige himself
the the the water to affilt him in this matter, keep the Caffle of Dover with the Well of Water for
the blands and his fervice, would fend his Sifter to him in time convenient. his fervice, would fend his Sifter to him in time convenient to be married to one of his Noblemen, and promise to take his Daughter for his Wife he should now receive his Nephew, and affoon as he came to be King of England his Brother should be set at liberty, and when he was once setled in the Throne by his affistence he should have every thing else he could reasonably desire. Harold was sensible of the case he was in, and saw there was no remedy but promise whatsoever he required. But William with his bare promise would not be satisfied, but bringing forth the Relicks of Saints, made him open their facred Bodies to swear really to perform whatfoever they had now agreed, which done Harold took his Nephew, and with him returned into England. When upon the King's Demand he had given him an account of what had passed, he said, Did not I tell thee that William was no fool, and that many mischiefs might happen to this Kingdom by that thy Journey? I foresee great Calamities coming upon this Nation of ours by that thine Act, which I pray God may not happen in my days. And his Prayer was granted, for King Edward shortly after died, and Harold as before his death he had ordained fucceeded him in his Kingdom. So writes Simeon, with whom agrees Eadmerus as to the occasion of his Journey. Though Matthew Paris believes him

Right by Descent, but alledged the late King's Designment; and thought he could

could find no pretext; but upon the kindness and pretended promise of his Kins-Sect. 12.

man. The last was Harold the Son of Godwin, who could not produce any shew of

Sect. 12 driven thither by force of Tempest, but when he came to get his liberty to have to'd another Tale quite contrary to the meaning of his Heart, and to have entred with him into that secret confederacy out of Necessity. Of this opinion also as we

faid is Malmesbury, and it feems the more probable.

23. Whatever the occasion of his Promise and Ingagement was, the time was at hand, that he should be put to the Trial. For now approached that year, that dreadfull year to him and his Englift Saxon Nation fignalized by a Comet, which portended as Ingulphus is of opinion that great change of Government, that Slaugh- Anno amem portended as Inguipous is of opinion that great change of the opinion that great the flority upon the Land. Domini test ter of the People, and that great mifery which came florithms at Wellminler. Commanical Commanication of the Commanicati King Edward King Edward grew every day more fickly, yet kept his Christmas at Westminster, appauli, and die. Appauli, and affisted at the Dedication of St. Peter's Church there, which he had re-edified Regulments. and affifted at the Dedication of St. Pere's Church units of Twelftide he died, possible with all magnificence; but on the Eve of the Epiphany or Twelftide he died, possible fragen with all magnificence; but on the Eve of the Epiphany or Twelftide he died, possible fragen with a large possible fragen with and the day following was buried in his late dedicated Church with Royal rites, & material to the great forrow of the miferable People. The general opinion is that he was terra sulerito the great forrow of the minerable reopie. The general typinos Exercifes, exceedingly hampered by Earl Godwin and his Sons, who were but too fentible illud menithat he received his Preferment from their Family, and upon that ground were come than that he received his Preferment from their Family, and upon that ground were unat too confident and imposing, as often it happens in such cases. It was the Miss Sent guid quanto confident and imposing, as often it happens in such cases. fortune of the Nation aswell as of himself, that he was driven into banishment, que Sees, tortune of the ination alwers as of million, that it is the humour fathions and cufforms and living in another Countrey was molded into the humour fathions and cufforms meta Crimon of it, and out of good nature conftrained to be gratefull to such as had well defer fines fines for fines for fines of it. ved of him in his Necessities, more than the Temper if not the Interest of his Ure min Phiwed of him in his Necessities, more than the Temper it not the interest of his begin diame own Subjects could bear or brook. Most of them yet were in compliance and questing, own Subjects could bear or brook. In the foreign thangs as forested their Subjects cream than the compliance and questing thangs as forested their Subjects cream than the complexity of the complexi conformity with him to transformed into foreign shapes, as foretold their Subject. Criscal contormity with min to transformed into today and they had already dirigit of all on in a short time to those the manners and usages of whom they had already dirigit of all on in a short time to those the manners and usages of whom they had already dirigit of all on in a short time. See taken up, fo that the Conquerours needed but to come to master their Bodies, Inguiptus. their minds and affections were theirs already, their humour was already run out of

England, fo that the Normans needed not herein to play any after-Game.

24. Ingulphus an Eye-witness is our informer, who writes that Edward being Rex autom born in England but bred in Normandy, through his long continuance in that Edwards national and the Edwards national and born in England out ored in Ivormanay, allough its long continuance in that I work and Country was almost changed into a Frenchman, and brought very many over fel natrius in with him whom he promoted to various Dignities, and greatly exalted under Normania & the King and other Normans; thus introduced all the Land began to leave off dimiliarian their English Customs, and to imitate the manners of the French. All the Noble- in Gallium men in their Houses spake the French Tongue as mighty gentile, made their Char-transfeat, C. ters and Writings after the French fathion, and grew to be alhamed of their own Ceptings ulages, both in these and other matters: and this humour more and more in- 15 feet Rept G creased, till to those they admired, at length they became Slaves and Vassals, she daily se-But so King Edward died, or as Malmesbury words it, being full of years and delithing glory yielded up his simple (that is his innocent well-meaning) Spirit to the carrier delitation of the carrier de glory yielded up his himple (that is his himbern, three and twenty years, minre, it. Heavenly Kingdom, after he had reigned, faith Simeon, three and twenty years, minre, it. fix Months and feven and twenty days, which must be reckoned then from the num 1043. death of Hardecoute, and not from his own Preferment, which was as we faid trave plean in the year following. He is faid to have been fo chaft that though he was mar plicen fired, yet he never as an Husband enjoyed his Wife, which fome attribute to the Aversion he had to her for her Father's sake, but if that was the Cause of his left seem

Abstinence, his felf denial, and in this respect his suffering, he could not in this exhibition. deserve the Name of a Contessour ( given to those that suffer for Christ though not unto death) which yet in respect of this or other parts of his Conslicts against field and bloud he obtained, and came to be known by the Name of St. Edward. But in him the Royal Regnant-Line of the West Saxon Kings, which from Cerdic according to the Calculation of Malmesbury had in Britain, Dominion for five hundred and feventy one years, and from Egbert two hundred

and fixty one years, received its Period.

25. To the Glory and Happiness of this West Saxon Family, it did belong not by its ending to put an end to the English Empire, and in its own Ruine involve the Catastrophe of the whole Nation: this was reserved to a baser House, out of which an Upflart should arise to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himself in the Ruines thereof, Edward being dead there were three that laid claim to the A diffinite a Crown. The first, whose undoubted Right it was, was Edgar Etheling the Son of bour the Suc- Edward, the Outlaw lately mentioned, the Grandson of Edmund Ironside, the Elder ceffign Brother of him who had the last Possession, though according to the Right of Primogeniture not the best Title. The next was William of Normandy, the Kinfman of the late King by his Mother being her Brothers Grandson, one who in bloud plead more merit than them both. Edgar was a Stranger, had had neither time, nor ability in Estate or mind to make any more Interest than what mere Confcience had wrought in the minds of men, which is usually very infirm upon such Occasions. William indeed was a considerable Prince, and as such acknowledged, but betwixt him and England there was a deep Ditch, not easily got over as was imagined, and Dangers at a Distance are not so much regarded. Harold was Noble, a goodly Man, the greatest Minister of the deceased King, one of much Valour and excellent Conduct, a Person civil and obliging, of such Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more than all, had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom by kindness he had either won, or by awe had conquered and brought over to his Party. He took the advantage and knowing delays to be dangerous, the fame day that Edward was buried he assumed the Title and was crowned King, being chosen, as Simeon faith, by the Princes of all England. 26. Being King he streight took those Courses, which most of those who are conscious to themselves of their bad or weak Titles are wont, and all other Prin-

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even reverence Bishops, Abbats, Monks, and even all the Clergy; to all good men he shewed himself pious, humble and affable, and to all that was bad he manifested an Aversion, commanding all his Officers in general to lay in wait for all Thieves, Robbers and Diffurbers of the Peace; in conclusion, he made it his Business to desend his Countrey both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to fuffer him long to continue these practices. On the twenty fourth of April a dreadfull Comet appears, scen, as was reported, throughout the world with great Lustre for seven days together. The De eo sie Maifirst mischief portended thereby, was from Harold's own Brother Tosti, who ha-incepto Harolthe Land from ving been banished chiefly by his procurement to be out of the way, and not able dus (post morto digest his preferment to the Regal Dignity, was moved with so much Envy tem Regis inand Indignation as to endeavour all ways possible to unking him, for which pur- trem exlagapose he came out of Flanders with some Ships to the Isle of Wight, whence af- vet. De Williter he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed and plaid the Pirate elmo primo, lib. 3, p. 104. upon all the Coasts till he came to Sandwich Haven. Harold being then at London, upon notice thereof got in readiness both a strong fleet and a good Party of Horse, with which he resolved in Person to go to Sandwich, which Tosti understanding took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coast of Lindsey, where he burnt many Villages, and killed many Men; but Edwin Earl of Mercia, and his Brother Merkar Earl of Northumberland, hasted into those Parts

with an Army, and foon forced him to quit the Countrey. Thence he failed into

ces ought to take. All unjust Laws he antiquated, made better in their stead,

became a Patron of Churches and Monasteries, seemed not onely to respect but

Scotland to King Malcolm, and with him continued the whole Summer. 27. Harold lying at Sandwich in expectation of his Brother when he perceived he had taken another course sailed to the Isle of Wight, and about those Coasts he plied all Summer and Autumn, having a land Army bestowed in all places he faw convenient at the Sea fide. For another Guest he looked for who required greater Preparations for his Reception than his Brother Tofti, viz. William the Duke of Normandy, who had before this fent to him to put him in mind of his Promise and Oath, and to require a performance of what had been agreed betwirt them, "This Harold thought was very unreasonable to require of one who was alrea-" dy in Possession of a Kingdom, and was come to it by the unanimous consent " of the Nobility and People. He answered, that what he then promised was " in Captivity at a time when he was not his own Man, and that could not be " called his own Act which Constraint and Necessity forced from him. But " had he voluntarily done what he was fo far from intending, it could not have " been valid, foraimuch as he could not take an Outlandish Woman to Wife, " being King, without the Affent of the Estates, much less could be Swear " away the Succession and Right to the Crown without their knowledge, con-" fent and allowance. To these reasons which he looked upon as very good " when backed with a better Sword it's faid that he added contempt, because as "he thought he was out of danger, lending away the Ambassadours on lame Horses. That on which he chiefly infisted was, that William's Daughter was " Dead, the Marriage with whom was the foundation of all that had passed be-

" twixt them, and this was the ground of his confidence; that he looked upon Scel. 12. " twist them, and this was the ground from the Neighbouring Princes in his own " Countrey. The Duke hereupon resolved to attempt by War what by Words he could not compass, but to proceed gravely and with due preparations, considering the greatness of the Enterprize; for he knew his Adversary to be a flour and resolute Man, and made no other account but that he was to grapple with

the strength of a whole Nation.

28. Therefore with all diligence did he set himself to the work he had in hand. All his own Souldiers he kept in pay the whole year, and though to his great Vid Malazzi. charge hired others from adjacent places. He used great discretion in the choice liebno prime. of his Men, lifting fuch as were tall and of strong constitution. His Captains and Officers were both practifed in Warlike matters, and of mature Age to govern both themselves and others; not heady rash Young Men, who usually by their heat and indifcretion ruine an Army. And indeed he was exceedingly well ferved at this time, his Prelates striving who should excell one another in Acts of Religion, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Liberality, fo that the Monk of Malmesbury admires how within the term of fixty years they should become fo degenerate, not confidering the luxurious effects of wealth and profperity, great Possessions and Affluence of all things in a new Conquered Countrey. But as William made all as fure as he could at home, fo abroad he fought for Reputation to his cause, by sending to the Pope, and making his Pretences as plausible as he could, which Harold omitted, thinking himself strong Who with a enough without the help of a verbal or Paper Affiftence. Pope Alexander in Confecrated token of his Approbation fends him a Confecrated Banner, well fatisfied with his Banner is ready to fer Sail bare affirmation that King Edward himfelf, befides what Harold had engaged, by the Advice of Earl Siward, Earl Godwin, and Stigand the Archbishop, had chosen him for his Successour, and had as Pledges or Hostages sent over to him both the Son and the Nephew of Godwin. Having received the Banner as a good Omen, he affembled his Nobility and Officers at Lillibone, where laying open the whole matter to them, they promised to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which resolution he cherished by great promises of Reward, and according to their feveral Abilities appointed what every one was to contribute towards a Fleet. This done he difinissed them till the Month of August, and then they all met again at St Valerie a Port Town, where they flaid many days for a Wind, which flay made the Common Souldiers mutter, blaming him for attempting to get another Man's Countrey, and alledging, that his Father having such a Delign had miscarried, and that it was fatal to the Family to be crossed by God Almighty in their endeavours after things too high for them.

29. The Duke was fensible whither these Discourses tended, and how much his whole Affair was thereby indangered. Taking Council then with his Officers, he caused the Relicks of St. Valerick (one of the Disciples of Columbians) who by King Clothair was made Abbat of a Monastery in this place, in the Territories of Amiens on the Mouth of the River Some, and imparted his Name unto it) to be brought forth and exposed for the obtaining of a fair Wind, which without delay followed upon the Ceremony. Then very chearfully did they call one upon another to get out to Sea, the Earl himself being the first that went on Heandhis fol- shipboard, by his example to draw on the rest. Following close the Admiral Gally they had a fair Passage, and after they had refreshed themselves arrived at a place called Pevensey, as some write, or Bulverhith three miles distant, as others most in the right, or at Hastings as some also deliver, following herein the custome of the Ancients to ascribe a Battel or any memorable Accident to the next place of Note in that Countrey wherein the thing fell out: As William was going asbore his Feet slipped, and down he fell on his Hands, which a Souldier observing told him a-loud, That he had already taken Possession of England. His Army he forbad to Plunder or at all to indamage the Countrey which was shortly to be theirs, which faying being by Ancient Historians related of former Conquercurs, the Monks apply to him, but with no good reason, for when after the overthrow of King Harold they had better reason to think the Countrey would be theirs, he laid no fuch Injunctions upon them, but permitted them to burn and kill at their pleasure. But so he landed, and for fifteen days he kept himself quiet, not to restesh his Army, but either to consider better what he was to doe, or to build a Fort to have recourse to in case of Danger, for his Ships he burnt that his Men might think of no mean betwixt Death and Conquest;

10. His whole Fleet is faid to have confifted of nine hundred Sail, but others Sect. 12. increase the number to above a thousand, which are not then to be understood of fuch Ships as ours now-a-days, but flat bottom'd Boats, or Hulkes, fuch as were fit for transporting Men and Horses. Hereof as an Anonymus Writer, about the Reign of his Son Henry, wrote, William his Sewer the Son of Ofbern supplied him with fixty Vessels. High his Nephew, afterward Earl of Chesler, with so many; Hogh de Mumfort with fifty Ships, and fixty Souldiers; Romus the Elemosynary of Tescan, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, with one Ship and twenty Men. Nicolas the Abbat of St. Audoen with fifteen Ships and an hundred Men. Robert Earl of Angus with fixty Ships. Gerold the Sewer with as many. William Count of Deurons with eighty Ships. Roger of Montgumeri with fixty. Roger de Bunmont with fixty. Odo Bishop of Baieux with an hundred. Robert de Mortimer with an hundred and twenty. And Water Giffard thirty Veffels with an hundred Men. Befides these which by the Authour's computation make a thousand, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships from every one according to his Ability. His Wife Matildis for honour of the Expedition caused a Ship to be made Named Mora wherein he himself crossed the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to England, and with the left holding an Ivory

31. William's Arrival was accompanied with some of those lucky hits, circumstances or accidents which ever attend upon Conquests. Harold was now out of the way. He had expected him all the Summer, till about the middle of September, when judging he would give him no trouble that year, and Provisions failing, both the Fleet and Army quitted the Posts he had assigned them at the Sea side.

Whistle at his Mouth; for which out of requital Duke William her Husband af-

figned her the County of Kent, when he had got full Possession of that Pro-

As if Tofti had been hired by the Normans on purpose to divert his Brother from the Simeon Da-Tofi; and the Maritime Parts, to weaken his Force, nay to break in pieces his whole Power, melm and drawning of Nor Helpes and Affiltences, he applies himself to Harold Harvager King of Norway, whom he knew to bear a Months mind to the Kingdom of England, and agrees

in Conjunction with him to make an Invasion. Having united their Fleets they failed up into the River Hamber; and from it into Ouse, and landed at a place called Rickale, whence they marched to Tork, and took it after a fierce Affault. Harold upon notice having made due preparation hastes into the North, but before him the two Earls, and Brothers, Edwin and Morkar, with confiderable Forces had marched against them, and upon St. Matthew's Eve on the Northern bank of Oule at Fulford, ingaged them with good Success at the beginning, for fighting very valiantly they did great Execution. But the English after a long fight, not able to fustain the violence and Numbers of the Norwegians, turned their backs after many of them were flain, and more were drowned in the adjoyning River. This done, the Norwegians received from those of York five Hundred Hostages, and leaving there an hundred and fifty of their own, returned to their ships; and on the fifth day after, being the five and twentieth of September, King Harold with a great Army comes to the City. Thence marching to a place called Stanfordbridge ( afterward from this occasion Battelbridge, upon the River Darwent in the but are both East Riding of Torkshire) he gave them Battel, wherein after terrible resultence their armies, made, were slain both Harold Harvager and Tosti, and the Victory remained with him. Olane the Son of Harold, with the Earl of Orcada called Paul who were left with the Army to keep the ships he suffered to depart with twenty Veslels, and the remainder of their Forces, having first received their Oaths and Hostages to attempt nothing against him for the time to come. But here we are to take notice what Malmesbury tells us of a certain Norway Man, who alone by himself for some time retarded the Victory of the English, though methinks we can hardly believe it. This Man standing upon the entrance of the Bridge, having killed not one, or two, or three, but many of his Enemies, hindred the whole Army from passing. Being spoke to to yield himself, and bid be assured that a Man of fuch strength and metal would find good usage; he derided them, and with a grim countenance reviled them for pitifull Men that could not master him alone. At length none would come to him thinking it madness to En-

counter with a Man fo desperate, but one at a distance shot him with a Dart,

while like a Braggadocio he behaved himself negligently; and so he falling the

English got passage, and obtained the Victory in the manner aforesaid. The Bo-

dy of Tofti being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carried to Tork

and there Buried. In the Plunder of the Field if we may believe Adam Bremensis,

Mm 2

Sect. 12. fo great a quantity of Gold was found, that twelve lufty young men were fearcely able to bear it on their Backs.

The English Saxon Monarchy restored in Britain,

32. Harold having obtained the Victory and so much Treasure, became Penny bligeshis Soul- wife, as the Proverb is, and Pound foolish. He thought it behoved him to play the diersby taking Good Husband, not to be lavish of his Money, but fill his Coffers, and lay up all the Spoys for future and distant Events. He little imagined that this great Gamester was . landed, and that he must now speedily push for all. In the two last Battels he had lost the flower of his Army, most of his best Souldiers were slain; and those that remained he fo disobliged by taking all the Plunder to himself, and defrauding them as they alledged of the price of their bloud, that they renounced his interest, Simen. repented of what they had done already for him, and refolved, in case he should Malmest. have the like occasion, to suffer him to fight for himself. This errour was no sooner Alii. committed, but as he fate feafting for joy at Tork he had the News of the Norman Then hears of Duke his Arrival with very numerous and Disciplin'd Forces. And now he being

to be ruined, his Fate hurried him to Resolutions and Actions quite contrary to

those of him who was to raise himself out of his misfortune. As he had disobli-

ged these men who were to fight against Souldiers that loved and had been o-

bliged by their Captain, fo, whereas his Adversary went foberly and judiciously to work, in making preparation for the main Encounter, he did nothing less. He nei-But acts with-ther took any care in gathering together his Souldiers, nor any time for Confulta-Prevolat igition about fo weighty an Affair, but all bloudy as he was, and with but a flender are marching. Company haftes towards the place where the Normans lay, as if the fortune of lar, not den Cafar, onely to come to see, and then overcome, were devolved upon him, because of his to exercise late Northern fuccess. Coming to London all in an Heat, he would not tarry for finns com all fuch Supplies as were on their way toward him, but hurries into Suffex, and would quis Concomineeds find out the Enemy and ingage e'er one third part of his Army could be put tatur. Ingulph. in order. Yet he sent some Spies before to survey the number and strength of the intribling.

Normans, whom being discovered (as Malmesbury writes) William caused to be Calesting in led about the Camp, and after they had eat and drank plentifully to be fent back to pularium turtheir Master. Being demanded how matters stood, they spake much of the Mag-ba, confession nificence and Confidence of the Duke, and feriously professed they believed, that que exist acte well nigh all that were with him were Priests, because they were shaven, not onely mit & tenera, well night all that well within the third that the length wore large Mulfachues on the exercium nu upper lip, a custome which Julius Cafar takes notice to have been amongst the crystal, fell in upper lip. Ancient Britains. The King laughed and faid they were not Priests, but stout and but contra Co. couragious Souldiers, knowing well enough the Qualities of the Normans, with mitem in the whom he himself had been but lately conversant. His Brother Gyrth a Youth of foreigness Courage and Knowledge above his years, at his extolling the valour of the Nor- tota die night mans, took occasion to tell him that he thought it was Indiscretion for him to de offernant production for him to to de offernant production for him to de o fight with them, forasmuch as he could not deny but that either willingly or durant at faagainst his mind he had given William his Oath. He advised him to withdraw pin mare greater himself, and fuffer him and the rest to try their Fortune, who were never obnox. San man ad might institute that it defenses the first in additional to the first in defense of the first in and might institute that it defenses the first in the first in a defense of the first in ious by any Oath, and might justly fight in defence of their Countrey. If he minn congredishould fight it was to be leared he must either die or flie; but in case they did our come of the same, he might either succour and unite them slying or revenge their riffine distance. 33. Harold by no means would hearken to his Advice, as that which tended mis a full his different and by chieffing of Courardife would blamid the Advice of all mis, ormat

to his dishonour, and by objection of Cowardise would blemish the Actions of all random in dist

" to what had formerly passed betwixt them: or to hold it of him: or to decide monitous or

his Life. And in as great heat and hafte he rejected the Monk who brought him crepufads, in good advice, three Proposals from the Duke, "Either to relign the Kingdom to him, according fine calceton,

"the Controverse with him before the two Armies in a single Combat, to prevent manufacture the Effusion of Christian Bloud. His Answer was, that God should be Judge the Line of the Effusion of Christian Bloud. betwixt them; or as others write, that the Swords of the Nations should decide it. No hopes then of any Accommodation appearing, each according to the custome They prepare of his Countrey prepared to fight the next Morning. The English are faid to have spent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, the Normans in Confession of their Sins, and in the Morning to have Communicated. The Fatal day being come, which was the two and twentieth of October, the English were drawn up into a close Body armed with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard flood the King on foot with his Brothers, that the danger being common, none might think of running away. The forefront of the Normans confifted of Foot, being most Archers, and flancked with a Wing of Horse on each hand, wherein contisted the great strength of their Army. The Duke himself chearfully and audibly affirmed his

Cause was just, and that God would accordingly respect it, and called for his Sect. 12. Armour, which being brought to him in an hurry, his Corflet was put on the wrong way, which errour he corrected by this pleasant Conceit, that He perceived his Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom. At the Head of his Army he put them in mind of the Valour and Renown of their Anceltours, and especially of Rollo, how they had beaten the French King in the very Heart of his Kingdom, and compelled him to give them as large a part of his Countrey as they would accept. How fince that they had taken another French King Prifoner at Rouen, and compelled him to restore Normandy to Duke Richard when a Child, and last of all he brought to their Memories what memorable things they had done under his own Conduct, and concluded with confidence of Victory both from the guilt of Harold who had wilfully Perjured himself, and of the whole Nation, upon which he cast the cruel and traitorous Murther of his Kinsman and their own

Prince Alfred.

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34. The Normans then beginning the Song of Rowland by the Martial Example of that Heroe, as they accounted him, to excite themselves to imitation, and imploring Divine Affistence went against the English, who were as ready to meet them, though the ground they stood on was strait and inconvenient for fight; which as Simeon writes, caused many of them to take the opportunity of slipping away. Those that staid to be fure fought very valiantly, and neither by the showers of Arrows nor any other means could their Impenetrable Body be broken, till William bethought him of this Strategem, to cause his Men to retire back as if they fled, which by a defire of Pursuit drew them out of their order; this done, they faced about and fell upon them, who by this means had half routed themselves. Yet in their flight did they often rally and make Head against the Purfuers, felling their Lives at very dear Rates, and part of them having got an Hill, when the Normans all in a heat climbed up after them, having the advantage of the ground they tumbled them down, and by casting down Stones quite overpowered them. In another place by their knowledge of the Countrey, being more dextrous in passing a Ditch, they made very great slaughter of their Enemies, and filled it up with their dead Carkasses. Thus remained the success doubtfull, fometimes feeming to incline to the one fide and fometimes to the other, from nine of the Clock in the Morning, till it grew dark, and then Harold after

Wherein Ha- he had discharged all the Parts both of a skilfull Commander and a valiant Soulrold is flain, dier was shot into the Head and died. He being gone, about whom the Contro-and his Army dier was shot into the Head and died. He being gone, about whom the Controversie was, though their Countrey was as much concerned, the English Souldiers began to loofe their Courage and take the advantage of the Night to flie. With him fell his two Brothers Gyrth and Leofwin and the greatest part of the English Nobility. William hereby remained Victour, who by his Courage and Activity deserved the Garland, having so bestirred himself all the day, and ventur'd his person, that three choice Horses one after another were killed under him. Toward his dead Enemy he shewed himself generous, freely and without Ransome giving up his Body to his Mother, though the offered much Money for it; and, before that, when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Souldier by way of Contempt and Revenge gave it a cut in the Thigh, he was so displeased with the man, that he initiantly catheir'd him the Army, for doing so pityfull and Cowardly a

35. Harold by his Mothers care was buried at Waltham in a Church of Canons founded and endowed by himfelf. When the News of his Defeat was foread abroad, the two Earles Edwin and Morgan who had upon discontent withdrawn themselves from him came to London, and fending away their Sister Algitha the Queen to Chefter, they tampered with the Citizens to make one of them King, but found them very cool in the buliness, for as in duty they were concern'd, their Inclinations were toward Edgar Etheling, and with them joyned Aldred the Archbishop of Tork and many of the Nobility. Hereupon the two Earls went 'away in discontent into Northumberland, where they thought Duke William would not come, not caring what became of the Cause of Edgar or of their own Countrey, because their ambitious purposes were not gratified. The Conquerour having fetled his matters about Hastings, made not first to London, and afterwards went back into Kent (as Spot the Abbat of St. Augustin's in Canterbury, and others following him, have erroneoully written, and thereupon told a Tale of the Kentish men their meeting him with Boughs, and procuring from him a Confirmation of their Privileges) but took his Journey toward Dover Castle, which he and many others long time after esteemed as the very Key of England. In his passage by

PART IV:

Coronationis autem Officium noluit ab

Archiep Stigando percipere (cujus digni-tati folebat illud Officium ex debito perti-

nere) eo quod ab Apostolico Papa illum Calumniatum audierat suum palleum non

fumpfisse Canonicé. Ingulph

Sect. 12. Roomey Marfo he avenged himself of some Savage kind of People dwelling thereabout, who had killed fome of his men that by mistake had landed at that place, Guil. Pile. about, who had killed some or his men that by initiate him should be should

To the Cattle Multitudes of reuple had betalen freight way furrendred it, in the lama in on.

Then Deteris impregnable, yet affrighted at his presence they streight way furrendred it, in the lama in on the lama in on the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie & on the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie & on the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of the proceeding Northward at a place Gostie of the strength of t not far distant the Kentish men of their own Accord came in to him, sware fealty His. East. And the Kent to him and gave up their Hoflages for performance. Continuing then his March Lib 3.

11.9 men lib- he understood what canvasing there was at London betwixt the two Earls and those that flood for Edgar Etheling, whereupon he made toward them and fate down not far from the City. Thence certain Companies issued out against him, but with five hundred Horse he easily repelled them, killing divers in the Chace, and here began the misery of poor England. The Duke seem'd resolv'd before this to carry himfelf with all gentleness (at least some so believe) and bring over the Englifb by kind usage, but seeing they made head against him, and put him to sarther trouble and danger, he changed his purpose resolving to make an absolute Conquest of the Land. For upon this Sally all the Buildings South of the Thames

he commanded or permitted to be fired.

36. Passing the Thames he removed to Wallingford, whither Stigand the Archbishop, and others of the English Nobility, confounded in their Deligns, and not knowing what other course to take, came to him deserting young Edgar; as also Then the Lon- did the Londoners, who giving up themselves into his Power, delivered such and so many Hostages as he thought convenient. Thence by degrees he came to London, permitting his men all the while to doe as in an Enemies Countrey with Fire and Sword, and on Christmas day was Crowned King at Westminster by Aldred the Duke William Archbishop of Tork, for against Stigand of Canterbury objection was made, that

Crowned Ring he did not legally hold that Place, nor had rightly taken at Westmin-hie Dall Reference the Crown was for on his Head, he gave his Pall. Before the Crown was fet on his Head, he gave his Oath at the Altar, in presence of the Nobility and all the People, to protect the Church in its Rights and Liberties, to govern the People according to Law and Justice, to maintain them in their Rights, and protect them from

Spoil and Rapine. Here is our Period. For having fet him on the Throne, the Discourse of his Life, and how by Particulars he either governed according or contrary to his Oath, whether he that had made such a noise with the Perjury of Harold, had not ever a special care not to be guilty of that horrid Crime, belongs to a Treatise of the New Dynasty of the Normans. Yet shall we, though we have no full prospect, admit the Reader to look as it were through the Curtain, and fee a little how he acted his Part of King over his new But neglects Subjects, by the affiftence of Ingulphus, who was himfelf a prime Spectatour, if

his Committee not a fort of Actour, being preferred to be Abbat of Croyland, and otherwise much Oath. favoured by him. Having inflanced in feveral Noblemen, whom either he had Imprisoned or Banished, he adds, That the Earldoms, Baronies, Bishopricks, and the Deinson ego Preferments of all the Land he distributed to his Normans, and scarce admitted any Comitans & Englishman to any State of Honour or Power. Nay, they so abominated the English, pseudostant of Honour or Power. that how deserving soever they were, they were outed of all Preferments: And Stran-Prelation on gers lefs fit by far, of any Nation under Heaven, were admitted gratis into their pla-is time fair ces. How they abominated and altered their Language and Customs, it's not new diffinite convenient here to infift. Almost all the Kentish Lands he seized, as well as those or is all the second to the se convenient nere to innit. Annot an tile nertifo Lands be teleco, as well as those quent affiof other Provinces; Church Lands were every where devoured, and all things bequent all beats longing to the English became Prey and Booty.

inn afcendere permissi. — Tantum tune Anglicos abominati sun ut quantocumque merito pollerent, de depination pellerent, est multiminato ballerent, est multiminato de quacumque alia Natione qua sub calo est, extitissem, gratanter assumentatione qua sub calo est. Gervasius Dorobern.

Several mif-

37. But here it may justly be faid, that the English were the forgers of their own Fortune; all these mischiess having come upon them through their own Egregious folly and neglect. So they behaved themselves as if they had a desire to be inflaved by those whom they did so much admire, but onely imitated in what was worst; and being so set for their own destruction, destiny put to her helping hand. For how frangely, how like an harebrain'd Man did Harold in this bufinels behave himfelf; how contrary to his former wifedom and conduct? He being really a Man for all accomplishments, very well worthy of a Crown. He could

not but know that William would invade him the next year, if he came not this, Sect. 12 and yet he must disoblige his Souldiers, and that by a dirty action of taking all the Booty to himself, a folly of which at another time he could scarcely have been guilty. Then doth he amend one errour by another, hurries away against the Enemy, that he knew must be both resolved and desperate; that must be fully bent either to conquer, or dye, being penned in by a deep Ditch, the Bridge over which he himself had broken down. Without staying but a day or two for fupplies, he haftes away as one who had defigned first to fight with a disobliged Army, and then with no Army at all, alone, and in his own Person. The Battel shewed it was not Courage but Conduct, that the English wanted, if so few stood it out, and that upon even terms with the Normans, till their Captain fell. how easie would the Victory have been, had he used any moderate care in his management? Then after his death, how eafily might this loss have been repaired? Though many of the Nobility fell, and many Souldiers, yet these Souldiers were but fuch as he picked up as he could, the strength of the Nation was not much more impared, than after the Northern expedition; for Ingulphus writes exprelly, that he flew away to Hastings, not staying for the Army. Such Forces Exercitum as were coming up to Harold, with those of Edwin and Morker, would have nonexpetient. been sufficient, or might have been filled up with such numbers (all willingly giving in their Names at fuch a time as this) as might have made the Norman repent he had burnt his Ships, for all his late success he obtained in Suffex. His expedition was not fo quick, nor his march fo in hafte, but they had time enough to unite. Nay, he so carried himself in this, as if he had a mind they should reinforce themselves; for his best way had been to march directly for London, to diffipate all Forces, and hinder the forming of new Armies, for being every where Master of the Field, Forts and Castles must have come in of themselves. being of no great value in those days, as appeared by the large swinge the Danes took throughout the Land, without any confiderable let or interruption from Castles, notwithstanding all the Fortresses said to be raised, or repaired by Edward the Elder and his Sister. But instead of preparation for driving away the common Enemy, they become Enemies one to another, and stand in competition for that Crown which he had already got, on the point of his Sword, though not on his Head. These were prodigious miscarriages, not incident to any that had reason about them, but absolute effects of such vitious tempers as infatuate Mens minds, and enervate the Powers of their Souls, both effects and figns, and carrying the punishments along with them, of some notable extravagances, of which, not onely particular Families, but even the whole Nation it felf was

38. And that the English were now guilty of fuch extravagances, as ever forerun fuch Calamities and Revolutions, as by debauching their minds, render them abject, pitifull, and fit for flavery, we have but too good Testimony to assure us. The Monk of Malmesbury, who being of Buglish Descent, as well as Norman, professes he had no prejudice to either Nation, and we may take his word, the counse of his writing making no shew of the contrary, taking a view of their manners from their first entering and planting in the Island, observes that they were various. " At their first coming, their gesture and look was altogether barbarous, and they were wholly given to War as longuas they continued Pagans.

When they had once received Christian Religion, they applied themselves in
a manner wholly to it, giving to Arms but she second place; and here he instances in Rich and Poor, Ecclesa@cksand Seculars, Kings, Bishops, Hermites and Abbats, not one Nation indeed being the to vye with this in that respect.

"But the fludy of Learning and Religion were grown quite out of fashion, in "the foregoing Age, not a few years before the confliguof the Norman. The Clergy contenting themselves with a triffing kind of literature, scarcely ableto pronounce the words belonging to their several Setvices. He that understood Grammar, was a wonder, and Matter of aftonishment to the rest. The Monks

went fairly clad, and observed not the Rules of their Orders, as to Meat and "Drink. The Nobles were given over to Gluttony and Luft, not going to Church in the Morning as Christians oughs to doe. The common People was

"exposed as a Prey to the great ones, both in their Persons and Estates, theny ha-" ving got their Women Servants with Child, when they had fatisfied their luft, turned them over either to the common Brothel Houses, or kept them perpe-" tually in that course of slavery. They were universally given to Drunkenness,

" spending night and day in Tipling, making great chear, and being at great

the English.

Sect. 12. "expence in their mean and pitifull Houses, of a quite contrary disposition to the And Drunkenness was accompanied with the usual Vices which debauch and ren-

der effeminate the minds of Men. 39. Hence came it to pass, that rather carried headlong with temerity and sury, than any true skill they had in War, they ingaged with Duke William, and by loofing the day, inflaved both themselves and Countrey. In Sum, the English then wore their Clothes short, cut their Hair, shaved their Faces, (all, he means, but their upper Lip ) loaded their Armes with golden Bracelets, marked their Skin with divers Images, would Eat till they furfeited, and Drink till they vomited, which last Vices they communicated to the Conquerours, in all things else taking up, and admiring their Modes. But this he would not have understood of all, but of the English in general; forafmuch as to his knowledge there were ma-

The Polity of the English Saxons in Britain, PART IV.

ny good Men, both amongst Clergy and Laity. But, saith he, as in times of pro-veram sine in sperity, the goodness of God most commonly cheristies the bad with the good, so in the tranquilline Captivity of a Nation, fonetimes bis leverity involves the good in the same Calanifes had mitted with the bad. They had formerly, as Ingulphus assures us, run out of them-rung, De femirers of the selves, and become French, by idolising and imitating the Normans, in all that remiss, is ain was light and trivial; now they must serve whom before they ador'd. Those bones commathat were so enamoured of all things that were French, that they would wish his nonnunrather to be served by a French Dog, than an English Man, now had the privi-quam guidam lege to be called and used as Dogs, by their late Lacquies, upon whom, out of veritation the influence of their former affection, it's to be prefumed, that like Spaniels, De Willielmo they more fawned the more they beat them. And fuch Women as ravished with prims, lib. 3. the Persons, and deportment of their French Guests, would flock to Edin. Savi-

flare at and admire them even at the Gallows, or when they were Arraigned draw or led to Execution, now might flay at home and fave their pains, might view rangement Who are now and satisfie themselves with that contenting fight, while they beheld them knock- videas quant Who are now and latishe themselves with that contenting an are now and latishe themselves with that contenting an are now and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with that contenting a specific bulb has been and latishe themselves with the specific bulb has been a specific at their own Doors. But no more of this difmal Subject. Onely, Reader, remem-Normani ber that the fame Caufes ordinarily produce the fame Effects. We will difmis our Angious discount of the control of Englift Saxon Ancestors with what is more comfortable; by taking a view of their linguishing

Polity, their Laws, and better Customs.

trics.

40. To begin at the top. From the course of this History, the Reader will ob- bois trailar. ment Monar-ferve that the Government was Monarchical, and that not onely in respect of Nam kee mon the particular Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, which had their peculiar Kings, has infirm but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was usually Commanded by wolumn. one of the seven, of all which Beda takes notice till his time, and Egbert more effectually than any of them completed the Design, leaving his Posterity in possession, of that Power, which brought the Sovereignty to the House of the West Saxon Kings, that which none of the other could accomplish as to their Families. The nature of, the Monarchy we must believe at the first followed the condition of the Tenure, absolute Conquests and Territories, both got and held by the Sword alone, usually producing absolute Governments, which many times either by reason of the infirm Foundations laid by the Conquerours themselves, And Arbitrary the humour of the People not enduring fuch subjection, or other accidents, change as by Conque- into more moderate and less Arbitrary. That Hengist, Ælla and the other Captains, when they first erected their Dominations, Governed their Souldiers, whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt. The Polity and Frame of their Governments for a long time could not be very Polisht; Laws and setled Orders having little to doe amongst Arms and Consumon, and with Arms they were wholly taken up, Conquering by dint of Sword every foot of ground they called theirs, generally throughout the Countrey, which having by main ftrength, and after much contention and ruging on both fides, wrested out of the hands of the Owners, they were afterwards as busie in desending it, as well from the Incroachments and Rapines of one another, as the Re-entries of its former Mafters. Therefore till the time of Ethelbert the first Christian King, hear we nothing of Laws, they having been formerly Governed by common Rules of natural Prudence, according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the nature of Circumstances, or such Cultoms as they brought along with them from their own Coun-

They Laws

41. After that their Kings became Christian, they styled themselves such, (in the Singular Number, I, though the Plural in King Edgar's days was given to fingle Persons) By Divine Dispensive the King, Internation, By (a) the Mercy of God, By (b) Divine Disposition, (a) Ita Ethelbaldus Rex Mercierum in

Chirographo quod extat apud Ingulphum.
(b) Sic Kenulphus Rex Merciorum. (c) Ita Witlafins. Ibid. & Beonedus.

A. D. 970.

(d) Ego Edredus Rex terrenus sub Im-beriali potentia Regis Seculorum aterniq ;

Principis magne Britannie temporale ge-

rens impersum. (e) Ego Edgarus ejufdem Dei nostri lar-gistuæ Munistentiæ possidens totius magnæ Britanniæ Monarchiam. A.D. 996.

(f) Ego Edgarus sub ipso sidereo Rege rasidens Regno magna Britannia.

(g) Ego Edgarus, torius Albionis bafileus (h) Ego Edgarus torius Albionis bafileus

nes the angs and By (c) the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, or such like, though some of them omitted such Expressions, writing onely themselves Kings of Juch a Countrey. The other fix Kingdoms being brought under that of the Well Saxons, the Wellb and Scots became also tributary, or acknowledged fuch Subjection, that Eadred the Son of Edward the Elder, A.D. 948. flyled himself King (d) of Great Britain. After

him Edgar took the Title of Monarch (e) of all Great Britain, and King (f) of Great Britain, and King (g) of all Albion, as also of the (h) Maritime or Kings of the Islands, and of King of Albion and the (i) Neighbouring Kings, in which Titles he acknowledged the very large Munificence of Almighty God, in that he was advanced above all his Progenitours. The reason of these high Titles, may be fetch'd from what we have written of his being waited on, and rowed in a Boat by Eight Petty Kings or Princes, nec non maritimorum seu insulanorum Regum babitantium, adeò ut nullius progeamongst whom is found Maccuse King of the Isles, for nicorum subjectione largistua Dei gracia Edgar is faid to have been Lord of all the Islands, as far as fuppetente sim subsimatus. A. D. 974 (i) Ego Edgarus totius Albionis finiti-Norway. But this Dominion of the Northern Isles conti-

nued not long, but as with Edgar the Grandeur and Felicity

morúmque Regum bafileus. of the English Monarchy, so this large Title fell with him,

not extending it felf to the Orcades, which as both Giraldus Cambrensis and others Topograph, affirm anciently were subject to the Kings of Norway, with one of whom, viz. Harold 2, e. 11. cut Harvager, as we have lately feen, Paul the Earl of Orcades came and fought against adde Orderiour King Harold, the Son of Godwin. Yet though they might not use the Titles, in Eccles History did many of the fucceeding Kings hold both Wales and Scotland in Subjection. lib. 10. 8 The English Saxon King whom they termed Cyning, and contractedly at last Cyng, Chronicon Reas we now do the Saxon Language not knowing K) had Sovereign Power and berei de Mon-Rights of Majesty, made Laws, raised Money, and had power of Life and Death, Chronic Sigeas we shall see hereafter. The Wife of the King they called Cpen, as we at present berti ad Ann.

Queen, and she was Partaker with her Husband though not in Sovereignty, yet in 1167. Respect and Honour, till by reason of the pragmatical Carriage of Eadburga, the Daughter of Offa, and Wife to Birtric, this Custome common to all Nations was interrupted in the Royal Palace of the West Saxons, where the Wives of the Kings were not fuffered to fit by them, nor to enjoy the Title of Queen, till this Decree was repealed by King Ethelwulf, though with much trouble in favour of his Queen Judith the French Lady. The King's Son or the Heir to the Crown was called Etheling, in Latin they termed him Clito, (fignifying the

fame, as Cæfar, Princeps Juventutis or Nobilissimus Cæfar, amongst the Romans though these Names were in a manner given to all of the Bloud-Royal, whom Hoveden in a diminutive way calls Clitunculi. The Eldest by the Prerogative of his Age challenged justly the Title of King after his Father's death, but the Reader in perufal of this Hiftory may take notice how often this Course was changed, when either force prevailed, a former agreement had passed, or the next and immediate Heir was but a Child. 42. Of all the Instruments by which the Kings governed, their Principal were

41. After

Two forts of their Councils. Of these they had two forts, viz. their Ordinary or Domestick, confifting of Domelticks, or fuch as were near their Persons; or Extraordinary; which was the Great Affembly or Council held for determining the great and ur-The great Affairs of the Kingdom. This was called prenagemore, or the Affambly of fembly or described of the Proletes and Noblemen, or chief Marifly ages of the Wisemen, and confisted of the Prelates and Noblemen, or chief Magistrates of the governing the Kingdom. Hereof, belides what the Laws of Princesspeak, we have ample Testimony from feveral Charters of Kings, as well in the feveral petty Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, as after it came fully to be reduced into one Monarchy. Bertulph the King of the Mercians in a Charter, wherein he confirms the Revenues and Privileges of the Monastery of Croyland, fignifies that the Monastery had exhibited their complaint before the (a) Prelates and Nobles of his whole Realm of (a) Proposi-

per Fratrem Askillum Commonachum vestrum palam coram pralatis & proceribus totius Regni mei Mercia apud Beningdon ultimo congregatis. Omnibus tenerrime compatientibus—placuit; apud Ingulphum, p. 858. Edit. Francofurti.

(b) Cum communi concilio totius Reg.

(c) Cum communi concilio gratuitoque

(d) Confentientibus omnibus pralatis &

(e) Complacuit unanimiter mibi & uni

(f) Et Possessio viris Religiosis commu. i Regni concilio specialiter approprint.

p. 800.
(g) Cum ergò unanimi confensu totius præsentis concessii hic apud Kingibun an-no Incarnationis Christi Domini 851 seria

fexta, in Hebdomada Paschæ pro Regni ne-

(b) In Festo ergo Nativitatis B. Marie

cum universi magnates Regni per Regium Edictum summoniti, tam Archiepssopi quam Episcopi ac Abbates, quam catesi

totius Regni proceres & optimates Londonia convenissent ad trastandum de nego-

confensu omnium magnatum Regni n.;

ni mei concedo.

proceribus meis.

berlo concilio. p. 859.

Sect. 12. Mercia, the last time assembled at Beningdon, all who tenderly compassionated them for the Injuries they had received, and having confidered and commended the Accurateness of their Religion, it ple fed themall by this King's Instrument to confirm and inlarge all their Privileges formerly granted to them by his Brother Withlaf.

Wherefore with (b) the common Council of his whole Kingdam, he grants fuch and fuch things; again, he grants with (c) the Common Council and free consent of all the Great Men of his Kingdom. And confenting (d) all his Prelates and Noblemen. And that it (e) unanimoully pleased him and his whole Council. Afterward in the fame Charter he fignifies, that their Possession was in an especial manner appropriated to these Religious Men, by the (f) Common Council of the Kingdom. And at length concludes in this manner, Therefore (g) with the unanimous Consent of the whole present Council here assembled at Kingelbury, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Christ 851, the fixth Day in Easter-week, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, this my Royal writing I have confirmed firmly, and immutably with the fign of the Holy Crofs. This abundantly shews of whom the Great Council consisted which was held

gotiis congregati, istud meum Regium Chi-rographum Jancta crucis signo stabilier Simmutabiliter confirmavi. p. 861. in Mercia for the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time the King of Mercia was tributary to him of the West Saxons, which was Ethelwulf, as appears though feveral other ways by Oflat his Butler, who being present at the figning of the Charter witnesseth to it in this form. I Oflat the Butler of King Ethelwulf, and Ego Oflation. the Ambassadar of him my Lord, and of his Sons in their Names; and the Name of Enteronis G all the West Saxons have commended this writing of the Lord King Bertulph. His Legam infini att the west saxons nave commenced this little of his Domini mai being present at this Assembly, and signing in the Name of King Ethelwulf of his Essimon sa. Sons, and all the West Saxons, seems to hint this to us, that though these Tributary orum numine pons, and at the very floatens, believe in the Kingdoms, and therein made Laws, them of Princes as Kings held the Affemblies of their Kingdoms, and therein made Laws, them and otherwife difpatched their great Affairs, yet in acknowledgement of the So faccommon floatens and otherwife difpatched their great Affairs, yet in acknowledgement of the So faccommon floatens. vereignty of the Kings of the West Saxons, who now in effect were Monarchs Chiragraphan over all, things were not ratified, but by the confent of the faid West Saxon Domini Bri-Kings, exprelled by their Ambassadours sent on purpose.

43. When the whole Power was transferred upon the West Saxon Kings, and Commendation they were become Monarchs of the English under them, also such Aslemblies P. 861. were held of the whole Nation, confilling of the same forts of Persons. As to goe no farther than Ingulphus, Edred who styled himself Monarch of Great Bri-

tain, by his Edict summoned all the Great (b) Men of his Realm, as well Archbishops, Bishops and Abbats as the rest of the Nobles of his whole Kingdom to meet at London, to Summoned by handle the publick Affairs of the whole Realm. Here we see Edict or Protein they were assembled by the King's Edict, not by fending carnation up-on extraordi- to them all in particular, but by the way of Proclamation. nary occasion. Their meeting, was timed according to the Exigency of Affairs, as that notable Council held at London, A.D. 833. under (c) Egbert for suppression of the Danish Pirates, which continually infested the Sea-coasts, at which were present the faid Egbert, Ethelwulf his Son, Withlaf King of Mercia, with the Prelates and the greater Noblemen of all England.

this Council was held on the Feaft of St. Augustine the Confessour, Doctour and Apostle of our Nation as the Charter hath it, meaning Augustine, the Monk, sent over to convert the English Nation by Gregory the Great, whose Festival was held in great esteem upon that account. The Councils held in Bertulph's time, and formerly mentioned by us, affembled at Easter, and indeed this seems to have been the time chiefly respected when the occasion was not urgent and pressing, because the feason being convenient for Travel, this Festival in those days was wont by Princes more magnificently to be observed, and their Courts now were wont to Ordinarily at be more full of the Nobility, who usually waited upon Kings at the Celebration Enfer, Woir of it, Whitfuntide and Christmass, but especially of it, as appears from what we finited and reade of Charles the Great, and as we see by the Letter of King Canute written Christmass. to his Subjects from Rome, the Princes of Italy flocked to that City to celebrate together with the Pope that Holy Feast. Of course therefore coming to Court, at that time it was most convenient to hold the Assembly, Easter, Whitsuntide

tiis publicis totius Regni. p. 874 (c) In prasentia Dominorum morum Egherti Regis Westsaxonia & Ethelwass in Gibut & marentus filis ejus coram pontificibus & procentus majoribus totius Anglia in civitate Lendoniæ ubi omnes congregati sianus pro coccilio capiendo contra Danicos piratus littora Anglia affidue infestantes. Sie serieit Wiehlafius Rex Merciorum apud Ingulphum, Yet it is observable that their business giving them leave, p. 857. they would stay for some remarkable day or time. As

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and Christmass, were the ordinary times for holding these great Councils. Yet Sect. 12. that Assembly summoned by King Edred, was held on the Feast of the Nativity of the Bleffed Virgin.

44. We have heard that these Great Councils consisted of Prelates and Noblemen, expressed by these Latin words, Proceres, Magnates and Optimates, (not the least mention of any of the Common People being made) but for a better understanding of the thing in hand, we must know what they called them in their own Language. Here to tetch the matter as high as we can, we shall betake our Ic Inemis own Language. Here to tetch the matter as high as we can, we had been sufficient of felves to the Laws of King Ina, the first of any English Saxon King now certainly extant, who tells us that he composed them by the counsel and advice of his Peter reason. Father Ceured, of Hedda and Erkenwald his Bishops, and all his Aldermen, and mis kereaht the Eldest Wise Men of his Nation, and also in a great Assembly of the Servants 7 mis læ of God: of Bishops there is no doubt. As for Aldermen the Latin Translatour ne Cenneterms it Senators, but this leaves us in as great obscurity. First then, the word beg miner Calbonman was fo general as to fignifie and comprehend all that were eminent pattern 7 called to this either in respect of their Dignity or their Offices, all Reguli, Subreguli, Frinces, peeser miner Dukes, Earls, and all sorts of Magistrates. But such of them must be here meant her Duckes. Dukes, Earls, and all lorts of Maguitates. But then of them must be necessary per Jeras must correspond with what follows, viz. the \*Wife Elders; and such as may per Jeras must correspond to the such as may per Jeras must correspond to the such as may per Jeras must correspond to the such as may per Jeras must be necessary to the such as must be necessary to th be called Magnates, Optimates and Procees, for such they are styled in General in miner bisthe forementioned Charters. Those therefore whom Writers in Latin call Du-ceoper 7 ces and Comites were Dukes and Earls, they flyled by the Name of Aldermen, as mis callium is notorious to any one who hath the least conversed with Saxon Authours: in minum eal-King Alfred's Translation of Beda, and in the Annals nothing more ordinary. bormannum Ring Alfred's Traination of Beau, and the Ministration by the word Alderman, J Sam yl-Any eminent Judge also or Justiciary was also known by the word Alderman, J Sam yl-But more particularly we meet with the Alderman of England, for 6 was Allivin Legran ynflyled, as appeared by his † Epitaph in the Church of Ramsey which he himself Deobe 1 Founded. Now by this Title what else can be meant than him whom following eac myceltimes called The Chief Justice of all England, we cannot devise, for that Ailwin was ne romnuna Judge is || evident enough, and that being the Younger Son of Athelftan Duke ge Goser of the East Angles, from his Birth he could have no such Title. There was a Deogena. nother called the King's Alderman, either for that he was constituted immediately 'Calcormen by the King, or because he administred the King's Justice, and he seems to have been non propter ordained for a time as occasion served. Then was there the Alderman of the Shire, Senecturem, or the Schireman, viz. he whom they called in Latin Comes, as the Shire it felf fed proper fa Comitatus. Or it feems rather to fignifie the Judge of the County skilled in the inventas in Laws, the Deputy as it were of him whom they called Eorl, (like as the Salii Edmardi. had two or three Judges under the Count, whom they called Sagibarones) and c. 35, Refjoined by the Laws with the Bishop of the Diocess both as to Dignity and the Presbyteris. joint execution of their Offices in the meeting of the Countrey which they cal- t Hie requief-

Bishop and Earl.

led Folcmote. 45. That the Eorle or Earl was distinct from this Alderman appears from the gis Eadgars Laws of King Athelftan, which in the valuation of Men equals the \* Archbishop Cognatus, to display the Archbishop cognatus, to The Valuation and the Earl, as also the Alderman and the Bishop, setting the Heads of the Aldermannus on and Office former at fifteen thousand Thrymses, and those of the later but at eight thousand, & bujus sarries as the Head of him we call *Vicecomes* at four thousand. Being thus joyned in culofits funds. valuation with the Bishop, the Laws of both King Edgar and King Canate joyn tor. them in the Folemote or Meeting of the Shire, where they command that both || Ex libro Rabe present; the Alderman to teach the People their Duty as to this World, wide Glodar, and the Bishop to instruct them in reference to that to come, as the Office of Spelman, in the Earl was to protect the Shire; so that the Office of the Earl respected the sex. Aldemn-Political Government and Desence, that of the Alderman matter of Law, and fine that of the Bishop things concerning Religion. But both as we said, the Earl open Teopand Judge in general expression were called Aldermen, especially before the Danes leg Fapecame to fettle in England. For the word Eorla is of Danish Original, as witnes- 316 by xv feth + Ethelwerd the Hiltorian, and after the English received it, bestowed it upon O Denning the Superiour fort of Aldermen, whom the Laws (as we have said) ranked Birccoper I with an Archbishop, and to an Inferiour it is never found applied. After the calcoparation of the Manual Archaecter and the said of t coming in of the Normans the word was applied to him, whom the Dutch call a war on Grave, though Sir | Henry Spelman thinks that in the days of our Saxons it rather + Underson fignified whom the Latin Writers called Dux, and Conful as a general Name, confuler installed than Comes, because he whom the Law of Athelfan makes equal with the Bishop Danis Exist was also called Comes. But it feems when our Saxon Ancestours took the Name folent nomof Earl from the Danes, they took it quite away indeed, and robbed them of it. Wid Sechnan For now amongst them there is no such word, as neither Eur nor Ar (fignifying in vecs.

\* Ler Yex-

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comprised under the Name of

Alderman.

Thanes.

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Honoured, with which they are wont to subscribe their Letters. 46. But of such Persons did the Publick Assembly of the Nation confist, viz. neweri and on the Lay part of Viceroys, Princes, Patritians, (which Title King Edgar gives industrial to Turketule the Chancellour) Dukes, Earls, Counts, Prefects or Governours, and Hlafords, all who are comprized under the Name of Aldermen; and so also are Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priests and Monks on the part of the Clergy. These were also the Wife Men and Elders which King Ina meant, for Seniours, Senatours, Elders and Aldermen are the same, and moreover those of the Clergy are they whom he calls the Servants of God, this being an appellation in those times canen the ser- peculiar to Ecclefiastical Persons, a phrase taken up by Bishops, Priests and Monks, wanto of God. is notorious to any one but meanly conversant in the Monuments of those Ages. All they are comprised under the Name of the Servants of God, aswell as the Lay Members of this Great Council under the Name of Aldermen, the Thanes onely excepted, who must be added to the former, as appears by several Subscriptions both to Councils and Charters. Now \*Thanes were of two forts, either \* Saxonic † Ecclesiastical, or Secular. The Secular were also distinguished into two ranks, Segn a Sewhereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as Vavafors were to them) man mini-

I little doubt but that the King's Thanes, or the Ministri Regis were meant here- à Seonan by, though some of the lower fort of Thanes might occasionally be called to the service. Council as there was occasion to employ them, as by some Subscriptions we find † Merrenot onely the Queen, but Abbesses, Priests and Monks to have been present. Jegnar & But no Repre-But as to any Representatives of the Common People, we must profess as doth pepols &cc. fentatives of Sir Henry Spelman, that we can find no fuch in these Greatest Councils of our Commission Saxon Ancestours.

> nay vide Spelman. Glossur. in voc. Thegnus & Baro & Sciden. Titles of Honour. Item Somneri Glossur. in voc. Tagnus & Baro & Sciden. Titles of Honour. Item Somneri Glossur. in voc. Tagnus † Sed us uberins dicam de Persons in sistiusmodi Concilio convocasis; occurris primò nusquan ne repesisse inter Saxan nostros plebi locum, cui in German.a Tacitus potiorem tribuit in voc. Parlamentum.

> whereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as a unique were charged in Degree next to Counts, (as a unique were charged in the King's Barons. The or Prare, it can therefore were the lefter \* Thanes or under Thanes, being the fame with the left forwing the fer fort of Barons, Lords of Manors, Vavafors, and the like. In Latin they far a many fer fort of Barons, Lords of Manors, Vavafors, and the like. In Latin they far a many fer fort of Barons, Lords of Manors, Vavafors, and the like. In Latin they far, a many fer fort of Barons, Lords of Manors, Vavafors, and the like.

Subscribed themselves Minister, after those who styled themselves Comites; and Yeon diction

47. What we have faid already of the feveral great Officers of the Kingdom nours of Council out of being Members of the Great Council or Meeting of Wisemen may much serve to shew how the King out of the Council governed as well as in, for something has been faid in reference to the nature of their Office and Employments. The chiefest Officer under the King was his Chancellour; for governing of the People, were the Earls, Counts or Aldermen of the Counties or Shires, who for this purpose held another Assembly or Council, which from the Folk or People therein gathered together was called Folcmore, and from the shire Scynagemore, over these the Aldermen of the shire presided, but in them assembled all the Greatmen in King Edward the Confessour's Laws called Principes, the Bishops, the military Men and Freemen of all England, therein they swore Allegiance to the King. The Businesses of the Shires were here transacted, and hence it was not lawfull to appeal to the King's Court but in failure of Justice, and here were chosen the Deputies of the Aldermen of the Shires called in Latin Vicecomites, as also another fort of military Officers called Heretochs. The Deputies were in Saxon called general and Scipgeperar (whence our Shire-reeves contractedly Sheriffs ) and in the Abfence of the Aldermen they managed the Bulinesses of the County, and governed the Folemotes. Before them as appears from Ingulphus Propriety was tried, and when evicted they were to put the right owner into Possession. From the same Writer it farther appears, that there were certain Officers formerly in Latin called Vicedomini, out of which two forts were made, viz. This of Vicecomites, and another whom he calls Justitiarii. Yet that the Vicedomini continued afterward is evident enough, but one of these two sorts might be meant, viz. either a Sheriff or a Justiciary, for it's an ordinary thing for the Species to be denominated by

48. The Heretochs who as we faid were also chosen in meeting of the Shire, are thus described to us by one who in the time of the Normans interpolated the Laws of Edward the Confessour. " There were other Powers and Dignities (faith De Haussie "he) constituted throughout all Countries and Provinces, and through the fe-inA Description "veral Shires which the English called Heretochs, viz. Noble, Eminent, Wise, Sect. 12. of Heretochs. "Faithfull and Courageous Barons, in Latin Dustores Exercitus, whom the French

" named Capital Constables, or Marshals of Armies. In Battels they Marshalled Ar-" mies, and raifed Forces as occasion served, and when they thought fit for the "Honour of the Crown, and the benefit of the Kingdom. Now these Men were " chosen by the Common Council, for the common Utility of the Realm through "all the Provinces and Countries, and the feveral Counties in full Folemote, as "the Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be chosen; fo as in every Coun-"ty there was ever one Heretoch chosen to conduct the Forces of his Shire accor-"ding to order received from our Lord the King for the Honour and Profit of "the Crown of the faid Kingdom, always when need required. Wholoever for "fear of Battel or Death shall fly from his Lord, or Associate in the Conduct of "his Heretoch, either in an expedition by Sea or Land, is to loofe all he hath, " life and all, and the Lord may feize upon that Land which he formerly gave "him. Here add that all Men were bound to be provided of Arms, out of St. "Edward's Law. 35. They were chosen then as Sir Henry Spelman observes in full Folcmote, not in the Assembly of the beginning of May, of which we shall speak anon, but at the beginning of October. At these Folomotes these Heretochs \* were \* Ab Depe present, and with the approbation of the Assembly ordered what was to be done, Exercitus & in reference to the Militia. This Popular Election of them seems to have been ta-togen duken from the Germans, as appears from the Laws of the Boii. † And as Thing so † Sie Barari Name came from them, with whom still at this day Hertog answereth to the basic dictum: Latin Dux, and they as well as our Saxon \* Ancestours still give that Title to De Hertog van those Princes, and great Nobles which with us use the style of Dukes. Yet forey an Orlethese our Heretochs were no such kind of Persons, but either of the same ans, &c. Dignity, and account with the Sheriffs or inferiour to them. For the \*Charte que-Laws of Henry the First directing who should be present at the Shire-Alsherm que mote order that there be the Bishops, Comites, and Vicecomites, then the He- Latine nunc retochs, Trithingreves, Ledgreves, &c. Sir + Henry thinks them the same with those Comitem vowhom the Laws of Ethelstan call Holdes; for as he joins Shire-reeves and He- cant Mercioretochs together, fo doth he also Holdes and Hehgereeves, by which no other rum, scribione than the Shire-reeves are fignified. But thus we have shewed that both the one flipshepe and the other were chosen in the Folemote, which as to the Shire-reeves held penerogan, till the ninth year of Edward the Second, or the year of our Lord 1315. After- Wide hic omwards great Contests and Tumults arising they came to be pricked by the King, nino que Spel. in the manner they are at this present. 49. But farther, What has been faid of the Power of the Heretochs, as to rai-

fing and management of the Militia of the Shire, must for all this be meant subordinately to the Earl or Alderman. For in the Saxon Annals and other Histories throughout, upon all occasions we find these great Men, those whom in Latin they called Duces and Comites, still to be up and fighting, and of these Heretochs, otherwise than in the Law Books, find we no mention, their Actions and Authority being hid under that Employment of the Counts. They were chosen by the People in the Folcmote, as the Knights of Shires at this day, the Alderman, Count or Earl, was appointed by the King, continued during pleasure for a time, or was now and then Hereditary as the Prince thought convenient. The Office of Count, Earl or Alderman, was to prevent and punish Force and

Their Power, Injury, restrain Robberies, and keep the King's Peace, not onely by the vigour Vide Ll. Inc. Duty and Re- of the Laws, but if need ferved, by force of Arms; the King's Dues, as Customs Aluredi, alioand Tributes, he Collected and brought into the Treasury. Yet the Causes of rum passim. Noblemen were not tryable in his Court, a thing in force fo much at this day, that Actions of Debt or Injuries cannot be tried in the County Court, if the value of the thing contended for be not under forty hillings. This is farther remarkable, that no Man by the Laws of King Alfred, could change his dwelling without the knowledge and testimony of the Alderman, in whose Shire he lived. In case he had taken a Thief and dismissed him, or concealed the thest, he was to loose his Shire, except the King pleased to dispense with him by the Laws of Ina. As the reward of his service, or stipend from the profits arising out of the Mulcts and Pleas of his County, he received the third penny, as did the French Counts, in the time of Charles the Great, which Custome was continued by the Normans after the Conquest. From Doomsday Book also, it appears, that the Earl or Count received certain Rents or Payments from particular Towns, as that of Chichester paid fifteen pounds to the King, and ten to the Earl. Such was the power, duty and reward of this great Officer, in Saxon called Alderman, in Latin, Dux or

PARTIV

Comes, and often Conful; for our Writers about the Norman times, confound these Names, and finding them given to great Officers abroad, handle them hand over Sect. 12. head; insomuch, that William the Conquerour himself, they more commonly call Comes than Dux. His power was great, the extent of it was through his Shire or County, of the Original of which, and the nature of it, we must adda

The Polity of the English Saxons in Britain,

50. Shire or Scire, fignifieth a Section or Division, being a certain Portion of A respan 50. Shire or some, figuration a state whole was, as it were, cut or divided findere, deterthe Kingdom, into many of which, the whole was, as it were, cut or divided fere, adher The Division In Latin it was called Comitatus, from the Officer of it in the same Language manent, To ftiled Comes, as County at present from the Count, in French Comte, which word facer, apair utiled comes, as county at present from the county, and we reject, though County and Countes, thence derived, we retain. At what time, a share,

and by whom this Partition of the Land was made, is something controverted, the general opinion following the credit of *Ingulphus*, who writes, that Shires, were first made by King Alfred. Speaking of this Prince, how in ordering the matters of his Kingdom, he was most carefull and fagacious, he tells us the occa-fion to have been; "That fome of his Subjects, taught and incouraged by the example of the Danes, practifed Robberies, and committed violence upon their " Neighbours, whom defiring to restrain, he first changed all the Pagi and Pro-

vernours.

Into Provin- "vinces of England into Counties, Counties he divided into Centuries or Hundreds, ces, Shires,
"and Hundreds into Tenths or Tithings, that every legal Inhabitant might be Hundreds and "found in some certain Hundred and Tithing, and if any one was suspected of a "Robbery, by his Hundred or Tithing he should either be condemned or acquir-"ted. He adds, that the Governours of Provinces, whom formerly they called "Vicedomini, he divided into two Offices, viz, into Judges, whom we now call, " faith he, Justitiaries, and into Vicecomites, who still retain the same Name. " By the care and industry of these Men, the Countrey was presently brought " to fo great tranquillity, that in case a Traveller left any money in the Fields or "High-ways, if he came the next day, or a month after, he might find it. So

" much Ingulphus.

51. Before the Division into Shires, we see by him there were Pagi or Territories and Provinces. And several of those we now term Shires, are by Asserius called Pagæ, as those of Sommerfet, Suffex and Cornwall; and Wilfcire he calls by this very Name. Nay much ancienter than this is the word Scire \* being found in \*LL Lee 26. the Laws of King Ina, who speaks of the Ealdorman forfeiting his Shire, as also of 39 \* Scirmen. Now as we have feen before in the History of Alfred, Afferius lived in \* L. 8. vide that King's time and wrote his life, and a wonder it is that speaking of many other infra will. remarkable things he should make no mention of this famous Division of the Land. To be fure whether there were those fame Divisions we now call Shires, there were those Officers they then in Latin called Comites, who not being merely Titulars furely had their feveral and relative Districts called Comitatus. Orthe Comites For in the History of the same Ingulphus, in the Charter of the Foundation of Croyland Abby by Ethelbald King of the Mercians, in the Year DCCXVI, we find one Egga subscribing by the Title of Comes Lincoln, another Leucitus by that of Comes Leicester, and another calling himself Saxulph the Son of Count Saxulph. Nay in the fame Authour in the Charter of King Kenulph which confirms the other in the Year DCCCVI. mention is made of Thorold Vicecomes of Lincoln, above threescore years before King Alfred came to be King. It's certain during the Heptarchy, the feveral Kingdomshad their Districts, Territories and Divisions, fometimes taken from the Habitation of such and such a People, as the Wiccii, Meanvari, Girnii and Gaini, of whom we find the Father-in-law of King Alfred, to be styled Comes. So that Province of Mercia, lying near Lincoln, or that we now call Lincolnshire, was anciently divided into three Parts, the very same, and by the very fame names they are now known, viz. Lindsey by Beda, called Lindsss from the City, doubtless, which he termes Lindecollina Civitas; Kesteven by Ethelwerd, the Hiltorian, called Ceostefne Wood, and Hoyland, which if Ingulphus may be credited, took its name from Hoy, by which our Saxon Ancestours meant that we now call Hay, or else being in quality like to Holland, in the Low-Countries,

from the same reason setcht its appellation, being as infirm, or hollow as it. 52. Now for the Shires, probable it is that fuch other Divisions as were formerly made, during the Heptarchy, being found convenient, fill continued, and that others were made as there was occasion, by reason of any newer Town, that was found fitter to be the Head of the Divition; for the convenience of refort to the Folcmote An Alteration or Shiremote, and by reason of the decay of a former place. Of this later naor the name of the Shire. ture, we take the Town of Derby to have been, which was not of any note till

that Repandure ( now Repton ) the Seat of the Mercian Kings was decayed, but Sect. 12. being a lurking hole of the Danes, whereas it's former Name was Northworthige, from them, as Ethelward witnefleth, or in their Tongue, received that of Deoraby, contracted as some think from Derwentby, because situate upon the River Derwent. Ingulphus writes expresly, that in the time of the Danish Kings, the Limits and Sed Danicis Bounds of Territories and Shires, were translated and very much altered from the no, Contone, ancient state wherein they had stood, as often as rich Men who had money where- Haraldo & with to bribe, were concerned. In the times of the Danes were thirty two Shires, tan Angliam of which, they invaded fixteen at one impression, which number, in the time opportunities, of the Conquerour, as appeared by Doomsday Book it felf, was increased to thirty a multa imfour, although fome have written of thirty fix. We faid that fome Diffricts, du-plurima priring the Heptarchy, might be continued afterward, when the whole Monarchy vilegia monacame to be afterward divided into Shires; but that generally it was not fo, we fertorum may guess from a certain fragment, which belonging to some time of the Hep-ac proving surtarchy, shews that the Land had other Regions distinguished by Hides after this flata: limites

Another divi- manner. Myrena contained 30000. Hides, Wokensetna 7000. Westerna 7000. Pec- ac termini setna 1200. Elmedsetna 600. Lindesfarona 7000. South Gyrwa 600. North Gyrwa & Comitatu-600. East Winna 300. West Winna 600. Spalda 600. Wigesta 900. Heresinna 1200. um translati Sweordora 200. Eyfla 200. Wicca 200. Wihtgora 600. Noxgaga 5000. Ohtgaga eri cenfim 2000. Hwincha 7000. Clinternsetna 4000. Hendrica 3000. Vnecunzga 1200. Are-mutati, featna 600. Fearfinga 300. Belmiga 600. Witherigga 600. East Willa 600. West prout pecunia Willa 600. East Engle 30000. East Sexena 7000. Cantwarena 15000. South Sexe-mensibus barna 7000, and West Sexens 100000. Hides. Of these Hides, we shall onely re-barorum qui mark, that from division of such Territories as here are, into but so many, the nibil alind quam ruinas quantity of them must be very various, for other reckonings do not agree with querebane, this. In ancient times they much used the word Setna, for Inhabitants, terming preponderaalso those that lived upon Mountains, Dunsaten. We are told that this Catalogue onely respects the Land lying on this side Humber; so that the Kingdom of the Northumbrians being left out of it, and the five last Regions containing fo many other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, that of Mercia must have contained the relt before mentioned. Pecfetna, was the Seat of fuch as Inhabited the Mountains, or the Peak, which was with other low grounds, afterward affigned to Darby. Lindesfarona, was Lindsey, South Gyrwa and North Gyrwa, were the Fenny Habitations of the Girvis or Gernii, formerly mentioned, part were bolonging to Lincolnshire, viz. North Gyrwa, and the rest to the other Counties adjoyning. East Sexena, South Sexena and Cantwarena, being formerly Kingdoms, and found to be of a proportionable fize, without much variation, were left and made to many Shires 53. Some Divisions therefore or Shires, King Alfred might find, others he might

add, and he or his complete the Number which we faid were found in the Danish times. If he divided not all the Land first into Shires, the Shires he subdivi-The occasion ded into Hundreds, and these Hundreds into Tithings. Of these aircr Logalphus De gestis Reof subdivithe Monk of Malmesbury writes, that because the Inhabitants, taking occasion dustiles p. a.

from the Barbarians " practifing Robberies, so that there was no Travelling withinto Hon. from the Barbarians practing accounts, which they call Hundreds, and deets and Ti- " out defence of Arms, he ordained Conturies, which they call Hundreds, and deets and Ti- " out defence of Arms, he ordained Conturies, which they call Hundreds, and deets and Ti- " out defence of Arms, he ordained Conturies, which they call Hundreds, and deets and Ti- " out defence of Arms, he ordained the control of the control o " Decima's, which they name Tithings; that every English Man, living honestly, " might be found in his proper Hundred and Tithing. If it happened that any " one were accused of a Crime, out of his Hundred and Tithing, he was to pro-" duce Sureties or Bail, if none would Bail him, he was to undergoe the feverity " of the Laws; in case any accused Person, either before or after Bail given, " should make his escape, all in the Hundred and Tithing should fine to the King. " By this Device, he procured fuch Peace to the feveral Countries, that where " Highways parted, he caused Golden Bracelets to be hung upon Posts, which derided the avarice of Passengers, of whom none dared to take them away. " This gives us an account of the occasion of their Institution, and of the Success. As for the Division of the Land into them, it was neither certain nor This Division " equal. Gervase of Tilbury wrote, that an Hide of Land consisted of an hun-

nor equal.

" dred Acres, and an Hundred of certain hundreds of Hides, Sr. Henry Spelman, takes notice, that of purpose he assigns no certain number, for one Hundred was three or four times bigger than another. Some have held that an Hundred confifted of an hundred Villages, as Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Welsh Cantred. But at present, scarcely any where are there to be found throughout England, an hundred Villages in one Hundred; scarcely half so many; they are great ones that contain thirty or forty. Many have but ten, some but two, and some, as the Hun-

Sect. 12, dreds of Cherham and Marden in the County of Kent confift but of one a-piece. And Stanford in Lincolnsbire, as appears from Doomsday Book, paid for twelve Hundreds and an haif.

54. My Opinion is, that at first an Hundred consisted of 100 Hides, and that afterwards the quantity came to be altered, as all humane Institutions are subject to change, and Ingulphus tells us that great alteration was made in the Divisions of the Land in the time of the Danes. Just so at Rome when the several Centuries of the People were first ordained, a respect was had to the Number, but afterwards when Servius modelled the State anew he increased the numbers of People very observed to the Reader and given him warning not to take a Century for an hun-The Govern- dred Men, but fuch a Division of the People. The Hundred to be sure was a part

much in some of them, but let the Name still remain as in that History we have of the Shire, where an hundred men prefided as Preservers of the King's Peace, being called Hundreders, and in Latin Centuriones and Centenarii. They had Cognisance of the middle sort of Causes and Suits; the most inferiour being heard in the Tithing or Decuria, by the Tithingmen or Decuriones, (each Hundred containing ten Tithings) and the highest in the County Court or Sciremote. Over these Hundreders and the whole Hundred, one presided, called the Lord of the Hundred; not in his own right, but of the Count or Sheriff of that Shire, to which the Hundred did belong. Most anciently he was chosen by the People, though a Statute of Edward the Second long after appropriated the Election to the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Barons of the Exchequer. He received money from those that were under his Jurisdiction, and had many Privileges. The Court of the Hundred, by the Laws of King Ina and Edward the Confessour, was to be held every Month, except the King's Affairs required haste, and then several Hundreds fometimes were called together for quicker dispatch. It was not lawfull for any to be absent, as appears from the Laws of King Edgar. The Thanes here assemble bled, whom Posterity called Barons and Ecclesiastical Judges too, for as the Bishop was to be present at the County Court, so others of the Clergy at this, and as there, so here both Ecciesiastical and Secular Matters were heard and determined, till William the Conquerour distinguished the Jurisdictions, and command-Vide Soldeni ed the Courts to be held a-part, as is evident from a Writ of his directed to all Analka. lib. 2. that lived within the Diocele of Lincoln, which prohibits all Bishops and Archdeacons any more to determine their businesses in the Hundred; or to bring a Cause concerning the regiment of Souls before Secular Persons. But if any application was made about any Cause or Crime relating to Ecclesiastical Laws, they thould appoint a place of meeting where they thought convenient, and there right should be done to God and the Bishop, not after the custome of the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Episcopal Laws.

55. The Court day being published a Week before if any one were absent the LL Edd. third time, he was punished as Contumacious against the King himself; and in flamin 200. cafe he paid not his Fine, all his Goods were to be feized. When the Court was Be Son Se fate, the Laws of Ethelred commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition genoe populate, the Laws of Ethelred commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition should take an Oath together with the President, that they would neither Condemn the Innocent nor Abfolve the Guilty. The Hundred by another name was

It is also called and still is called a Wapentack from the Saxon Wapen and Tac; which figuifies ta- Papenarma a Wapentack, king or touching or betaking. Howeden thinks it fo named from the touching getzecan or concussion of Weapons or Arms. The ancient Germans indeed, from whom makes relating to many will have the Real-life Season defended position as in Course date. fo many will have the English Saxons descended, neither met in Council nor in Judicature without their Weapons, and when any Proposal they liked they tellified their approbation by the shaking together of their Arms, as Tacitus informs us. And from them some believe the Institution of Hundreds or Wapentacks it self to have been derived both to us and to the Lombards, from the Laws of whom as also those of Charles the Great it is evident that the Courts of the Centenaries

both among the Lombards and ancient Franks were ordered by the same almost Customs and Laws as ours are and were. But we are told by one very knowing Sommer. in in the Saxon Tongue, that the word Tac with our Ancestours never signified Tac-Glassia. Va. tus in Latin or couching, forthat to derive Wapentack from the touching or Con-Wapenack custion of Arms cannot, according to him, be warranted by the Etymology. Brompton the Abbat gives us another derivation, writing that it was called Wapentack from this custome, that when any Lord of the Hundred was new made, those

under his Jurisdiction were wont as a Ceremony, and in token of subjection, to deliver their Weapons or Arms up to him. Whether this be more agreeable or not to the Etymology, the Germans are wont from such like Ceremony to term their lesser fort of Vassals, whom otherwise they call Arimanni, Wapendemannen, Sect. 12. or Gewapende.

Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

56. But if credit be to be given to the Publisher of the Laws of King Edward De Hundredis tuEtymology. the Confessour, the former Etymology is the truest, the reason this. " When any & Wapenta-" one, say they, undertook the Government of the Wapentack, at the appointed chiis. " time and wonted place, all the Elderly men gave him a Meeting, and as he ligh-" ted from his Horse all did him reverence. He erecting his Lance received an

" Agreement or Affociation according to the custome from all, and all those that " were affembled with their Lances touched his Lance, and so by the Contract of " Weapons strengthened them, an agreement being thus publickly made. For in " English Arms are called paynu, and taccape fignifies to Confirm; as it were a " Confirmation of Arms; or to fpeak more expressly, according to the English "Tongue Wapentack is the Touching of Arms; for reput fignifies Arms, and tac
is Touching. Therefore it may fufficiently be known, that for this Reason all
the Assembly was called Wapentack, because by this Touching of Arms they

CHAP. II.

" confederated amongst themselves. There were also other Divisions above Wa-Another Divi- " pentacks, which they called buildingar, which was the third part of the Province. Thribingar, Those that ruled over them were called hubingenerar, before whom were brought Thribingerefuch Causes as could not be decided in Wapentacks. And so what the English fan. in general called Hundreds, the Counties of Tork, Lincoln, Notingham, Leicelter. " and Northampton, as far as Watling street termed Wapentacks, and what they " termed three or four Hundreds, these called Spilinga. But in some Provinces

Named also they were called lest, which these called Thribinge: And what could not be LethvelLaths tried by the Thrihinge, was removed into the Shire. Here the Reader may obferve what Counties they were that used the word Wapentack and the word Thribinge, which he must by no means confound with Tithing; for the one is so named from Three and the other from Ten. The Division of Shires belonged to the

King, the Divisions of Hundreds and Wapentacks to the Earl or Sheriff. 57. Such was the Division, Government, and Governours of the Countries or Provinces. The Cities and greater Towns had also their Governours, who were also called Ealdormen, which name in them continues to this very day, and their power, as the publisher of Edward the Confessour's Laws affirms, was much like to that of the Governours of Hundreds and Wapentacks. Having told us that

nours of Ci- Greve was a Name of Authority extending to Shires, Wapentacks, or Hundreds, De Greve ties and great and to Towns also, that it fignified properly what Dominus doth in Latin, that the Tentonicks, as Frisons, and those of Flanders called their Governours Mergreves, he adds, " That in his time they who had authority over others,

" were called Greves, amongst the Britains in the time of the Romans they were " termed Senatours, and Aldermen by the Saxons, not in respect of their Age, some " of them being young, but for their Wisedom and Experience, and their know-" ledge of the Laws. And that I may confess the truth, faith he, the Aldermen also in the Cities of this Kingdom in their Bailywicks, in their close Burghs, " their Walled Towns and their Castles have the same Dignity and manner of

Power as the Governours of Wapentacks and Hundreds have in their Bailywicks Their Power under the King's Vicecomes, or Sheriff, throughout the Kingdom. For it is their duty to preserve the Laws, Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the King, as also the just customs of the Kingdom, such as are ancient and approved by our good Ancestours, inviolably, without fraud or delay, all manner of ways according to their power. When any fudden, unexpected, doubtfull, or ill thing

Aldermen.

" happens against the Kingdom or Crown of our Lord the King in their Bailywicks, they ought to ring the Bells, in English called morbell, to call all the Fusiational whole People tegether, which Meeting in English they call rolemore, that is, panis qued the calling or Congregation of all the People, because all that live under the Anglice want of the calling or Congregation of all the People, because all that live under the Anglice want. Protection and in the Peace of the King, within the faid Kingdom, ought to realibus partimeet, and there by their Common Council provide for the Indemnity of the bus Anglia Crown or this Kingdom, and for repressing the Insolence of Malesactours. For convenire sole-" it is ordained, that there the whole People meet once in a year, viz. on the bane oppidam "First of May, and by Oath consederate and unite themselves as sworn Brethren novi vocari sotogether with the King to defend the Kingdom from Strangers and its Enemies, The Moorewith all Fidelity to detend his Territories and Honours, and to be faithfull to Hall. "the faid Lord the King, both within and without the Kingdom of Britain.

"This ought all Princes and Earls to doe, and swear together before the Bishops " of the Kingdom in polemore; and in like manner all the Nobles of the King-" dom, as also the Souldiers and all Freemen whatsoever of the whole Kingdom of

veller hoc be-

Sect. 12. " Britain, ought to doe in full Folcmote before the Bishops of the Kingdom. He afcribes the first Invention of this Law to King Arthur, and faith it lay long buried in Oblivion till raised as it were from the dead by Edgar the English Saxon

58. From what this Writer faith, and what farther he adds in the same Chapter, the Reader must observe what formerly we hinted, that there were two forts Two forts of of Folemotes, viz. That of the whole Shire called Shiremote and this other of Folemotes and the difference Burghers or Citizens termed Burghmote held also at several times, and in this they also differed, that by the Law of King Edgar the Shiremote was to be held twice, but the Burghmote thrice in the year. And what he here speaks of Aldermen is not to be understood of such as we call Aldermen of Towns at this day constituty hebbe ting the Ariftocratical form of the Government of Corporations between the mon bula ting the Arittocratical form of the Government of Corporations octroen the many chief Magistrate and the Commonalty; but those we call. Mayors and Bayliffs, on Kein (being the principal Officers. For this present fort of Aldermen is of a much later date coming up much about the same time as did the Name of Mayor step into the control of the Anthony Return R the room of the Saxon Alderman, Portreeve, Burghreeve, and the Anglonorman Bay-mot. C. S. liff about the Reign of Richard the First. The Folcmote was the Meeting of the Citizens or Burgers, not in their Representative as the Common Council of the City but in their own Persons, as at London of all Freemen at the Election of the Mayor. And as we faid formerly of the Folcmote of the Shire that it was held alfo at extraordinary times by the King's order, if the exigency of his Affairs required. This we find to have been practifed in Landon (the mentioning of which City lately brings it to our mind) long after the end of the English Saxon Polity. For in the one and fortieth year of King Henry the Third, two hundred years wanting ten after the Norman Conquest, the Londoners were by the King's Councellours called to Folcmote, and commanded to distribute themselves into Ward-Fabian. motes, the better to debate and determine the business of supplying the King with Money; and in his fifty fourth year this King himself was present at a Folemote of London held at the Temple.

The private

59. We have feen the publick Division and Government of the Land, the next thing we shall consider, is its private Division in reference to Propriety and Possesfion: And the first inquiry is, whether Lands were held in Fee during the English or the Land.

wix Tenurein Saxon Government before the Conquelt. By Fee, with Cnjacius, we understand Fuelli The.

Fee. Right of using and enjoying another more Grand in account. Right of using and enjoying another man's Ground in perpetuum, which the Lord there- freedomeshing in medio aliof grants on this condition, that he which receives it perform Fidelity to him, with eno, &c. Military or some other Service. Or more largely to explain it, A Feudum or Beneficium is that which for good will is granted, so from one to another, that the promune case priety of this Immoveable thing granted, remaining in the Giver, the Usufructus Feed annit thereof passets to the Receiver in such manner, that to him and his Heirs Male, and Female also, if they be expressly mentioned, it shall perpetually belong, on this condition, that he and his Heirs faithfully serve the Lord, whether the Service be by name expressed, or the promise be indeterminately made. This last Definition is more agreeable to a Fee of the Inferiour Age, as our Spelman observes, when the Nature of it was altered from its Primitive Institution; but both together lay a fufficient foundation for our inquiry, with this farther confideration premifed, that Fees at their beginning were not tied with fuch Circumstances as afterwards, the thing was more loofe, and the Lord not bound by fuch Bargains and Conditions as following Ages invented. For as elsewhere we have already observed what the Feudal Book it self suggests; In most ancient times it was in the power of the Lords to take away the thing by them granted in Fee. Afterward it came to pass that it Lib 1. This should continue certain for a year, and that after that it was continued for term of life to the Vassal. But nothing for all this descending by right of succession to the Sons, at length it was brought down to them, to whomsoever of them the Lord would confirm it, which at this day is so established, that it equally appertains to all the Sons, faith the Book.

60. Now the general opinion of our learned Countreymen is, that Fees or Te- Vide Stelman. nures were not in use in England before the Norman Conquest, after which the Glassian when Conquerour, according to the custome of the Countrey whence he came, distri-tit. How & buted all England to his Followers, which then began to groan under the burthen notes ad Pol. of Fees, not heard off in the Age of the Saxons. They urge that the Term or Sommer Traff. Word Feudum or Feodum, is no where to be found in any Record or Monument of de Greenfund these times still extant, and of credit; for it occurs sometimes in the Laws of King Edgar and Edward the Confessour, as also in several Charters mentioned in Ingulphus's History, the Text is corrupted, or the Laws are of a later Date; and Ingulphus having been Secretary sometime to Duke William in Normandy before his Sect. 12. Conquest of England had both his Tongue and his Pen tipt with Words and Phra-

PART IV.

fes peculiar to those Countries where he had so long resided. They affirm that no Becland and, other Tenures were in use, or to use the Scotch expression, Haldings of Land, but these two Bocland and Folcland. The former was a Possession by Book or Writing, Vide Lamburd and the latter without. That by Writing was a Freehold and by Charter; here- in explicater, and the latter without. ditary with all Immunities, and for the Free and nobler fort. That without wri- feripro. ting was to hold at the Will of the Lord; bound to Rents and Services, and was for the rural People. But, not much to concern our selves about words, whether in the Saxon times the term of Feodum or Feudum was used, is not very material, for by the most knowing Antiquaries it is granted, that till about the beginning of the Tenth Century scarcely can any Monument whatsoever of any Nation shew these words, Beneficium being generally used before to signific Lands so granted. And to come to the thing, as the word Feudum was scarcely known in the Saxon times, so Fees then were of a more laxe nature, not tied up by such Circumstances, Laws and Covenants, as in after times, as appears sufficiently from what we

The general Grants.

> have already faid out of the Books themselves. 61. Then again, the most learned acknowledge some kind of Footsteps of these Customs among the Germans, and that from the Germans our English Saxons issued as well as the Lombards and Franks they ever own. If therefore out of Germany the custome was derived, the Saxons coming out of the Chersone was capable of receiving it as the rest. "If (as the Definition which most agrees with the " Primitive Institution of Fees affirms) the nature of a Fee consisted in this, that " it was granted for some Service or other to be performed (whether Military or

Villanage.

Gavelkind.

Fee and Fole-" other) and at first it was in the Lord's power to take it away when he pleased, tand of the nature. I can see no reason why the Folcland they mention may not be accounted of this nature. "For they grant that Falcland was Land letten out, and in op-Vide Sommer. position to Demessie Land, termed in Servitio, or Tenementalis, that is, granted Gavelkind. p. out in Service by the Lord to his Tenants, to be holden of himself like the p. 114, 115. " Frenchman's Fief Servant, i. e. Terra Serviens, in respect whereof the Tenants

" were bound to be Retainers Attendants, and Followers to their Lords, Sui-" tours to their Courts, and were thence called Folgarii. There were also Villani or Villains, not in that fense the word hath lately been taken for Slaves, but as Fitzherbert expresseth it, Base Tenants that did Villain Service, but nevertheless were no Villains, that is, not in the latter sense, for from Villa a Villain was named. Mr. Sumner contends that Gavelkind is a Tenure, confef-

fes also, that in its nature is lyable to works, and though he be carried away by the Authority of some Learned men, without examining it, to believe that Fees or Fiefs were not in use here before the Conquest, yet he will have his Gavelkind ancienter, supposing it to have been an Universal Custome in England before the Conquest. The Propriety of Land held in Gavelkind was this, that it was partible; and Gerard Niger where he treats of the Original of Fees, tells us, that after a Fee \* came to descend, to Sons to which of them the Lord would name, at length \* Sie m in his time it was came to be establisht, that it should belong equally to them all; sum est & ad which, as our learned Glossarist notes, the † English call them by the Name of filios devenir

Gavelkind.

firmare. Quod hodie sic stabilitum est, ut ad omnes aqualiter filios pertineat. † Hoc Angli Gavelkind dicimus.

The Antiqui-

61. So Fees feem here to have been in use before the Conquest, as they were in a more lame fense received out of Germany, and as they were in their Infancy. But as afterwards they were clothed with straiter Circumstances and Laws, so were they not in use (as little elsewhere before the tenth Century) not such as Litleton writes of in his Book of Tenures, as Fee-simple, Fee-Taile, Fee-ferme, Frank-fee, Grand & Petit sergeanty, Escuage, Burgage, or the like. Military Fees teem also of a later date in England, than the Saxon times, though they might have been They become very ferviceable for repelling the infolent and pertinacious Danes. In after times in all places the chief part of feudal service became military, and for the most part that of old Fees was granted out militiæ causa, which thing gave occasion to many Learned Men of Errour, both in denying Fees never to have been where indeed they were, and in defining Feudum by that which Feudists call Clientela militaris, that is of a Genus by a Species most illogically as Vulteius challengeth upon this account Hotoman himself. The general service was that

O 0 2

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Sect. 12. of works imposed upon the Folcland, though not all of it, for most of that which was called Gafolland, the same with Gavelkind Land ( for that Gavel comes from Gafol fignifying Cenfus, Rent, or Tribute, and is not derived from Gineall, Mr. work was chiefly requi. Sumner hath convinced me ) was onely subject to Rent or Payment, the works Summer nature Convinced in a was usually support were of a divers Nature. \* Fleta tells us, that in (or before) the Conquest there were of a divers Nature. \* Fleta tells us, that in (or before) the Conquest there cashing. \* Flatament in the Conquest or law free Cashing. \* Flatament in the Conquest of the State Cashing. \* Flatament in the Conquest of the State Cashing. \* Flatament in the Conquest of the Conquest were Freemen, that freely held their Tenements by free Services, or by free customs, France but being cast out of them by those that were more powerfull, afterward they returned countries. and received back the same Tenements in Villenage. There were others that were liberi be-Base Tenants amongst the Saxons, who might be called Villains in this fense, that libert tenue. in Villages they lived, and there performed base services to their Lords. But a runt tenure. question may be moved, whether during the Saxon times there are such Villains ta sua per lias are the fame with Bondmen or Slaves.

& cum perpotentiores ejectis effent, postmodum reversi receperunt eadem tenementa sua tenenda in villenagio. lib. 1, c. 2.

62. Some make a distinction of Slaves into Personal and Predial, and contend Sprim Glosses. that as well the one fort as the other, were in use not onely with our Norman. in our Serven. but Saxon Ancestours, the one being received from the Romans, and the other from the Germans. The latter fort at the pleasure of their Lords possessed Lands and Estates, and in the Villages did Rustick works and base Services, whence they were called Villains, and these seem little or nothing different from the Villains of which we lately spake: their possessing of Lands makes them distinct from absolute Slaves ( of whom amongst the Romans, many wrought in the Fields and Villages, but yet held not ground) and shews them like to those of the Germans, who were in far better condition than those of the Romans, as appears from Tacitus. To The difference be fure Doomfday Book makes feveral the Villani and the Servi, as to instance onely betwitz a VII-lain and a lain an ton, he faith St. Guthlack hath had, and hath two hides of Land, the Ground is of Samtiu Guth four Carucates. One is in Dominio and two flaves ( Servi ) and fix Villains and & habet duas three Bordarii, &c. Again speaking of Wendlingborough in Ausfordessew Hun-bidature dred, and what St. Guthlack, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time & natural dred, and what St. Guthlack, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time & natural dred, and what St. Guthlack, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time & natural dred, and what St. Guthlack, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time & natural dred, and what St. Guthlack, or the Monastery had been dead to the state of the state o there, he adds in Dominio is one Carucate with one Slave, and one and twenty Vil-minio of tima lains with the Church and the Priest. Asterward he mentions in Badeby, being & duo first in Dominio Eight Carucates, Eight He-Slaves (Servi) five She-Slaves (Ancillae) & fix villeat. and twelve Villani. All these are in the same Page. In the next we meet with four Cotages and three Slaves, and again there is one Slave. Now he faith St. Guthlachus habuit & habet, St. Guthlack, both had and hath, which had refers to the times of Edward the Confessour, or before the Conquest. It's true indeed, that there are many words which are purely Norman in that Description of England, and Ingulphus having lived in Normandy, made use of such in his Translation of English Charters, but if Servi and Villani had been the same, he would not have used several words to express them. But he plainly distinguisheth them by the Number of each; and if any should yet doubt that this Distinction was brought in after the

The Saxon

to their Lords. In case any body killed him, nothing upon that account was to be That of a Vil- forfeited to his Kindred, except they had redeemed him within fix Months. As for lain a Countreyman he was called by the Name of Ceorl or Ceorlife-Ceonl, Cemon, and in the League between King Alured and Guthrum, is described to be one ophycnion. that occupieth Gafolland.

Norman times, this may fatisfie him that Slaves were before the Conquest, because they are frequently mentioned in the Saxon Laws, particularly those of King Ina,

fuch Slaves steal again they should be hanged, and no compensation therefore made

63. For, so in a larger sense were all called, that held that fort of Land called

by the Name of Theowum. One of this King's Laws mentions those who were pize peofor Thest deprived of their Liberty and called Wite Theowum, ordaining that if Jum, 6-23.

Folcland anfwerable to

Allodium

Folcland, whether it was Gafolland especially so called, viz. that for which Rent was paid, or the other for which Services belonged. This Folcland answered to Feudum or Fee, at least such of it as was held by service, and that to which we must now speak, viz. Bocland answered to that which was opposite to Feudum, and termed Allodium. As Feudum or Feodum was so named as Feo-hode or Feh-hode, as one would fay Feeship, or that to which a Mercenary Fee or Payment of service did belong; so was Allodium called from All-hode, as one would say Totality, Allship (hade hode head hept, and the like as before we have observed, signifying what in Latin do status qualitas or conditio ) which now are expressed by the word ship, as Worship, Ladyship, Lordship, &c. Yet Man-hood, Woman-hood, CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

Maiden-head and others continue ) because it was possessed totally and wholly, being Sect. 12 hereditary, perpetual and patrimonial, free without, all condition, and in the Power of the Possessiour to dispose of it wholly how he pleased, without dependence or asking leave of any. This was of a quiet contrary nature to a Feodum or Fee, which when first instituted was but personal, not (as afterward) perpetual, patrimonial or hereditary, or holden as our ancient English Lawyers phrase it, ad remanentiam, but as a Clergyman holds his Benefice onely for life, the Tenant being but a mere Stipendiary, a Termer, at best, as one expresses it, but a Freeholder for life, an usufructuarius, or not so much, for some held onely ad voluntatem Domini or precario, not unlike our Tenants at Will. In process of time indeed as we have al- Vide Somneready shewn degenerating, and receding from its first Institution it became perpetual rum in Tract. and hereditary, yet holden still as formerly with a condition of service on the Tenants part, and by way of Salary, Pension or Stipend from the Lord, wherewith to gratifie and recompence his Man for his service, to which he was obliged under peril of forfeiture. The Fee was holden but in fervice, and though the Dominium utile was in the Tenant, yet the directum or the propriety remained in the Lord, together with a Power of restraining his Tenant from alienation, and consequently such Land was but partially, conditionally granted out, not totally and absolutely held by the Possession, as was Allodium, the Possession of which had Dominium, both directum and utile, held it pleno jure, integrè, ex toto and ex solido, as they fay, quit of all fervices, independently without acknowledgment of any fuperiour Lord, not unlike the Prince of Haynault, who held as Sir Henry Spelman obferves de Deo & Sole, or as other absolute Princes Dei gratta, or to speak in a word answerable to the Etymology, in Totality. Hence the terms of Pradia immunia, terra propria, fundus proprii juris, patrimonium and the like, and in Charters of Foundations given to fuch Possessions.

Bocland the

fame with Al- Interpreters into Latin translate by the very word Allodium \* as also terra † hæ- \* Textus Rofreditaria, terra || libera, and terra \* testamentalis. It took its Name from the full Lands booking or entring in a Codicil or little Book, named a Charter after the t. L. Aluradis Conquest, which in case the Land was made over to a Lay Person, was in way of Bromton. Ca-The manner feifin delivered to the Party, and if to a Monastery was ordinarily laid and left "Liebebrais" of paffing it. upon the Altar. Thence was fuch an Instrument known in those times by the c. 2. in Brom-Name of Landboc, and in Latin Telligraphium, and fometimes Codicillus. The ton. Creation of Bocland (in Latin termed terram hareditario jure conscribere and libe - 32. ram proclamare) was a Prerogative Royal, and not in the Power of a Subject, vet done it feems not without the confent of the great Council of the Realm. Hence Mr. Somner tells us, that passages often occur in Grants made by Subjects of Lands in perpetuity to the Cathedral of Canterbury, and other places of fuch and fuch a King, that he made them hereditary, and proclaimed them abfolutely free. And as it is proper for him that makes to establish, hence King Ethelred's hie gebo-Privilege, or Confirmation of their whole Possessions, to that Cathedral is by one ked on ece of the Subscribers called Cyninges bocung. Nay this Land was very seldom alienated ypre. by the Possessian without (what the Law of Mortmain afterward required) a concurrent, at least a subsequent Confirmation from the King, whereof Examples he tells cessary there. are obvious in the List of that Churches Lands and Benefactours published in the Antiquities of Canterbury, as also of the Concurrence of the Nobles of such Bocland grants. Particularly in the year of our Lord DCCCXXXVIII. King Egbert Quod wix maand Ethelwulf his Son granted to Christchurch in Canterbury, Mallings in Suffex, perimm print which Manor King Baldred had formerly given to that Church, but because it death Eastless

was not done by confent of the Nobles of the Kingdom, that gift was not va- dus Rex led

64. Answerable to this was that by our Saxon Ancestours called Bocland, which

65. Bocland was properly tenable by Thanes, as Folcland by Cearles, and there-eo. Gc. By whom teupon in King Coute's Laws Thegn and Bocland in the Original Saxon, meet as Re-C. 11. par. 1. latives, as in the Latin Trapslation do Thegen and Allodium. Not but that it was Text Refired. fometimes held by Georles, who were not absolutely incapable of holding it, rum ubi supra but when it so happened it was placed as improperly, and as much out of decorum, lime illud factor and at this day, Knights Fees proper to Knights, and the Nobler fort of temestry but the contract of the co the People are in the Hands of Socagers, Sochmen or Ceorles, whose proper tenure Ceople be was that of Gafolland. So proper was this Bocland to the Thanes, that those who on garofin the Latin Charters of St. Austin's are called Allodiarii in the very same Char- land ric.

lid. As Bocland originally flowed from the Crown, so upon all Forfeitures par-quia non-fuit ticularly that of the Estate of the Possession for deserting the Wars, there being Magnatum no mean Lord betwixt the King and him, by the Laws of Ethelred and Canute, to Regni, donum

Sect. 12. ters exhibited in English (like as in those of Chrish-thurch) they are slyled Thegmes. Though their name came at first from Ministring, yet being the King's Mi-Hinc Yege. Thomes who. nifters, the word afterwards came always to be taken in an honourable fenfe, na xib. Go. denoting in general a Gentleman, one nobly or generously descended, a Man of nevel an Caldenoting in general a Gentieman, one nonly or generously descended, a roan of legium, worthip, of honour, whether he was the King's Thane, properly fo called, or a temporal worthip, of honour, whether he was the king's Thane, properly fo called, or a temporal worthing the state of the country of the state of the sta Bocland, it was termed terra hæreditaria, to dislinguish it from Folcland, otherwise zegnjene rence betwist called Gafolland, wherein the Tenant being but as a Leslee, Usufractuary or Ter-Thani dig. Foliciand and mour, and having no propriety, upon his death bed, or other expiration of the minar. term, it reverted to the Lord, and descended not upon the Heir as Bocland did, at least might doe, being because the possession in propriety, hereditary, if not alienated by him in his life time, as it might be in regard it was terra libera, as well as hæreditaria, which Folcland never was. It was called terra testamentalu, in regard of the publick Testimony of the Shire, required and used in passing of it otherwise than by Will. Probable it is that the conveyance thereof was recorded and inrolled, and entred in the Shire book, in the publick Shiremote after Proclamation there made, for any to come in that could lay challenge to it. It was also called Testamentalis because deviseable, but yet here a question is moved

The Polity of the English Saxons in Britain,

whether it was indeed in the Power of the owner to dispose of it at pleasure. 66. Sr. Henry Spelman was of opinion that it could neither be given away nor fold, but was to be left to the Heir except the Writings or Conveyances otherwise permitted it; and that thence it had the Name of Terra hæreditaria. He grounds himself upon a Law of King Alfred concerning Bocland which runs thus: He that hath Bocland, and left him by his Ancestours, we ordain that he give Be boclanit not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witness that it was forbidden him to Semon it not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witneys total it was done in prefence or to convey it to strangers by those that gave it to him, and that it was done in prefence or lance habwitness ) of the King or Bishop, his Kindred being present. Now against Sir Henry be. Jhm Spelman his Conclution, Mr. Summer justly excepts that this Law clearly makes for hy mayar the contrary, foralmuch as it allows unto the Possessour a Power of Alienation, largeonjonfaving where his Hands were tied from it by an express Provision, and prohibi-ne jectron tion to the contrary made by those from whom the Land came to him, a Cau-re helic tion of the same nature with that exception which as we say, firmat regulam in nemotia non exceptis. That Booland was alienable he proves by a pallage, he cites out of Tyllan non exceptis. That Bociand was alienable ne proves by a pailinge, he chies out of or hip. a Charter of Archbilhop Wilfred, who died about the year DCCCXXX, which Margeonh fufficiently shews, that the Possessions might grant it away in their lifetime as plead by Sephi's fed them, either by Act or Grant, or by Will. So it was before the Conquest, genut, of But afterward that Custome of deviling it by Will ceased, as did withall the def- je gentcent of Land generally, by equal division amongst all the Sons. For as the Ennyme the glish Laws and Customs in general, from that time suffered a daily Eclipse and lapa man-Declination by degrees, so this in particular (faving where they were more has popose, tenacious of it than elsewhere; or in such places as I and an which hav special &c. tenacious of it than elfewhere; or in such places as London, which by special privilege were suffered to retain it ) languished, and was at length supplanted by that other kind of Descent, which now regularly takes place throughout most of the Kingdom. Infomuch, as where Partible Descent cannot, to uphold it self, justly plead Antiquity and ancient Custome, it quite fails and falls to the ground. But yet we must know, that notwithstanding the Introduction of new Tenares by the Conquerour, yet did not the English presently forgoe their Bocland (that kind of Tenure Mr. Summer tells you he means ) but reteined it both name and thing, as he proves in several Instances. And evident enough this is from Doomfday Book, where though happily not the name of it ( as neither of Folcland, Saxon terms both ) yet the thing is very obvious, and often occurring under the Inda clamme name and notion sometime of Tainland, because as we faid properly tenable by at Tainland.

tormer held was called Folcland, Gafolland, &c. and was opposed to Bocland;

what the later Villainage, and in some sense Socage, opposed to Chivalry, Knight-

fervice, &c. and in all likelihood intended by Rullicana servitus, occurring in a

be confulted.

Thanes, otherwhile and offiner of Allodium. And as Bocland, fo Folcland furvived dotto. the English Saxon Government, continuing after the Conquest, and remaining unto this day, though not in the very name, yet in the thing and substance. For as aforetime the Saxons had their Ceorles, Gebures, Folcmen, and the like, as the Normans, afterward had their Villani, Bordmanni, Cottarii, and others; to what the

Charter of one Walchelinus Maminist, of which Mr. Sumner and Mr. Selden may Fig. of Twitter 67. Those

67. Those that held Bocland, had several Jurisdictions and Privileges, over Sect. 12. Their Jurisdic- and amongst those that held Lands of them. Their Franchises or Extents of their Jurisdictions and Privileges, or the Territories, Precincts, or Circuits, where they were exercised, they called Soc, Socne, Soken and the like. Besides Dooms-

day Book, Ingulphus mentions the Soca de Dounedike, Soca de Bèltisford, Soca de Tad, and Soca de Acumesbury. And in Notinghamshire, as appeareth by a Statute As Sac. of Henry the Eighth, Lord/hip and Soke, were in his time indifferently used, as 32 H. 8. indeed still in the Northern Parts, Soke signifies a Franchise, of such and such a Place, as the Soke of Ofwelbeck, mentioned in the now cited Statute. The Tenants that held Lands in this Franchife, might be called Soc manni, and their Service Socagium, in Latin, agium, as a great English Lawyer faith, being a legal termination, fignifying Service or Duty, as in Homagium, Escuagium, or the like, a Soc vel Soc but this Term of Socage, after the Conquest became more abstruse, and as such ne, i.e. Imwe shall leave it, as neither belonging to us in these Saxon matters. But he that munitate well was possessed of these Privileges and Franchises, usually was said to have Sac, vivatur, Soc, Tol, and Team, Infangthef and Outfangthef. Suc, as St. Edward's Laws de-autem à Soc fcribe it, was this. \* In case any one was accused of any thing, and he denied it, Sommerum suthe forfeiture for proof or denial should be his. It supposed therefore the Cogni- se probantem fance and Jurisdiction which the Lord had in his Court in Controversies and Suits, in super die-arising amongst his Vassals, so as to hold Pleas, and impose, levy and collect Generalization. Fines and Amerciaments thence arising. The Power of holding the Pleas, and \*Sachaest quod having all his Vassals follow his Court; it seems they expressed by Soc for the squem nomi-Laws, thus obscurely describe it. Soca is, in case any one seek for any thing in his nation de ali-Land, the Justice is his whether it be found or not. In this sense therefore it must quo calumniafignifie what the Lawyers call Secta, in Latin Sequela, Sectatio or Consecutio, and ille negaverit, what in French is called Suite de La Court, although in general, as we faid, forisfactura the word fignifies a Franchife or Immunity. Of Thol or Tol, the Laws speak more probationis vel negationis plainly, telling us that Thol (which we call Tholonium) is that a M.n hath liber (fi eveneri;) ty of felling and buying in his own Land. It was the privilege of holding a Mar-Jua erit. ket, there being no other word to express the said Privilege, till that of Mercat Derivatur & Saxon rac was brought in by the Normans, which feems yet originally from the word Mer-Caula adding ces, to fignifie great Fairs and Marts, rather than these weekly meetings of the dicimus, for adjacent Countrey People, which are meant by the word Tol, which in a fecon- God's fake. dary sense came to signific tribute paid to the Lord of the Market, for the liberty in voc.

of felling within his Jurisdiction, and in after times, it was as Fleta testifies, brought A Gree. to fignific freedom from such custome of payment. Concerning Theam, the Laws Sha. are again very obscure.

Toll.

Team.

68. But its agreed that it fignifies two things. The first is Advocatio or Avou- Vide Skeneums 68. But its agreed that it fignifies two things. The first is Advacatio or Avois Finds symmetry, or Garranty, of which the Lord had Juridiction, viz. concerning those that the Evel Early as the Lawyers phrase it, are vocati ad warrantiam. Again, it fignifies an Oif-definitional fipring or Generation, and here particularly it's applied to the Issue of Off-spring Sommer Gloff a Lord's allains, and is defined to be a Royalty, which whosever enjoys, hart for the on Savnic. his propriety in his Slaves or Villains within his own Franchife or Fee, and power item in vote of disposing of them as of his other things, moveable or immoveable, at his Gowellam, pleasure. Infangthef, was another Royal Privilege, and by St. Edward's Laws, derivatur à is faid to be a Man's Justice over a Thief, viz. of his own Man, if he was taken cyman upon his own ground, as Outfaugthef (though these Laws speak nothing of it) propagare, parwas Jurisdiction over a Thief that did not belong to the Lord, but being a stran-nostratium a ger, was taken within his Jurisdiction. To what St. Edward's Laws say of Infang- Teeming. thef, they add, they which have not these customs, may doe right before the Ab in i intuit, King's Justice in Hundreds, Wapentacks, or in Shires. But as it appears by Brac-capere.prehenton, in the Norman times, this Jurisdiction over Thieves onely belonged to the dere, (un King, growing out of use amongst Barons, who formerly had had this Royalty, digiti badie rather than taken away by any Law, which yet happened to the Hundreds bulk Fanger substituted by the Hundreds bulk Fanger and Shires, which feem to have been deprived of this Privilege by the Great & Seorfar. Charter. Concerning fuch Persons as enjoyed these Royalties of Sac, Soc, Tol, Team and Infangthef, we must add what the often mentioned Laws farther hint to us. Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and all that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam and Infangthef, may have their own Souldiers, ( Free Tenants Sr. Henry Spelman reads it) and their own Servants, viz. their Sewers, Butlers, Chamberlains, Bakers, and Cooks under their Friborg; as also these their Squires, (Armigeri) or others that ferve them under their Priborg, in case they proved faulty, and Hue and Crye was made after them, by the Neighbours, they should see right done in their own Court. Those I say that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam, and Infangthef. By Friborg is meant,

Sect. 12, what the Normans called Frankpledge, in Latin, Fidejusso; the meaning is, that for all these, their Lords were ingaged, and as it were gave security that they Friborg what, should well demean themselves.

69. Here it is seasonable for the better discovery of our Saxon Government, to take notice that generally in every Town there was a Friborg or College, Compa- A Saxonic. ny or Society of ten of the Principal Men, who were each of them Fidejuffors speech i.e. for the King, and answerable one for another, invented, as it's faid, by that glo-liber & Town or City, iou King Alfred. From the Number (as in Latin, Decuria, Decania, Decima, Popher file-Deceana, Fidejussio, Decemviratus, and the like ) it was called teo oung and tier an justin, vas. tale or the number of ten men. The chief of them who presided over the rest. was also called teo Sungman, tienheros: Bonherealten, and preobonherheoros, as in Latin, Decurio, Capitalis Decemvir, Vas Senior, Capitalis Plegius, Capitalis Friborgus, & Justitiarius Friburgi. Their Office, Employment, and the effects thereof, are let forth at large by the Laws of Edward the Confessour, in this man-

ner. Farthermore, there is another the greatest and most principal security, through Prantes of which all are firmly established in their several Conditions, viz. that every one establish quadam sum. himself under the security of this Frankpledge or Surety-ship, which the English ma security and they alone, call it, voen manna vala, see, c. 20, de which is as much in Latin, as the number of ten men. This Security came to pass Friburgs. in this manner, viz. that all Inhabitants of every Town what soever, in the Kingdom, should be under this decennal Suretyship. Insomuch, as if one of the ten proved faulty, the nine were to have one forthcoming for Justice: if he fled, the Law allowed one and thirty days; if he was found out in the mean time, he was led before the King's Fufice, and was compelled at his own charge to make reparation for what he had done, and if his Crime was such, Justice was done upon his Body. But in case he could not be found within the compass of one and thirty days, there being in every Friborg a Principal whom they called spibongerheorob, this Principal was to take two of the best of his Friborg, and out of the three nearest Friborgs, from each a Principal, with two others of the best of every Friborg, if he could procure them, and so he being the twelfth, ought to purge himself and his Friborg, if he could, from the offence and flight of the aforesaid Malefactour; if he could not doe it, he and his Friborg were to make satisfaction out of the Goods of the Malesactour, if it could be had, or if not, out of their own Estates, so much as they were legally condemned in. And what they could not doe with the affiftence of the three neighbouring Friborgs, they themselves were to swear that they would not be in fault for the time to come, and if they could recover the Malefactour, they would bring him before the Justice, or declare to the

Justice where he was.

70. The occasion of making over these Friborgs certain Justiniaries they afterwards declare, forasmuch as, it seems, the other constitution did not sufficiently com autem wards declare, iolanther as, it eems, the other conference of the three things of the conference of the conference of the chief Friedrich the head of ten. These handled Causes amongs the Villages and Neighbourhoods, and net experience of the first that the offeres and men son, Ge. according to the offences, punished and made agreements, viz. concerning Pastures, Mea- c. 32. dows, Corn-fields, and concerning differences amongst Neighbours, and other innumerable contentions which infest humane frailty, and incessantly make War against it. But whenas any greater Causes happened, they were referred to their Superiour Justitaries, whom the above-named wife Men appointed over them, viz. over the ten Decani, whom therefore we may call Centurions or Centenaries; for that they were Judges over an hundred Friborgs. Thus we have taken a view of the Polity of our Engl sh Saxons, as to the manner and form of the Government. The next that we doe, must be to consider of their Laws, in the discovery of which, much will be farther made out as to the Customs respecting the Government; the faults to which the Nation was incident, the forts of their punishments, with many other incident

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71. The English Saxons and Jutes coming out of the Chersonesus of Germany, must them Nations doubtless have brought some such Customs with them as were then in use with those Northern Nations, but what they were, as our Learned Glossarist before us, we cannot but very much doubt, there being very little light concerning these ancient matters. We reade indeed of the Laws of the Anglii in Germany, but with the Anglii are joyned the Werini and Thuringii, and these Laws were confirmed Lex Anglia by Charles the Great. We also reade of the Law of the Saxons of Germany, which run, Weifome ascribe to Herald the Dane, who yet flourished, but about the year of our ringorum.

Lord, DCCCCLXXXIV. Lindenbrogius, indeed will have those of Herald much later than those which he himself hath published, together with those of the Frisons; forasmuch as the Copies both in the ancientness of the Parchments, and Hand he imagines to have exceeded the times of Charles. But by our Spelman lie is advised to take heed what he fays, for some things in them relate to the Church, fome things to the fafety of the King of the Franks, and it's well enough known, that till the Reign of Charles, the Saxons were not converted to the Christian Faith: nor had submitted to the Yoke of the Franks. Yet that the Saxons had ancient Laws or Customs, not found amongst those that are published, we may easily admit: but these we may also object, were after they came into Thuringia, after the differfing of this People into those several Quarters from the Cher-fone fus. But our Saxons came as we formerly inculcated from the ancient Saxons, our Angli from that place we formerly described, and could not descend from those Colonies, which after their coming into Britain, were fent into many places Southward in the Continent. But as they were of the same Original with those other Colonies, no wonder if some affinity may be found amongst their Laws and Customs.

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

Their Lan-

72. For, when as all these Gothick or Scandian Nations, viz. the Goths, peculiarguage and Cu- ly fo called, the Saxons, Lombards, Vandals, Franks, Danes, Normans and others, had carried their victorious Arms throughout the Western Parts of the Roman Empire, and had begun as it were a Gothick Teutonick, or a Scandian World, no wonder that agreeing in Original, Language and Customs, imposing their Laws upon the conquered Nations, and retaining many of their own ancient Terms and Rites, (however in some places their Language, for the main, might afterward be swallowed up by the multitude of Speakers of that of the place) it should come to pass, that betwixt us and the Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, Sicilians, and betwixt all those themselves, being all of us descended from these fore-named People, fo great agreement there should be, as well in the Canon of ancient Laws, as the Names of Magistrates, Officers and Ministers, not to speak of an infinite number of vulgar words. To those Northern Customs we must ascribe then the very first Original of our Saxon Laws, not to any that are now extant in Print. Customs I call them, for they were scarcely written in those Ages, when Hengist and Horsas came into Britain. The Runick Letters I consess might be more ancient, but they were rather employed upon. Mythological matters, and things relating to their superstition. The first beginning of all humane Laws. was imperfect and rude, and our Neighbours lately mentioned, as to their municipal Laws, have no more reason to brag than we. \* Let them boast that \* Jatient igiwill, faith our Learned Spelman, of the Antiquity of their Municipal Laws, yet ur qui volume the Original of them, how inconsiderable soever, and barbarous, is not to be fetch municipalism from elsewhere, as shall appear from what follows. For what Conquering People will antiquitatem wink under the Laws of the Conquered, especially when the one is cast out, and the ineptie pruother possesset ?

orizo quantu-lacungs ste E barbara, aliunde nusquam videsur expesenda, ut è sequentibus elucebis, quis enim victor populus sub victi legibus, Ec. puesfersim cum ejecto sse sedam ille incolneris ? Spelm, in voc. Lex.

73. These last words are well and cautiously added by Sir Henry, for as we have elsewhere observed both of Laws and Languages, when these Northern People (or indeed any other People any other place) conquered those parts of the vail'd with the Roman Empire, if they imbodied with the conquered People, and were exceeded by Conquerours, them in Numbers, the Language and Fashions of the Conquered would prevail, as we see in the case of the Franks conquering Gall, and the Normans conquering England; but in case the Victours overpowered the subdued People in Numbers, or drove them out of their Possessions, then both Language and Laws of the victorious People must needs prevail as in our present case, when the English Saxons drove up the Britains into the Western Mountainous places, destroyed them, or forced them to quit the Island. But here now it comes fitly to our remembrance, that fome there are who would have feveral Laws and Cultoms to have been by the English Saxons received from the Britains, many of whom, as they contend, continued among them, incorporated with them, and were never driven out. They instance in several Charters made to the Monastery of Glassenbury, wherein is mention made of the British Inhabitants as well as English, and they urge, that had not British Husbandmen and inferiour fort of People been suffered to continue and Till the Ground, Bread would presently have failed the Invader himself,

Sect. 12, and he should have wanted strength to Conquer, because he had not whereon to live. That every where, and absolutely the Britains were driven out no man will affirm: but yet for all this objected, that very few of them continued in the conquered places, we must be perswaded by several Arguments. One is the general change of the Names of Places, very few Countrey Towns retaining Welfb or British Names, and those great Towns that did, having some addition made unto them. Then the Language evidently makes out the thing in question; for in defpight of all Laws, Prescriptions, and Orders, (as we see after the Conquest by Duke William) the Vulgar will be Master of Speech, and the greatest multitude of Speakers overpower the rest, each one being addicted to his own Native Language, and however some particular Persons may have an affectation after the Foreign, using his own Dialect as most easie to him. Neither are there so many Welfb words crept into the English as can argue any greater Conjunction and Union than with other neighbouring Nations, with which the English hath had Traffick and Commerce.

74. But as for that Objection of Tillage, it's eafily answered from what we have already written in its place of the perpetual swarming of these English Saxon Nations into Britain, which overpowered the poor Inhabitants by their Numbers, and by their Crowds forced them to quit both Seats and Arms and either pass the Seas or feek for shelter in the Mountainous and hardly accessible places. Therefore do we reade that those places, whence some of them came, were left desolate. and void of People, Old and Young, Noble and Ignoble, Man, Woman and Child; as well he that handled the Mattock, as he that managed the Sword, hasting to be partaker of that Booty and Fertile Land, of which they had heard so much Commendation, and of its worth had affurance from this, that none that once came over were willing to return to their former Seats. Some Fashions and Customs, while they held Correspondence in times of Truce, or afterward when the War was finished, they might receive from the Britains, as the Britains also from them, there being a kind of Commutation and Re-action in those Cases, but that any great matters is no way probable. Many Nations agree in feveral Cuftoms, not so much out of Communication and from their learning one from another, as that those things are either agreeable to humane Prudence in general, of which all People participate, and consequently it dictates to them all the same things, (the Laws of Nations flowing from this Principle) or that as in Words, in Fashions, and all other things relating to Mankind there is no Infinity, but Necessities, Uses and Conveniences, being the same; several People as several men must sometimes light by accident upon the self same things. If any considerable Laws can be shewn to have been derived from the Britains, they were rather thence borrowed by fuch Saxon Princes as finding a great defect at home, were glad to feek elfewhere and provide from abroad Supplies for Domestick Wants, for answering those new Exigencies which continuance of time and settlement in a peaceable condition daily produced. So King Alfred is faid to have transfated and made English the Laws of Milmatius the ancient British King, of which

Unwritten

the West

75. The first Original therefore of the English Saxon Laws were such unwritten Customs as they brought along with them from beyond the Seas, which were nrit original of the English increased by the Dictates of natural Prudence according to convenience, and the Saxon Laws. Exigency of Affairs, and by Observation and Communication in process of time came to be more full, certain and folemn, in reference to Customs, or to be by Legislatours framed into positive and written Precepts. The first of these, viz. Cultoms were according to the People from which they proceeded various, and not fully the same throughout the Land, though by resemblance they shewed themfelves near akin, and answerable, positive Laws they had joyned to them, either first made or received by their respective Legislatours. The Jutes in Kent had their peculiar Laws, but being reduced under the Government of the West Saxon Saxons. their pecuniar Laws, but being reduced under the Welt Saxons. The Angli or English of the Merci-Kings, they also submitted to the Laws of the Welt Saxons. The Angli or English properly so called, used the Law called Mercian, and the Laws of St. Edward tell us, that Ewerwickshire, or Torkshire, (or as in the Margent is noted Warwickshire) Nicolshire as the Normans called it (which shews these Laws to have been worded after the Conquest) or Lincolnshire, Notinghamshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, as far as Watlingstreet and eight Miles beyond were under this Law. Afterwards when the Danes came to fettle and domineer in England, they imposed their Customs or Laws upon the Provinces of East England and Northumberland. So came it to pass, that in the Land were in force three several Laws, viz. that of

the West Saxons called Westseannlaga, that of the English or Mercians called Mire-Sect. 12. naluga, and the other of the Danes called Denelaga. This of the Danes is by the forementioned Laws called Lex Norvorum & Danorum, viz. The Laws of the Nor- perc reaxwegians and Danes, and to have been the received Law of Norfolk, Suffolk, and na laga Gratabridgeshire, or Cambridgeshire, as also of Deira, with the Western and Nor- Oynchalathern Isles, as those of Man, Catheney, the Orcades and others, and such as inhabited. Benelated Gurth, that is the Fenny places. As for the Norwegians, though generally those ba-Northern People that invaded the Land go under the Name of Danes; yet as we have formerly hinted, the People of Norwey, otherwise called Normans, are to be understood as Partners in the Expeditions; for as under the Names of Norwegians and Normans, the Danes are also to be understood, so under that of Danes are alfo comprized the Norwegians and Normans. The Danes as they fetled in England by degrees induced their Customs, which seem to have been inforced after that Guthron from King Alfred received the Provinces of East England and Northumberland; and afterward became the most owned Laws of the Land when King Canute had brought the Sceptre into the hands of that People, where it continued from the days of Ethelred to Edward the Confeffour, during which time the Law of the English is faid to have been Out of which mute. Edward when he came to the Crown would not endure that one and the the Common fame Kingdom should be govern'd with three forts of Laws, surveyed them all, se-Lawwas com-piled by Ed-lected and digested out of them that which from the thing was called Lex Comward the Con-munis or the Common Law, and from him the Law of St. Edward the Confes-

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

76. So much of the Laws in general, as they respected the whole government of the Land. To come to particular Legislatours, the First that we know of, who Ethelbert the made any written Laws, was Ethelbert King of Kent, he who first received Chri-

first Law-ma- stianity of all the Nation. Concerning him Bede writes, that among other good things he did for the Nation, He. ordained for it Decrees of Judgments, according to the Examples of the Romans, with the Council of Wife Men. Which being written in the Language of the English, are hitherto kept and observed by it. In which he first placed how he ought to make amends that should steal any thing from the Church or Bistop, or the other Orders, resolving to protest those whom with their Dostrine he had received. That he ordained was Decrees of Judgments (Decreta Judiciorum) which may be explained by what follows, concerning Sacrilegious Perfons, that they should be punished or make amends (the

Parliaments in France in their Arrests of Condemnation of Criminals to death, use still the Term of making honourable amends, answerable to the Latin Emendare here used by Bede) and this was according to the \* Examples of the Romans. \* Apren These Decrees of Judgments then were Judicial Laws inflicting Punishments upon Romana by-Offenders, and were taken from the Roman Books. It was about the year of our rena. Lord DLXI that Ethelbert (according to Sir Henry Savill's Fasti) began his Reign

in the thirty fifth year of Julinian, and he reigned about fix and fifty years, in which time (Bede tells not in what year) he ordained and published these Decrees of Judgments, But publish them in what year he would, Justinian's Law, or his New Model, was not then known to the European Nations, nor many years after. What therefore he took from the Roman Laws must have been out of Theodofius's Code (which determines of matters as well Ecclefiaftical as Civil) out of the Fragments of Gaius, Paulus or Ulpian, or a small part of the Pandects which then was known to the Europeans. So Alarich the King of the Viligoths in Gall had near an hundred years before caused the Code of Theodosius to be abbreviated by Anianus his Chancellour, and published for the benefit of his People.

77. What these Decrees of Judgments were which Ethelbert published, we do not certainly know. Yet are there certain Laws in a Manuscript Book of Rochefler, called Textus Roffensis, an ancient Monument indeed, but such as in this matter we cannot fully truft. For neither do these Laws of his seem to be taken from the Roman Books; nor doth their Language feem to be near fo ancient as King Ethelbert, nor doth Bromton the Abbat of Jornal mention them, though carefull to deliver fuch Laws of those Saxon, Kings as he then found, and thought authentick. And therefore thall we exhibit onely such as are found in him and Mr. Lambard's Edition. The next Legislarour to Ethelbert, at least whom he can receive as such, was Ine or Ina the King of the West Saxons, who began his Reign well nigh an

P p 2

Lib. 2. c. 5. Qui inter catera bona qua genti fua confulendo conferebat, etiam decre-sa illi Judiciorum juxta exempla Rom.mo-

rum cum concilio sapientium constituis. Que conscripta Anglorlum sermone hactenus ha-bentur & observantur ab eo. In quibus pri-mitus posiit, qualiter id emendare deberce

qui aliquid rerum vel Ecclesie vel Episco-

pi vel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret, volens scil. tuitionem eis quos & quorum

\* Rex Alfredus vertit ppylcene

doctrinam susceperat, præstare.

pihopa soma gerecnerre.

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Sect. 12. hundred years (four wanted) after that Ethelbert ended his, and made his Laws by the Advice of Cenred his Father, Hedda and Erhenwald his Bishops, all his Senatours, and the Elders of the Wifemen of the People in a great Affembly of the Servants of God for the Salvation of their Souls, and the common prefervation of his Kingdom, that lawfull Marriages and just Judgments might be established throughout all his Dominions, and that no Senatour or other of his Subjects might transgress his Laws. After this Preface follow the particular Laws. many whereof relate to Church Matters, and in that History are to be exemplified, of such as respect the Civil State we shall here make mention. If any one fight in the King's Court, let him forfeit all his Estate, and let it be in the King's power whether to put him to death or not. Let him that fights in a Church forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings; he that commits the like Offence in the House of a Senatour

or any other Wise and Honourable Person sixty shillings. If any one fight in the House of a \* Countreyman paying Rent, or any Husbaidman, let him forfeit thirty shillings, and fix shillings to the Man himself, if in the open Field let him be sined an hundred and twenty shillings. If at a Feast there be any falling out, let such as abuse the vest incur the Multt of thirty shillings. The next that follows ordains, That if a man feeal without the knowledge of his Wife and Children, he be fined fixty shillings, but if all the Family be knowing and consenting, (a) all of them be condemned to Servitude. And it declares, That a Boy of Ten years old is to be esteemed guilty of Theft. The next enacts, That (b) If any one defire of the Shiremen (c) or other Judges that Right be done him, and chanot obtain it, neither can have any Cuution given him, the Judge in Such case be fined thirty shillings, and yet that Right be done the Man within a (d) sevennight. The ninth Law commands, That In (e) case any one revenge his own Quarrel privately, before he require Justice to be done him, he shall reflore what he took, pay the full value of the thing, and further, he fined thirty shillings. The Tenth imposes (f) Upon such as rob within the Kingdom, or make Booty of any thing, a Multi of fixty shillings, besides the restoring of what was taken. The next appoints, That if (g) any one buy his own Countreyman, be he Bond or Free, and fend him over Sea, though he guilty of any Crime, shall pay (h) the whole rate or price of his Head; and further, give fatisfaction to Almighty God. The next Sentences Such as bear false Witness before the Bishop, or fally produce their Pledges, to pay an hundred and twenty shillings. 78. The thirteenth Law, concerning Thieves or Robbers, ordains, That if any C. 13. Be

such be apprehended he be put to death, or else pay the value of his Head. Now Kerange-(faith he) we call them Robbers its far as the number of seven men; from seven as number far as five, and thirty we call a Troop or Company; if above, we name it an Army. Concerning fuch as are found in the Troop or Company, the next Law enacts, That C. 14 Beh fuch an one purge himself by an hundred and twenty Hides of Land by Oath, or make lopum. an answerable Compensation. He that is found in the Army, the fifteenth Law com- C. 15. Be mands, That he redeem himself by the price of his Head, or make satisfaction. But hepge. this Oath must be made one half by Musters of Families or Houshoulders. And in case the Thief be in the King's Custody this Redemption cannot be admitted. Concerning thefe Oaths made by an hundred Hides, and by Houshoulders, the Reader must call to mind what lately we said concerning Friborgs, and Caution given about Malefactours, as also refer to what is faid afterward concerning the valuation of C. 16.Be Heads. The fixteenth requires, That he that hath killed a Thief make Oath that he Scorflege. killed him as a Criminal, this done he is to be discharged. The next is made about Juch as find ftoln flesh and hide it, that it may be lawfull, if they will, to prove it their own. Such as give notice of it are to be rewarded. The next that follows is, A Countreyman if he often stole, and at last be taken in the Fact, let him loofe an Hand or a Foot. The next ordains. That the King's Husbandman or Looker to his Cattel, if the price of his Head be twelve Hundred Shillings, and he

be an Houshoulder, his Oath be taken for fixty Hides. The

Girhe Sonne on gerolgiben hur. oppeon gebuner gerechte XXX scill. to pice gerylle. 7 82m gebupe ryx rcill.

C. 7. Be reale.

(a) gangen hi ealleon Scoreci cynpinche cuihc may beon Scorpe

(b) C. S. Be pshwerbene 7 (c) responen.

(d) binnan reoran nihre. (e) C. 9. Be Sam ppæcentan ?

(f) C. 10. Be pearlace.

(g) C. 11. Be leob býgenæ j

(h) ropgyl's hine be hippene.

(i) C. 12. Be Sam je heona gepicny the geleogab?

C. 17. Be poprtolenum playce.

C. 18. Be ceoplycum Seogum zeranzenum ż

C. 19. Be Cyninger geneau?

twentieth

twentieth willeth, That if a Travellour or Stringer wander C. 20. Be reoppan Cumenum up and down the Woods, and neither cry out nor wind an Horn, men 7 as a Thief be put to de th, or redeem his life. If any require the value of any one fo flain at the flayers hands, he that killed him, if he make Oath that he flew him as a Thief is to be indemnified both against the Associates of the slain and his Lord. But if he dissembled the C ime, and afterwards it appeareth, then gives he advan-C 21. Be bon be monner ge-

tage to the Kindred of the Slain man by Oath to purge their dead Kinsman of the fault. That which follows directs, That if any ones Vaffal steal and flie for it, bis Master call \* upon such as ingaged for him, if there were any; if not, he himself must pay the value of the thing, no Remission being to be afed in the case. And the two and twentieth wills, That if a Foreigner be flain, the King have two parts of the slage ? value of his Head, and his Children or Kindred the third; if

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

he have no Kindred, the King is to have half of that, and his Companion or Gild-fellow the rest. After the same manuer an Abbat or Abbess, if they be concern'd may low the rest. After the same manner an Appar or Appels, if they be concern a may be his Capi-share with the King. A Welchman that pays yearly Rent is to be esseemed at an tum estimate

hundred and twenty shillings; his Son at an hundred, and his Servant at sixty or onibus vide fifty, let a Welchman redeem a beating with twelve shillings. If he possess five an infra di-fildes of Land, let bit value be six hundred shillings,
70. Ine by his twenty third Law commands, That if an Englishman, deprived C 23. Be

of his Liberty, steal again, he be hanged, and no Compensation at all be made to his pice leo-Lord. In case any one slew him, that nothing upon that account be paid to his Kindred, rum. except they redeemed him within a Twelvemonth. By his twenty fourth, That if a C. 24. Be Merchant that trades by Land buy any thing, he get Witnels of what he buys. For in Cypmanna case any stola thing be found with him which he cannot prove he bought by good Wit- on lance. nels, he is bound to make it good, that he neither stole it nor was privy to the Theft, or else must pay fix and thirty stillings. By his twenty fifth he takes care, That C. 25. Be for the Maintenance of a Child exposed and found, six shillings be allowed for the rundener first year; twelve for the second, and thirty for the third: That afterward the al-cileer ro-John Lowance be inlarged according to the goodlines of the Child. By his twonty fixth, Tepe. Io him that takes a Thief be gives as a Reward Ten shillings, and declares, that the C. 26. Be King is to have the Thief. Here the Thief's Kindred are to take an Oath that they peng, will not interpose on his behalf. Yn case he Contumaciously made resssence, or sted for it, he is to be taken as guilty of the Offence. If he free himself he must doe it with respect to the value of the thing, and the greatness of the Mulct. By the twenty feventh he enacts against Such beaun penynep. as beget Children clandestinely, ordering that if such Children he killed they shall loose the prices or valuation of their lives, which the King and their Lords shall have. The twenty eighth requires, That if one lend another man's Servant his Sword: if it be loft, a third part of the value of his Head is to be paid: if a Spear, the half; and if an Horse, that the whole value of the Slaves life be paid. By vertue of his

twenty ninth, If a Countreyman was accused of relieving a Fugitive, and could not clear himself, he was to pay the value both of his own and the Fugitives life. And by his thirtieth, If any one bought a

Woman and paid not for her what was nereed, he was to pay double the price, and over and above be severely punished, as if he had broken surfaces, which they termed Borbbryce. The one and Bonhbryce. thirtieth fets the value of the Head of a Welchman, if he have an Hide of Land, at one hundred and twenty Shillings, if but half an Hide at eighty Shillings; if he have no Land

at all at fixty. But the thirty fecond excepts the King's Stable Groom being a Welchman, ordaining, That if he was Pealh fit to carry a Message, the valuation of his Head should be at

two bundred shillings. By this we learn, that the Kingdom of the West Saxons, bordering part of it upon Wales, some Welchmen lived amongst the English. Thar according to Lambard's translation of the word, the King was wont to have a Welchman to look to his Horses, for the Phrase is, not the King's Horse-Groom, or his Horses Master, but the King's Horse Welehman, yet we may call him the Gentleman or Master of his Horse, because of his other imployment that follows. We reade in the Saxon Annals of Wulfric King Alfred's Horfethegne or Minister, who was also Governour of Wales. Yes Mr. Sumner by no means will allow of Lam-

C. 27. Be Sam Se beannunga

near realize?

Sone Sær angylber.

\* gir du hæbbe bongar mana

C. 22. Be ælbeosiger manner

C. 28. Be bam te hir rærnic

C. 19. Be ham be rlyman reop-

.C. 31. Be Cyplifeer money land

C. 32. Be Cyninger hong

Sect. 12. bard's Interpretation of the word Wealb here for a Welfbman, but affirms it fignifies onely a Servant, as Mr. Lambard himself also sometimes interprets it. For it appears, that the Saxon Kings were wont to fend their Domesticks upon Messages, both from this Law and what we have formerly out of Ingulphus observed concerning Offat the Butler of King Ethelwulf, who was present at the Council held by Bertulph King of the Mercians, and in the name of his faid Master, his Sons and all the West Saxons figned the Charter granted to the Monastery of Croyland, both in quality of his Butler and of his \* Ambassadour.

in quality of his surfer and of his Amonguauan.

80. The three and thritteth Law provides, That in case any was present at the provides, thilling of a man, he shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got their with the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got their and the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the himself according to the value of his Head, or else be got the himself according to the him punished for his presence according to the value of his life that was slain. As if the Sun Domini numified for ins prejence according to the value of this life to me, definition of his Head was of two hundred faillings, let him pay fifty; and let the C. 33. Be same course be taken in those that are born of any nobler Families. The thirty fourth manifeling fays what formerly had been faid, That if any one flay a Thief he must make Oath te. that he killed him as a Malefattour, and farther adds, that he must make faith of this C 24 Be by Oath of men not chosen on purpose for the business, to the Kindred of the slain. In coordinate case he deny the salt and it become manifest he must pay the value of the mans Head. ve. The next Law provides, That if any one he sued for keeping another mans Goods, and by Oath preconcived hath denied the having of them, and fears not again to fivear to the sime purpose he sware according to the penalty and the value of the thing. But in case he refuse this Oath, that he pay double for his Perjury. That which follows again, Requires the walue of the Thiefs Head of him that shall let him escape. If \* he be an Alderman he is to forfeit his Shire, except the King think fit to pardon him. The next imposes Forfeiture of Hand or Foot upon a Countreyman, who having been often accused of Thest hath been sold or convicted any other way. The thirty eighth Law provides, That if a Countreyman have Children and die, the Children abide with their Mother, and to keep them that she have six shillings, with a Cow in Sum-mer and an Oxe in Winter; and that the Kindred keep the Seat till the Children come to age. That which follows directs Concerning such as flie from their Lords, and lurke in any other \* Shire, that they be thence fent back, and moreover fixty

shillings paid to their Lord. The fortieth requires that the

Field of a Countreyman adjacent to his House be fenced as well

in Summer as in Winter. If any gap lie open and so let in his Neighbours Cattel, the Countreyman must expect no satisfacti-

on, but must himself take care for keeping out the Cattel and

alone go away with the loss. The one and fortieth gives liberty

to deny suretyship, in case he knows that he doeth well. 81. The forty fecond Law ordains concerning Common Ground, in this manner. If Grass-ground or any other belong to several Countreymen, and some will C. 42. Be feuce their part, and others refuse to doe the same by theirs : if Cattle break into Ceopla gethe Ground on that part that lay unfenced, let such as owe this part make satis- manum faction to the other, and the owners of the Cattle to them, according to Right and land. Fustice: but if there be any Beast that breaks Hedges and is troublesome, and the owner thereof either cannot or will not keep it at home, he that finds the Beast in his Ground may kill it, and the owner of it shall have the Carkass, and no other compensation made. The forty third enjoyns, that If any one set fire to the Trunk C. 4: Be of a Tree lying in a Wood and be thereof convicted, he be punished for it, and be-publi bapsides that pay fixty Shillings, for this reason, because Fire is a clandestine Thief. net. If any fell Trees in a Wood and be convicted thereof, that for the three first Trees he pay thirty shillings, and undergo no greater punishments how many soever there be of them, because an Axe by the noise discovers the Fact, neither can it easily be concealed. The next imposes a penalty of fixty shillings upon him that shall fell a C H Tree, the Branches whereaf can cover thirty Swine: that which follows makes C 45. Garantees. an Annual Livery, a fort of Garment given to the Family of the value of fix pence, polintel. The forty fixth imposes penalties upon Breaches of the Peace: as -If the Peace be C. 46. Be broken in the Town of the King, an hundred and twenty shillings; in the Town of bunhopy an Alderman or Senatour eighty shillings; in that of the King's Thane or Minister Co. fixty shillings; if in the Town of the chief Man of the Hundred, having Land, five and thirty shillings; and the purgation of the crime is to be answerable. The forty C. 47. Be feventh takes order, that If any one be accused of Thest, or of receiving a stoln thing real ryh

C. 26. Be Son Semon leave

girhe ealtopman ryholigehir reine, buran hun Cyning apian C. 37. Be Cyplifter monner be-

C. 48. Be bon be juht gehihan beann hæbban.

C. 29. Be una lypebum rape rpamhir hlaropo.

Oppe on oppe rcipe hine berrele. Vides bis antiquitatem vocis

C. 40. Be ceopler reoprize.

C. 41. Be bonger onface.

he free himself from the crime by fixty Hides, if he be accounted sit to five.ir. If an Sect. 12. English Man seal, that he purge bimself by a double number. If a Welsh Man, that he be obliged to no greater a number of Jurours. And that it be lawfull to any one both to prevent by oath the penalty of receiving Thieves, and the valuation of C. 43. Bone flain in case of capital enmity, if he can, and be not ashamed to dee it popy of the That which follows ordains, that If any stoln goods be intercepted, one of ferrile crap begancondition must not be taken for a Voucher, as bought of him. And the next to that, Sene. In case any one for his crimes be condemned to slavery, and he be accused that he field rule book to the condemned to slavery, and he be accused that he field rule book to the condemned to slavery. fomething while he was free, the Accuser may beat him once : and the Thief, actum many cording to the value of what he stole, is to be beaten how unwilling soever.

82. The fiftieth Law is concerning him that finds Swine feeding upon his Math, 6.50. Be or Acorns, without leave, that he take a pledge worth fix shillings: if they never unally every were there before let him that owns them pay one shilling, and according to the value marconer of the Swine, let satisfaction be given that they never were in before; but if it only one shall appear that they had been in oftner, let two shillings be paid. He that takes in Hogs to feed upon Acorns, of those that are three fingers thick in fat, let him take every third; of those that are two fingers, every fourth; of such as are the thickness of ones thumb in fat, every fifth. The fifty first forbids him whom these Laws call Gesithcundmon (being of condition below a Thane, and above a Ceorle, probably as we have already translated it, the Chief of the Hundred) if he petition the King or his Alderman, for his Family; or the Lord for any Slave or Free-man, to sue for any remission of a Mulet, because he had not inflitted deserved punishment upon Offenders at Home. That which follows enacts again concerning this fame fort of man, that If he held Lands and refuse to go to War, he lose his Land, and pay one hundred and twenty shillings.
if he have no Lands, that he pay sixty shillings. A
Ceorliseman or Countreyman, if he offend in this sort, he must pay thirty shillings. By the next, He that is accused of a Clandestine crime must purge himself according to an hundred and twenty Hides of Land, or else pay so many shillings. The fifty fourth provides, that In case another Man's Slave be found with a Man, and he be dead of whom he pretends he bought him,

C. 52. Be Son Se gergrunsman

rypo popriete.

C 51. Berilcunter monner te

lunge.
Vid. Somnerum in Gloffaris voc. Sieli-

C. 52. Be Sýpnům geljingle.

C. 54. Baponytolener manner

that the Buyer go to his Grave, and there according to the rate of forty Hides, make Oath that he bought this Slave of him, which done he is to be acquitted, and the Slave is to return to his former Lord. The same is to be observed in other stoln things. But in case it be known who had the goods of the Deceased, he is to be gone too, and to be defired to clear the sale except he make it good, that the Slave never belonged to the dead man. The fifty

C. 55. Be pæppah þe týlitlan.

fifth orders, that If one be accused to have been at deadly enmity with a flain man, and the value of him be required at his hand, and he will livear that he gave him not his mortal wound; in such case the Oath called the Royal Oath, according to the rate of thirty Hides is to be duly administred, whether those called Gefithcundmen, or Meor Ceorles be joyned with him. In case he be found guilty, yet he may give his Corflet and his Sword to whom of his Companions he will though he be not able to pay the value of the flain. A Welshman deprived of Liberty, must make this fort of Purgation, according to the Rate of twelve Hides. A Slave must be beaten. An Englishman must swear according to the Rate of four and thirty Hild s.

83. The fifty fixth, "Sets the price of an Ewe and her Lamb at one shilling, C. 56. Be "till a Fortnight after Easter. The next, Gives leave to any one that has bought corer yyphe " imprudently any faulty thing, and discovers the fault within thirty days to re- C. 57trnn it othe Seller, except he will take his Oath that at the time of fele, that fault was unknown to him. The fifty Eighth, Acquits the Wife of Theft, Cynlycer though confcious to her Husband's flealing, because the is to be obedient to Cynlycer monner "him. And upon his condemnation, if the refuseth not to swear that the had no trale. " part of the thing stoln, she may possess the third part of his Goods. The next C. 59, E ordains that "He that cuts off the Horn of an Ox pay ten pence, the Horn of a Oxan. "Cow two pence. If the Tail of an Ox four pence, if that of a Cow five pence. "Whoso puts out the Eye of an Ox must pay five pence, if the Eye of a Cow "one shilling. That which follows concerning Rent Barley is imperfect in Mr. C. 60. Re

Lambard's Copy, neither doth Brompton's Translation make it much more intellipies by the fixty first, "If a Countreyman hired a Yoke of Oxen, and had Fed. C. 61. Be

Sect. 12. "der fusticient, he was in that kind to pay the whole hire, if not sufficient, then "half in Fodder, and half otherwise. The next commands "The first fruits of C 62. Be "Corn, due to the Church to be paid out of that House, where a Man lives at Cypic re-"Christmas. Of this we must speak in Church matters. The fixty third gives acce. order, "That if an accused Person be required to give pledge, and is not able to C 63. Be "doe it before the Trial, in case another Man offers to doe it for him, on condition on to ce-"on that he give himself up into his Power, till such time as he can give him satis- are ropp-"faction for what he now deposites; and now a second time Caution is deman-page. "ded of the accused Party, and he who affisted him before now refuseth to help C. 64 Be "him the second time; if he be cast, let him loose what he laid down for him genteun-"when the fuit began. The next concerning him called Gefitheundman ordains, beginning "That if he change his Habitation, it may be lawfull to him to take along with Fape. " him his Officer or Baily, his Smith, and his Child Foster or his Nurse." Here the word Smith, Lambard translates, Fabrum Ferrarium, viz. Backsmith; but Smith in Saxon, answers fully to Faber in Latin, not onely Faber Ferrarius, but Faber Lignarius, or any of the other fort, the reason why it is become the most general firname now in England.

84. By this fixty fifth Law King Ina enacts, That who soever possesset twenty C. 65. Be Hides of Land and removes his Habitation, Shall leave twelve Hides Sown with land hab Corn. He that occupies ten shall leave fix, and he that possesset three shall leave benoum. one and an half. This we may suppose done in respect of the want of Corn, this Isle and all in ancient times abounding with wood, which long after the time of Ina, procured Laws for cutting it down, though now we be in the other extreme. By that which follows he provides for hin, That hath bired and ploughed a lardland, that if the Landlord exact other services from him besides the Rent, he shall not need to pay them nor abstain from tilling the ground, except he assign him also an House to dwell in. Against Gesithcundman the next ordains, That in case C. 67. Be he be banished, he shall not have the liberty to return to his House. The fixty Eighth Bericcun-Commands, That a Sheep be not shorn till Midsummer, otherwise the Fleece is to bermonner be redeemed with two pence. The fixty ninth is concerning Valuations of Mens one lane. Heads, that, If a Man in his Life-time was valued at two Hundred shillings, thir-C. 68 Be ty of them should be deducted to make his Lord recompence for his death. If one receipt was valued at fix hundred, in such case Eighty should be deducted; if at twelve gangement fundred, then were to be deducted one hundred and twenty. The seventieth con-pleor. cerning maintenance exacts, that, From ten Hides of Land be allowed ten Fatts C. 69. Be or Barrels of Honey; three Hundred loaves; twelve Runters of Wellh Ale; thirty Pepum. or the final of Honey; three Hundred loaves; twelve Runters of Wellh Ale; thirty Pepum. or the final of the final Vido hie Seel an Hundred Eeles. That which follows wills, that, If one be required to pay humger. man. in voc. the Value of his Head, and being now to swear, confesses what before he denied, Objection he pay nothing by way of Mulct, till he have first satisfied for the value of his Head . repenar. The leventy second requires, that, If a Thief who had formerly paid the value of his cyn geer. Head be taken, and make his escape the same day, the whole multi be not again re- creening quired, he being taken about Night: but in case the Theft was committed the Night henna vyn quired, he being taken about right: but in caje the lines was committed the right cyrar, ambefore, such as formerly apprehended him, must pay as the King or his Officer shall benfulne burenan. ordain. pip leaxjar.

runs 12Ka rosper. 7 huns teontig æla, vide quam parum distant ista rerum nomina ab bodiernis. C. 71. Be septyhtlan. C. 72. Be septylo deoper ropereng.

85. The feventy third ordains, "That if a Welfb Slave kill an Englifb Man, his C. 73. Be "Matler shall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him Son Se Se Matler shall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him Son Se Se Se Matler shall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of the shain respissement his Money, that then he set aliberty his Slave, and the Kindred of the shain respissement shows the value of their Kinsman, if the other have any Kindred to bear him C. 74. Be out. If not, let him expect mischief from his Adversaries. A Freeman need poprolement of the shall be shal

"flain, as ought to be paid to the Lord for the loss of his Servant. And the Payment must be more or less according to the value of him that was slain, and
"that which was to be made to the Lord for his loss. But in case it was the
"King's Godson that was slain, satisfaction must be made to him aswell as the
"Kindred. In case a Kinsinan slew him, abatement must be made of what is to
"be paid to his Godstather, as if it had even to his Lord. If the slain was the
"Son of a Bishop, abatement must be made of the half.
86. These are the Laws of King Ina, which we have transcribed, because they

are the first of the English Nation, now extant: of such as follow we shall make

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinop. Roman Empire.

mention with relation unto them. The next Legislatour after Ina, was Offa King of the Mercians, whom we may very well take for Authour of the Mercian Law, and not Martia the Widow of Guenthelin King of Britain, though some fansie her to have enacted it while she held the Regency of the Kingdom in the Minority of her Son, about three Hundred and fifty Years before the Birth of our Saviour. That Offa the King of the Mercians, made Laws is evident from Leland Ceffrithe Preface of King Alfred to fuch as he enacted, though now there be no Body enfis Mona. of them extant. For the next Legislatour after Offa was Alfred himself, to whom Spelman, v. St. Henry Spelman gives the Epithetes of Pius, Inclitus, Felix, and, amongst per-Lex. Merciopetual and most bitter troubles, of Victor and Triumphator, Alfred never sufficiently rum. to be commended King also of the West Saxons, but to whom all both English and Saxons voluntarily submitted themselves, to whom also Guthrun the Danish King fwore obedience, and held the Provinces of the East English and Northumbrians as his Vassal. He himself tells us in the Conclusion of his Religious presace "That Ac Sa Se "whatfoever he found worthy of Observation, either in the time of Ina his Kins- 1c gemette "man, or of Offa King of the Merciaus, or of Ethelbert the first Christened King, he ahran of-"gathered them all together, and omitted the reft, in which work he used the Segement "advice, and had the consent of the wisest Men about him. Having revised the maxer of Laws of these Princes, he transcribed such of them as he liked into his own, and te on Orby confent of those Wisemen he used Collection, commanded them to be observed ram opener by all English Men, under which Name the Saxons and Jutes were then included na cynin-

87. The first of his Laws commands, an Oath and a pledge to be strictly re-50, &c. garded. "If any by necessity was compelled to swear or deposite a piedge, where- C. 1. Be aby he is bound either to lay fnares for his own Lord or unjustly to affift any pum 7 be "Person, he is advised to recede, rather than to stand to his obligation. But in case "he engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth not doe "it, his Arms and all his Fortunes are to be put into the Hands of his Friends, "and he is to be put into the King's Prison for forty days, till he undergoe that "punishment, which the Bishop according to his Deferts shall lay upon him. If he "have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, his Kindred are to " provide him Victuals, if they be not in condition, the King's Officer must doe it. "If by force he be constrained to give up his Arms, he must forfeit both his "Arms and all his Estate, and if in making resistence he dye, nothing is to be paid "as the valuation of his Head. In case he fly before his time be out and be taken, he "is to be returned back again to prison for other forty days. If he escape he is to "have no benefit of the Laws, and to be excommunicated in all Churches. If "any ingaged for him he must pay his forfeit, and undergo such penance as the "Priest shall fet him. The second bears the Title of the immunity of the Church, C. 1. and we shall speak of it in the Ecclesiastical concernments. The third is con-C. 3. Be cerning the breach of Suretyship. "If the Suretyship was in behalf of the King, bophbpyce. "fatisfaction must be made according to the Damage received, and the breach "farther punished by a mulct of five pounds of Mercian Penies. The Violati-"on of Suretyship, or the Peace, made to an Archbishop, is punished by a fine of

"on of Suretyflip, or the Peace, made to an Archbifhop, is punished by a fine of three pounds, to Bishops or Senatours (Ealdermen) by one of two. The fourth C. 4. Ba Law, "upon one that either by himself alone or by his Servants, and Assail, hapono "nates, lays treacherously in wait against the life or fastey of the King, insticts the "Saxonica" loss of life and fortunes. If he will purge himself he may doe it with respect to the Valuation of the King's Head. The same is to be observed in all Degrees of Se ecople. "Men, whether \*Noblemen or Countreymen. Whosoever conspires against his Comes scale." Lord, let him be punished with loss of life and fortunes, or else pay the Valuar "cillanus" tion of his Lord's Head.

eos ordo vel gradus quamvis Ceopl non nunquam pro marito usurpetur, bine Ceoplan pro nuttum dari.

Q g

PART IV.

90. The

88. The feventh Law "To the fixth of Ina, which gives the King Power C.7. Be ton " of life and death over him that fights in the Court, gives the same Power over to mon "him, that shall but draw his Weapon in the same place. Farther provides that on cynn. "If the Offender flye and be taken, he pay the value of his Head, and according to heale "to his offence farther be punished by the payment of a Mulct, or the Value of Sepeolice 7 "his Head. The ninth ordains, "That if one kill a Woman with Child he pay C. 9. Be "the full Value of her Head, besides half the value of the Head of one of her con ce "Husband's Children. If the value of the Head come not to thirty shillings it is mon opplea "to be madeup, and a farther Mulct of an Hundred and twenty shillings to be beanned." imposed. And whereas formerly such were more grievously punished as stole und pri " Gold, Stallions or Bees, and other more heavy Mulcts were imposed upon other "Offenders, by this Law the same respect shall be had to all; onely hethat steals " a Man shall pay an hundred and twenty shillings. The tenth requires, that "He C. 10. Be "that lies with the Wife of a Man whole censeor value of his Head, is twelve poplexe-"Hundred shillings, pay the Summ of one Hundred and twenty shillings to him for pum 7 "the offence. If the Man's value be fix hundred, that the offender pay to him an hun-" dred shillings. He that lies with the Wife of a Ceorl or Countreyman shall pay "forty shillings; for payment of which, if need be, all a Man's Cattel are to be "fold, but no Mankind. The next wills, "That if any one wantonly handles C. II. "the Breafts of a Countreyman's Wife, he pay down to the Woman five shillings: "if he cast her down upon the ground, but lies not with her, ten shillings; if he "enjoys her, fixty shillings. If another had committed Adultery with her before, "one half of this Mulct is to be paid. If he be fued for it, either according to the "rate of fixty Hides, he must purge himself or pay down half of the Fine. If

"violence be offered to a Woman of greater Birth, the Mulct is to be increased "according to the valuation of her Head. 89. The twelfth Law, concerning Burning of Wood, alters the forty third of Ina, C. 12. Be concerning this Subject, "Imposing upon him that shall set fire to the Trees of publi bap-"another man, or fell them without his leave, for every greater Tree a Mulc of five netter "another man, or less them without his leave, for every greater live a Millings, for every smaller five pence, besides a fine of thirty shillings. That which have been been the control of the control o follows willeth, "That if in felling a Tree a Man accidentally be flain, the Kin-mon open-"dred of the flain shall have the Tree, if within thirty days they fetch it off the ne oppyle "ground; otherwise it is to remain with the owner of the Wood. By the four- C. 14 Be teenth, "The Father of a dumb or deaf Man, is to repair the Damages caused Sumbpa "by him. By the fifteenth, "Fighting in the presence of an Archbishop, is manna by him. By the inteenth, Figuring in the presence of an Arthonology become punished by a fine of an hundred and fifty shillings, in the presence of a Bishop of a fine of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a generatour with one of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a generatour with one of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a generator with a such as the s "Mare or Cow, and farther a Mulct of forty shillings. The seventeenth requires, C. 16. Be "That if a Man borrow any Cattel which chance to dye in his Hands, if thereto son se "required he make oath, that he is not guilty of any fraud as to the death of mon myne "the Beast. The Nineteenth ordains, "That if one Man lend to another any of curportic the Beast." "Weapon to kill a third Person, both of them if they please may pay the Valua-rece.
"Wish third Person, both of them if they please may pay the Valua-rece.
"The tion of his Head. If they refuse to doe it together, that he that lent the Wea. Cary, Bo "pon, himself lay down the third part, and then he may make faith, that he obnic hir meant no harm when he lent out the Weapon. The latter part of the Law, unmaxum "Commands restitution to be made of such Swords or other Weapons as have opparten-"been put into the Hands of Artificers, onely for mending or making into other C 19. Be forts of Instruments. The two and twentieth Orders, "That if a Man fue a bon the control of the co "nother before the King's Officer in Folemote, and afterwards let fall his heope papers." "Action, he make it appear if he can where the Right lies, or otherwise be fined to man "the value of the thing. The next in order is concerning the "Biting of a Dog <sub>I</sub>hib." imposing a mulc of fix shillings upon his Master if he still keep him, for the C. 22. Be "first offence, if he bite again of twelve shillings, and if the third time of thirty; eoreres "and now though the Dog be killed, yet is the fine to be paid. If he live and anterlan. "afterwards doe more mitchief and his Master still keep him, he must either pay C. 23, Be "the value of the Head, or make other Compensation according to the mischief hunder it "the value of the Head, or make other Compeniation according to the limitine are done. That which follows is concerning Cattel, "if an Ox rent or wound a C. 24 Be man he is to be feized, except the owner of him redeem him. The twenty nyrena fifth "Punisheth him that ravisheth the Maid-servant of a Countreyman, with mirea Sum "the payment of fix shillings to the man, and a mulct of fixty shillings besides: C. 25. Be " a Man-Slave that lies with a She-Slave with the loss of his Member; and him nychantel "that ravishes a Virgin of tender Age, as him that lies with one of riper

90. The twenty fixth Law inflicts Punishments upon those, "Who kill men Sect. 12. " by Troops or Companies. If the flain innocent Party, or he that had received a " mortal wound, was valued at two Hundred shillings, he that slew him must pay C. 26. Be "the value of his Head and a Mulct; and every one that was in the Troop or manylihe "Company, must also pay thirty shillings. In case he was worth fix Hundred mie hlope. "fhillings, every one in the Company mult pay fixty shillings, and he that killed him pay the value of his Head, and the Mulct besides. If he was valued at "twelve Hundred shillings, they must pay an hundred and twenty a-picce, and the slaver both the value and the mulct. In case every Man deny, that he gave "the mortal wound, all are to be impeached together, and amongit them must pay both the Value and the Mulct. Now concerning these Troops or Companies which our Saxon Ancestours called Hlothum, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may remember he was told by the fourteenth Law of King Ina: The twenty seventh orders, "That if a Man in a Quarrel killed another, C. 27. "and had no Kindred by the Father's fide, fuch Kindred as he hath by the Mo- Be mæglea-"there fide, shall pay the third part of the value of the Head, another third those of rum mon-"his Gild or Society, and for the third he is to fuffer banishment. In case he have no num. "Kindred neither on his Mothers fide, those of his Gild must pay one half, and he be " banished for the other. If he that was slain had no Kindred, one half of the value of Kexylean. " his Head is to be paid to the King, and the other half to those of his Gild or Society. Those of his Gild in Saxon called Gegyldan, were so named from Gyldand lignifying to A Saxon pay, afmuch as one would fay Fellow Payhaffers. And they were so called for two & pallen Causes, first because they contributed Money according to the Custome, together & pallen Causes, first because they contributed Money according to the Custome, together according to the Custome, together when the contributed Money according to the Custome, together according t with their Fellows that had killed a Man, viz. The valuation of the Head of the flain, Co prapolito as they also received money for a flain Brother of their Gyld. Another was because quod ut Con they contributed toward publick Feafls, which at certain times they observed. Hence in Composition afterward in the Laws of King Henry the First, they are called Crocca Cowellet, as in Co-pariner those whose Pot boils together. In Germany the Bores call their publick Feasts by the Co-operate, Name of Gilde, to which all contribute. A Society or Company in Saxon is called Co-ordines. Gebeorscipe and Gyldscipe, in the low Countries Ghildschap, and hence comes our dent, &c. vi more modern Name of Gilde, used to express some Societies of Religious men, as de Somneri also of Tradesmen and Artificers, which now we call Companies, and moreover of Congistances Gildhall, the place of their Meetings and judicial Assemblies. 91. The twenty eighth Law of Alfred was made againft the Spreaders of falle News, and commands that "fuch being convicted, be not flightly punished, but "their \*Tongues cut out except they redeem them by payment of the whole twenty they they had. The thirtisch order that "Merchett when they ledd" Typhrum.

" bring fuch as come ashore with them before the King's Officer in Folcmote, and mon accoppdeclare their number, and then keep them with them that they may be ready &a rungan " to answer any thing that shall be demanded of them in Folemote. And if out or "to answer any thing that man be demanded on them into the Haven thereof, C. 30.
"of necessity they bring many with them from Sea, into the Haven thereof, C. 30.
Considering the Be Cyp-"they are also to certifie the King's Officer in that Assembly. Considering the dangerous times wherein King Alfred lived, when was fuch flocking of strangers mannum. into England, this Law feems very prudently made. The one and thirtieth in- Be Coonflicts "upon him that shall put into bonds a Countreyman who no such thing lircer man-" deserves, a mulct of ten shillings, upon him that beats such an one, twenty ner bince-" shillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings. If he clip his hair like a lan. fool, ten shillings; If he shave his head like a Priest and bind him not, thirty shillings: In case he cut his beard, twenty shillings; and if he bind him and " cut his hair like a Priest, fixty shillings. That which follows " requires of Be sperer " him who carries on his back a spear so negligently that another by chance falls symelearupon it, the value of his head without a mulct: but in case he bore the head te. of the spear in his hand and another falls upon it, the Law imposes a mulce " upon him. If he be accused to have done it on purpose, it's lawfull for him " to clear himself according to the nature of the mulcit; if the point of the spear " was three fingers higher than that part behind his back; if the point and all C. 33. " the rest of the spear was of the same height it blames him not. The next di- Be bolegerects that if "a fervant pass from one place to another, he must doe it with the tale. " knowledge of the Alderman or Governour of that County where he former-" ly ferved. Otherwife, he that receives him into his Family must forfeit an " hundred and twenty shillings to the King, whereof one half to be paid in the " Countrey whence the fervant came, and the other in that where he is now received. And in case before his removal he committed any fault, he that last received him must make amends, and fine to the King an hundred and twenty

92. The

" shillings besides.

" value of their Heads. The thirtieth orders that " Merchants when they land, ponnehim

Scct. 12. 92. The thirty fourth Law "Imposes upon him that shall strike or fight in C; Folemote before the King's Aldermall, both the value of his own head and such Bestreehre a fine besides as shall be thought fit, besides an hundred and twenty shillings to beyonan " be paid to the Alderman, upon him that by his weapons shall make any distur- ealdopnen. " bance in Folemote, a mulet of an hundred and twenty shillings to the Alder-" man. If he be not present, but the thing be done before his Substitute or the "King's Priest, an amerciament of thirty shillings. Here by the King's Priest is meant the Bishop, as we may very well conjecture, who, as we formerly faid, in those times presided also in Folcmotes, and there dispatched business relating to the Church. The thirty fifth ordains that "He that fights at the Homestall of a C 35. "Countreyman, pay the faid Countreyman fix shillings; if he drew his Sword, Be Cyply. " but struck not, half as much. If the offence be committed in the Homestall cer monner " of a man valued at fix hundred shillings, three times as much is to be paid as Fletce ge-" laid upon him that fights in that of a Countreyman; If it be done at the Feolite.

" House of a Man valued at twelve hundred shillings, the double of that which is to be paid for fighting in the Yard of one valued at five hundred. The thirty C. 16. fixth Law of Burhbrice or breach of the Peace in a Town " confirms that part of Be bunh. King Ina's forty fixth Law of this Subject; for what concerns the breach of bryce the Peace in the King's Town or City, impoling upon the offender the fame cyninger "mulct of an hundred and twenty faillings. But if it be done in the Archbi. buphbyve. fhops Town, a mulct of ninety faillings; in that of a Bithop or Alderman fixty shillings. In the Town of a Man valued at twelve hundred shillings, a byte. fine of thirty shillings; half as much if done in the Village of one worth but Ceopler cohalf as much. Him that breaks the Hedge of a Countreyman, it fines five sopphyse. shillings: and double the sum, if it be done during an expedition in War, or

" in time of Lent. Him that in time of Lent draws the Holy Courtain before the People without leave, it fines an hundred and twenty shillings. 93. The thirty feventh, is that Law concerning Bocland, which we have already C 37 occasionally mentioned. By virtue hereof "He that holds such Lands left him by Be Bochis Ancestours, hath no power to alienate it from his Heirs to others, in case lanse. it can be proved by writing or testimony before the King or Bishop, his Kindred being present, that he who first granted it, forbade him all alienation, and laid on him this condition. Upon occasion of this Law, Mr. Selden tells our common Lawyers, that here they may behold Fee-tail, much more ancient than the thirteenth year of Edward the First. The thirty eighth concerning quarrels or deadly feuds "Forbids any Man to attacque his Enemy, if he find Be zereoh him in his House, except he first demand of him what is right. If he can Befiege the House, he may doe it for seven days, during which time, if he give up Febe. " himself and his Arms into his hands, he may keep him thirty days, but then offer him fafe and found to his Kindred and Friends. In case he flye to a Church, " the honour of the Church must be preserved: If he cannot Besiege him, he may defire the affiftence of the Alderman, which if he cannot obtain, he must go to the King. If any one by chance light upon his advertary, knowing not that he keeps himself at home, and the other will deliver up his Arms to " him, he shall keep him safe thirty days, and then offer him to his Friends. But in case he will not deliver up his Arms, then may he instantly force him. "In case he be willing to deliver up himself and his Arms to his Enemy, " and any other Man lets upon him, let fuch a Man pay the value of his head,

" or give fatisfaction for his wounds if any be given him, according

" to the fact, befides, let him be fined, and loofe all that may fall to him by rea-" fon of Kindred. A Servant may lawfully fight for his Matter if any one fet upon him, and a Matter for his Servant. In like manner, if any one unjustly

" fall upon ones near Kiniman, he may fight for him against all men, except his

" Lord, which is not to be suffered. It may be lawfull also for any to set upon

" him whom he finds locked up under the fame covering with his Wife, or with " his own Daughter, his Sifter or his Mother, lawfully Married to his Father. 94. The last of these Laws of King Alfred, is concerning wounds and mains, C. 40. which though something long, we shall add to the former. "If any Man wound Berundum " another in the head, fo as the bone on both fides be pierced, let him pay to " the wounded thirty shillings: If the outward bone onely be pierced, fifteen " shillings. If the Man be wounded to the quantity of an Inch under the hair, " let the mulct be one shilling; but if the wound was besides the hair, two shil-" lings. If an Ear be cut off, thirty shillings; in case the hearing be lost by the " wound, fixty shillings. He that digs out the Eyes of another, let him pay fixty

" fix shillings fix pence, and the third part of a penny; but in case the Eye be Sect. 12. " still in the head, yet so wounded that the fight is lost, let the third part of the " mulct be abated." Let him that cuts off a Nose pay fixty shillings. Him that " strikes out the first Teeth, eight shillings to the sufferer; if those called the " Wang-teeth ( Dentes Canini ) be strucken out, four shillings; if the Grinders, " fixteen shillings. He that wounds another on the Cheek, let him pay fifteen gre hieryre " shillings; that cleaves his Chin-bone, twelve shillings; that pierces the Throat, ronstol. " twelve shillings. He that cuts out the Tongue as much as he that pulls out the " Eye. He that wounds in the Shoulder to the breaking of the Member, thirty shillings; that breaks an Arme above the Elbow, fifteen shillings; that breaks " both the bones of the Arme, thirty shillings. Let him that cuts off a Thumb, " forfeit to the Party thirty shillings: that cuts off the nail of a Thumb, five " shillings: he that cuts off the first Finger let him pay sisteen shillings: the nail " of this Finger, four shillings; if the middle or longest Finger, twelve shil-" lings; if the nail of it, two shillings; if it be the Ring-finger, seventeen shil-

" lings; if the nail, four shillings; if the little Finger, nine shillings; if its nail

" onely one shilling. 95. " If one receive a wound in the Belly, let him receive from the offender " thirty shillings; and if the weapon pierced through the Belly, twenty shillings " for each Orifice. If a Man be run through the Thigh, he that did it shall pay " him thirty shillings, and if the bone be hurt, other thirty shillings. He that " pierces a Man through the Leg, let him pay the wounded Party twelve shil-" lings; but if the bone be broke, thirty shillings. If one Man cut off the great " Toe of another he shall pay him twenty shillings; if the next to that, fifteen " shillings; if the third, nine shillings; if the fourth, six shillings; and if the " least, five shillings. If a Man be so wounded in the Genitals, that the faculty " of procreation be thereby taken away, the offender shall pay him eighty shil-" lings. He that cuts off an Arme shall incur the mulct of eighty shillings. Let " the punishment for every wound, beside the Hair and the Sleeve, and beneath " the Knee, be doubled. He that breaks a Mans Loins shall pay him fixty shil-" lings; if he prick them with a weapon, fifteen shillings, if he pierce them " through, thirty shillings. If a Man receive a wound on his shoulder he shall " receive eighty shillings: If the outward part of his Hand be bruised or woun-" ded, yet so as it may be cured, twenty shilling; but if he loose half of his " Hand, fixty shillings. If a Rib be broken, though the Skin be whole, the of-" fender shall pay ten shillings, but if the Skin be broke and some bones be forced " out, fifteen shillings. If an Eye be pulled out, an Hand or a Foot cut off; let " there be the same penalty, viz. fixty six shillings, six pence and the third part " of a penny. If the Leg be cut off above the Knee, the mulct shall be eighty " shillings; if the Shoulder-blade be cut off, twenty shillings; if it be bruised so " that bones come out, fifteen shillings; if the greater Sinews be cut, yet fo as " they may be healed, twelve shillings; but if the Party sall lame and his lame-" ness cannot be cured, thirty shillings; if the smaller Sinews be cut, fix shil-" lings. If a Man receive a wound on his Neck, fo that all his life he goes infirm and deformed, let the offender by way of Compensation pay him an hundred shillings, except in the opinion of wise Men more ought to be given " to him. These be the Laws of King Alfred, made by himself and his wise Men; for the Government of all his Subjects. In the League betwixt him and Guthrun the Dane, there were others made by the consent of both Nations; whereof such as respect the Civil state we have already mentioned in the History of Alfred's Life. The rest which respect matters Ecclesiastical, must to such

96. The next Legislatour in order of our English Saxon Kings, was Edward the Elder, the Son and Successour of glorious King Alfred. In the Preface to his Laws, he strictly charges and commands all his Officers,

that as much as in them lies, they doe Justice according \* as it stands in the Judicial Book, and without all fear boldly dispence the Common Law, and that they set and appoint certain days for Determination of the feveral Causes depending before them. The first Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the Danish King Guthrun ordains that If a Man buy any thing, he have one that will wouch, warrantize, and make good the fale. That no

This on Sape som bec rean. De isto libro Judiciali frequens

in his legibus mentio nec tamen conftae quis fucrit. Ethelbertum legimus Decre-ta Judiciorum Composiis. Asserius etiam prodit Asserdum Judiciorum decreta Sax-onicis mandasse liseris.

C. r. Be Ceapunge.

Ве воте у грржсе.

Man

Sect. 12, Man without the Town buy any thing, but (a) have the Port-(a) Ac habbe day popregeneran gepicnyffe. (b) connery he cyninger openhynnyffe feyloig. Jaang. reeve for witness, or other Men worthy of Credit, otherre ream deah ropp, &c.

tyman propagare team foboles &

bine team tam pro sequela quam vocant nativorum vel mancipiorum propa-

gine, de qua prius; quam pro advocatione Authoris laudatione vel productione. Hinc

etiam partum Teeming dicimus, à terming

Advocatio alio sensu est jus patronatut

Vide Lambard. Gloffar. in voc. Advecare,

Spelman. in voc. Garandia & Somneri in

vel præsentandi, nostratibus vulgo Ad-

wise he shall (b) undergoe the penalty of Contumacy against the King, and the vouching or warrantizing shall also proceed from one to another till it be ended; we farther ordain that whosoever calleth to warrantize a Party of whom he bought the thing, in question. either produce his Testimony that he did rightly call him, or by interposition of his Oath Satisfie the Demandant. In the same manner we determine concerning that that was ones own; for if he contend that it was not received from elsewhere, but was his own, and so used it, let him either produce his Witnesses, or with some other persons (if he can) not chosen on purpose, let him swear that the thing is not the Demandant's. If he cannot doe it, let fix Men be summoned out of the Neighbourhood, and one Man (wear for every Cow, or any thing of such a value, or more if the thing be of a greater price. We farther Decree, that if any Pawn another Man's Goods, he take his Oath that he did it not deceitfully, but without all fraud and evil design: then let him with whom the Goods shall be found be at his choice, whether he will plead that they are his own, or go to Vouching. This calling to Vouching or Warrantizing, our English Saxons expressed by

The Polity of the English Saxons in Britain,

the word Team, which properly fignifies Propago, Soboles, or Off-spring, but secondarily, and by way of translation, to make known, call forth or produce another. In reference to the matter in hand: it was the Custome of the Ancients, that if one had fold to another any stoln Goods, and this Man had alienated them to a third, and the third to a fourth, &c. yet might the true owner seize them whereever he found them. Then was he with whom they were found obliged to produce him that fold them to him, to own and make good the Sale, which in Latin they term Advocare. Then was he that was thus called out or produced (Advocatus Caulæ) bound to produce his Chapman also of whom he bought the Goods, and this Chapman another, till at length they came to the Thief himself. From this continuation and progress from one to another, it had the Name of Team, as in the Old Norman Law French, Voucher al Garantiæ; fo hence in Barbarous Latin come Garandia, Garantia, Garantum, Garantiza-

re and Garentizare, otherwise written Warrantia, Warrantum, and Warrantizare, the Root of all which, feems to be the Saxon word Waran, which fignifies to defend. For the French instead of the Saxon W, always use G, and all these words have their proper signification amongst the Lawyers of England, France and Germany, which no one Roman or Latin word can express. As for the Portreeve mentioned in this Law, it fignifies the Chief Governour of a City or Town, he of London and many other Cities in ancient times being known by this Title.

10wn, ne of London and many other cates in antecest dates, that Wholoever denies a- C. 2.

97. The second of King Edward's Laws ordains, that Wholoever denies a- C. 2.

nother Man his Right, either in Bocland or Folcland, demanding it before the Be cone
nother Man his Right, either in Bocland or Folcland, demanding it before the Be cone King's Justice, whenas he hath no Right in either of these sorts of Land, shall pay pulter to the King for the strift offence thirty shillings, as much for the second; and if he winnh. offend the third time, that he pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King. The third determines of One that hath forsworn himself, or born C. 3. false witness, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to Be many false witness, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to Ordeal. The fourth declares, that King Edward lying at Exeter, and consulting ropenum.

C. 4. with his Wisemen, studiously enquired by what means he might best provide for Peace Be Flyce. and Tranquillity, for he perceived that these things were not so much regarded as they ought to be, and as he had ordained. He intreated therefore and required all that would be corrected and amended, and would with him enjoy common society, and would prosecute with love and hatred the same things as he did both by Sea and Land: that they would look to this one thing, viz. that they did injury to no Man. He that doeth contrary let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the King; if he offend the second time, as much; and if the third, an C. 5. Be geperan je mis pihr bundred and twenty shillings. The fifth commands, that ne amanige. That Reeve or Judge that doeth not Justice according to the

C. 6. Be Syrbe becogenum.

Testimony of such as are summoned, pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the King. The fixth wills, That if a servant be accused of Theft, he that recommended him to his Master, or other of his Friends (if any he have) be sureties for him, that he discharge himself of what is deposed against him. If he have Sect. 12. none to interpose on his behalf, those that are concerned may sieze his Goods. If he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him de taken into Custody. The seventh abfolutely requires, that Those always be had in readiness that will not goe to their Be Son Se own Homes, and that for no reward they be protetted.

98. The eighth Law enjoyns that "No man knowingly and voluntarily, have [ccan nyl-

" peace with or harbour one that is condemned for a Crime: he that acts contrary "and thereby breaks his Oath and the faith given by him, and all the People, let Be Son Se him undergo the Mulct prescribed in the Judiciary Book. That if he resuse to pay, pull printers." " he is to be deprived of the King's and all other Mens friendship, and farther for- pap. "feit all his Estate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the pe-bece gra " nalty expressed in the faid Judiciary Book. Farther, faith he, whosoever shall com boo "relieve a fugitive either in this our coast, or in the Eastern or Northern parts of tace. "relieve a fugitive either in this our coart, or in the faitern or normer parts of bere 17a "the Kingdom, let him be punished as in the Articles of Peace is ordained. That of the Kingdom, which follows provides that, If one deprived of liberty for stealing, fixe processing the boc pecces. "again and all his kindred for fake him, fo that none will ingage for him, he be C. 9. " fet to fervile works as opportunity shall be, and his kindred loose the Valuation Be Son Se of his Head. The tenth Law "forbids any Man to receive another Man's Ser- hir spect "vant without his leave, and he hath fully fatisfied his Master: he that doeth o- roppypee. vant without his leave, and it hat it is the wife must be punished as Contumacious against the King. The eleventh Be Sone and last commands that "about every fourth Week every Reeve, or Judge, shold Be Sone of the wife of the state of the "the Gemote or Assembly, Administer Justice to every Man, and determine manner "all causes at the appointed days. If he doe otherwise he is to be punished as manunsen-" was before faid. These are the Laws made by King Edward the Elder himself. reb buran After them follows the league made betwixt him and Guthrun the Dane confifting leape. of such matters as had been somerly agreed of betwixt the said Suthran and King C. 11.

Alfred which we have already mentioned, at such time as the English and Danes Be gemore made Peace and imbraced one another. These Articles were often afterward repeated by wifemen, and to the common utility of the Realm, as the Preface words it, increased and amplified. But forasmuch as they respect Religion we must as before we hinted refer them to another place.

99. The next Legislatour after King Edward the Elder was King Athelfton his Son. After a Religious Preface, the first Law he enacts is against Thieves, requiring that "If a Thief be taken in the fact, no Man spare him if he be above C. 1. Sax. "twelve years old, and have stole any thing above the value of eight pence: if Be Sec. " any one doe contrarily he shall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends rum. apud " for the fault, and yet for all that the Thiefshall not be spared, who if he con- fornal. C. c. "tumaciously make resistence, or flye for it, for the time to come shall obtain no 4. 6.5. " favour: a Thief cast into Prison, shall there stay forty days, and then after the "payment of an hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged. But the kindred must give security for his good behaviour, after which if he steal again, they "must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in "case any one result them he shall pay to the King, or to any other it concerns "the value of his own Head, and if any stand by him, he shall pay to the King an hundred and twenty shillings. The second is against "such as have no Masters, or C. 2. Sax. daining, that "of those that are not of any Man's family, and consequently none can Behlarons. "have right against them, the kindred shall give caution for their just demeaning learum mannum. "of themselves and in Folemote put them into some ones service: which if they fornal.c. 6. "will not or cannot doe, let fuch Masterless men be esteemed as fugitives, and " be beaten as Thieves, as they are light upon. If any one afterward relieve them "let him pay the value of his Head, or according to that value, discharge himself of the guilt. But the third commands that " if a Master denies to doe another C. 3. Sax, "man right and defends a naughty and knavish Servant, so that of him com- Jornal. C.c. " plaint is made to the King, he pay the value of the thing in demand, and farther 7. & 8. "to the King forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings. But in case any make "complaint to the King, before he demand his right as it is preferibed, he shall "incur the like Mulct as the other should have done for denying Justice. If the "Master be convicted to have been privy to the Theft of his Servant, he shall "loofe his Servant and pay the value of his own Head for the first offence, for "the fecond shall loose all he hath. The same punishment shall the King's Trea-" furers and Reeves undergo if guilty of the fame offence. The fourth ordains con- C. 4. Sax. cerning" fuch as confpire against their Masters, that if thereof legally accused, Be hlapops

" and if the fact cannot be denied, the offender being convicted by threefold Ordeal, Typpum.

" it shall be Capital.

100. The

100. The fixth Law of King Ethelstan is against "Witchcrafts, Inchantments C. 6. Sas, Sect. 12. " and fuch like deeds as procure Death, that if any one by those that use them Le Be pices. made away and the thing cannot be denyed, fuch practicers shall be put to death, Spartum-"if they endeavour to purgethemselves and be cast by the threefold Ordeal, let John C. a them lie in Prison, an hundred and twenty days, which ended let their kindred 11 0 11

" redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, "and farther pay to the kindred of the flain, the full valuation of the parties "Head. And then must the criminals procure Sureties for their good deportment " for the time to come, The fame punishment shall be inflicted on Incendiaries " and fuch as refcue Thieves. Nay let fuch as endeavour to refcue them, though " no Man be wounded in the attempt, pay an hundred and twenty shillings to

" the King. As for Inchantments mentioned in this Law, the Saxon word is Liblacum which fignifies the Art of Conjuration or Witchcraft, yet not all in General, but that fort of it properly called Fascination, or Inchantment used with certain Ligatures, Fasciæ or Bands. The Romans called this fort Obligamentum Magi- A Saxon. cum, Phylasteria and Ligatura. Hence Nestere came to be a Magical word, as lyblac vain that verse of Virgil, Neste tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores. This he wrote, a lyb obligaas Turnebus observes, from the Ancient Custome of Inchantments wherein were mentum & reckoned knots, bands and necessities. In those matters also the word Ligare lac munica, came to be used. And as Isidore writes, to these things belong Ligatures of exe-munus ligan. crable Medicines which the Art of Physick condemns, whether in precantations, di vim ha-Characters or in any other things to be hung and bound about one, in all which is bens.

the Art of Devils fprung from a certain peltiferous fociety, or compact of evil Men rum in Gldi and Angels. Upon which account they are all to be shunned by Christians to be far. v. Libla. rejected and condemned, with all execration possible.

101. The feventh of King Athelstan's Laws ordains concerning simple Ordeal C. 7. Sax. that "If one accused several times of Thest be cast by it, and have no body Be anneal-" to be furety for him, he be fent to Prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as oum Oneawas before faid. The eighth appoints that "If any man having no House nor Land le. Jar. 12. " of his own, goes to ferve in another Shire, and returning to the place whence C. & Sax, of his own, goes to lerve in another office, another infinitely in the came to fee his Friends, doeth any mischieft, he that received him shall be ready to make satisfaction, or else doe it him sum mannum, government of the control " felf to the party aggrieved. The ninth provides that If any one challenge Cat-nal. c. 14. " tel as his own in another Man's hands, five Men out of their Neighbourhood C. 9. Sax. " shall be called, whereof one shall swear that he rightly challenges them. But Be sonne if another Man contend they are his, twenty Men shall be taken out of the be you be-" Neighbourhood, whereof two shall swear with him, that he bred them. This rehive may be done without the Common Oath of all; but otherwise if the value of Fornal.c.15.

the thing exceed twenty pence. The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods C. 10, Sax. but in the presence of the Reeve, the Priest of the Town, or the Lord of the Be ypra Soil, or fome other credible Person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, gehreppe and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil. And if any of Fornal c.16.

"these bear false witness, let him be infamous, or no credit be given to him " ever after, and let him forfeit besides thirty shillings. The eleventh pre- C. M. Sax, " fcribes the manner of accusing a Thief that's killed. First let there be three in Be con ce " number (if they will take it upon them) two Kinfmen on the Father's fide, rcylegun-" number (if they will take it upon them) two kinnnen on the Yanto and se base et and one on the Mother's, which shall swear, that they knew no reason why or lege-"their Kiniman should have been slain upon the account of Thest. Then let there of num. For

" be twelve impanelled, which by their Oaths shall lay Thest to his charge, and nal. c. 16. then if the Kindred of the slain Party do not appear, those who first endea- C. 12. Sax. voured to clear him of the crime shall each of them forseit an hundred and Belon je " twenty shillings. The twelfth confirms the first part of the Law of King Ed-mon ne ce " ward the Elder, Decreeing that no Man buy any thing out of Town which arise bu-

"exceeds the value of twenty pence, but within the Town, in prefence of the can popular of the Countries of the King's formal eligible.

" Reeve or Justice in Folcmote. 102. The thirteenth decrees, that " All Towns or " Castles be repaired within fourteen days after the time of " Procession or Perambulation, and that all Bargains be managed within the Town. The fourteenth appoints,

that throughout the King's Dominions one and the fame Money be current which shall not be Coined out of Town. If any Minter or Coiner imbase the Coin, let him loose his hand, which being cut off shall be

C. 13. Sax. Be bunga geberrunge. Fornal. c. 18.

C. 14. Sax. Be mynerepum. Jur. wal. c. 19.

" fixed

## CHAP. II. Contemp, with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Æthelstan. Eandem supplicii formam iis qui adul-

" affixed to the Workhouse. If any be accused of adulteraterinum percuterent nummum, addito in-" ting Money, and will purge himself, let him by the Or-Super, us corum abscinderentur pudenda, " deal of hot Iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness " but if by the Ordeal he be cast, let him be punished:

" as now was faid. At Canterbury let there be feven Min-" ters or Coyners, whereof four for the King, two for the Bilhop, and one for " the Abbat. At Rochester let there be three, whereof two for the King, and the " third for the Bishop. At London eight. At Winchester fix. At Lewes two.

" At Hastings one. At Chichester one. At Hamton two. At Werham two. At Ex-" cefter two. At Shaftsbury as many. And in every other " Town one. The next Law requires, that no Target be " made of Sheeps Skins under penalty of thirty shillings. " That which follows commands, that for every Plough " a Man keep two well furnished Horsemen. The feven-

" teenth ordains, that he that receives reward from a " Thief, and thereby hinders another Man's Right, be amerced the full value of his Head. The eighteenth for-

bids Horses to be transported, except such as be sent upon free Gift. The nineteenth ordains, that If a Servant be Cast by the Ordeal, the just and simple value of the " thing be paid, that the Slave bethrice beaten; or if the full

" value of the thing be reiterated, this punishment is to be abated.

resuscitavit Henricus primus ut monuit Seldenus in Jano Angl.

C. 15. Be reylopyphrum. Fornal. 20

C. 16. Sax. Jurnal. 21.

C. 17. Sax. Be bem towe teore mio rceatte nimao. fornal. 22.

C. 18. Sax. Be hoprum. Fer. 22. C. 19. Sax. Be Seopman Se rul

ruppe æt optale. fornal. c. 24.

103. King Athelstan by his twentieth Law enacts, that "If any one absent C 20. Sax. "himself from Folemote thrice, he be punished as contumacious against the King, if Be Son Se "fo be that the Holding of the Assembly was declared a Seven-night before. In Semot pop-"fuch case if he refuse to doe right, and pays not his mulch to the King, the fire. for-"ancientest Men of the Countrey are to go and seize upon all he hath, and take 25. 6. 26. "fecurity for his appearance. If any one refuse to go with his Neighbours for "Execution of this Law, he is also to be punished as contumacious against the "King, when the Assembly is opened let it be proclaimed, that all enjoy Peace "whom the King will have to enjoy it, and that every one abstain from Theft "upon pain of loofing his Life and his Estate. And if afterward any one be guilty "of Theft, let the ancientest men of the Countrey ride thither, and seize on all "he hath, one half to the King, and another to their own use, and take security "for his appearance, in case no security can be had, let his Person be seized; " if he stubbornly make resistence, and siye not, he may be killed. If any one "concern himself for him, and kill a third Party, let the King and all that love "him fet themselves against such an one, and if any relieve him if he make his C. 21. Sax.

"escape, let him be fined the value of his own Head, except he make it out that Be &m &e "he knew not that he was a Fugitive, and then according to the value for Optoa-"he knew not that he was a rughive, and then according that if "any le Singae.

"of the Fugitive's Head. The twenty first gives order, that is "any le Singae.

"one would get off his punishment of Ordeal, if he be able to procure Par. Jon. c. 27.

"one would get off his punishment of Ordeal, the beauty has been able to procure Par. Jon. c. 27.

2.2. Sax. "don of the Party that received the Injury; but by no means that he escape the Be son "penalty inflicted by the Law. The twenty fecond confirmation of former Laws & opportunities, that "No man receive another" Man's man (as this Law words it) manner "into his Family without leave first obtained of his Master. He that doeth o-manunten-" therwise shall restore the Man, and pay the mulct of Contumacy against the reh's Jorn. "therwise shall restore the Man, and pay the thinks of Contamination of Trine, till \$28.529.
"King. And no man is to put away his men that are accused of any Crime, till \$28.529.
"King. And no man is to put away his men that are accused of any Crime, till \$28.529.
"King. And no man is to put away his men that are accused of any Crime, till \$28.529. "they have first made fartisfaction. By this it appears how ancient in this Nation, Neumoenthe Custome is of calling a Servant by the word used for the whole species, a thing opper manin use as well with the Romans, and others more ancient, as with modern ner man. 104. The twenty fourth concerning Traffick in Confirmation of former Laws C. 24. Sax.

ordains, that "If a man buy any thing with witness, which another man chal- Be Sam "lenges for his own, the Seller make it good, and secure the bargain, whether beyone "he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day let no market be held, under penalty hyczap. "of forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings besides. The next Join. c. 31. "Law as a terrour to fuch as shall forswear themselves commands, "That such I'y Tra Se-"being convicted shall not onely not bear Testimony for the time to come, as operpa "People to whom no faith is to be given, but be sorbidden also Christian burial, C. 2.5. Sax. "except the Bilhop of the Diocese will certify, that he had done all things, that Bemanrio-"were injoined him. Of this the Priest of the Place is within thirty days to give pum. forn.

"notice to the Bishop, or else to be punished as the ordinary shall think fit. The c. 32. " last of these Laws gives directions, that In case any of the King's Officers refuse C. 26. Sax"

Thane or

Sect. 12. "to put these his Ordinances into Execution, or be remis in his Administration, " he be punished as Contumacious against the King, who will put in another that " will be more carefull of his Duty. The receiving of the mulch he commits to

"the Bilhop of the Diocefe. If any one contemn these his Laws and Commands, " for the first offence he shall incur a penalty of five pounds, for the second the "value of his own Head, and if he offend the third time forfeit all the Estate he "hath, together with the Amity of the King and all his People. After this it follows, that these matters were fetled and determined in the great Assembly at Grea- Galle Sir tanleage, at which was present Archbishop Wulfhelme, together with all the Noble par Kerev

and Wisemen, that Ethelstan called together. 105. After these Laws follow others of this same King in the Saxon Edition to miclan Ty.

which Lithelftan prefaceth in this manner. "I Lithelftan King, make known to not av "all that I have diligently inquired the Caufe why our Peace hath not been fowell leave, &c. "kept as I defired, and was formerly enacted at Greatanleage, and from the most "knowing Persons in my Kingdom I received this Answer, that it happened by "reason of too much patience, and suffering Crimes to go unpunished. Moreo-"ver lately keeping Christmas at Exeter, and there attended by my Wisemen, I "found them all most ready to venture themselves, their Wives and Children, "to procure those Violatours of the Peace, to procure these Violatours of "the Peace, to be so driven out of the Kingdom, that they might never "return again into it, which if any of them should doe, he should be "punished as a Thief taken in the Fact. And in case any one cherish " or hold correspondence with any of them or their Servants, they should forfeit "both Life and Estate. For hence we believe it comes to pass, and for no other " reason that Oaths are so often violated, suretyship is so commonly broken, and "Pledges fignify so little as they do. Then follows a Law injoyning, that If any C. I. one entertained in his House another Man's Servant, which he has removed from his Beson of Family for his misdemeanour, and as one he cannot govern, such an one pay the full per monne value of the Servant's Head to his Master, and besides that a mulet of an hundred man unter and twenty shillings to the King. But in case the Master of any Servant unjustly af-rehit flift and abuse him, let him purge himself if he can of what is laid to his charge

in Folcmote, and then put himself into any other Family he pleaseth. For we gratiously grant, that if such an one prove himself just and honest, he may serve whom he pleaseth. And if any Reeve or Judge pass this over, or unwillingly transacts it so as his fault be evidently proved, let him be punished as contumacious against the King, and if for a reward he hath perverted Justice, let him both be punished as contumacious against the King, and be farther noted with Infamy as was said before; let a Thane so offending be punished in the like manner; and let the Reeve or Judge chuse out Men faithfull, and of Integrity the best he can light on within his Precinels, and make them Witnesses and Overseers of all Controversies. And according to the value of the thing of Controversie let the Oaths of honest men, without any picking or chusing of them be interposed. The second Law requires, that If one pur- Be con to sue any Cattel by their Footsteps, and find them in another Man's ground, the owner was the

of the ground (ball, if he can, trace their Footsteps to another Man's ground, if not roynixed the Footsteps of the Cattel in his Ground shall, when the owner comes to make out his right, be taken as much in evidence as a first Oath.

106. The next thing that follows relating to the Civil State, is the valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by the Laws, but never yet. The valuation to what particularly it amounted. First then faith the Text. The valuation of Be penum; of MensHeads. the King's Head according to the Common Law of the English, is thirty thousand

Of the Kings. Thrymfes, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being Of an Archive thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being thou of the Kingdom: the last fifteen belong to the Nation, the first to the Kindred. As Bishops of An Archbishop's or Earl's Werevild (as the Savane called in the Kindred). teen thousand Thrymses. A Bishop's and Ealdorman's Eight thousand. A General's of an Army or an High Marsball's four thousand Thrymses. The valuation of a Spiritual Thane or Priest, as also of a Temporal Thane two thousand Thrymses. That of a Countreyman (Ceorl) by the Danish Law is two Hundred fixty seven Thrymses. Of a Country. If a Welshman grow so rich as to maintain a Family, have Land and pay yearly

Rent to the King, he shall be valued at two Hundred and twenty shillings: if he poffels half an Hide of Land, at Eighty shillings. If he have no Land, yet if he be a Freeman, the value of his Head shall be seventy shillings. If a Ceorlor Coun-A wealthy Ceorl or Countreyman be so wealthy as to possess sive Hides of Land, in case he be killed the price or value of his Life shall be two thousand Thrymses. But if he come to have a Corslet,

an Helmet and a gilt Sword, though he have no Landlet him pass for a Sithcundman.

And if his Children or Grandchildren .grew fo rich as to possess five Hides of Land Sect. 12 let all their Posterity be reckoned as so many Sithcundmen, and be valued at two

The valuation thousand Thrymses. The Mercians value a Countreyman at two Hundred shillings. a of the Merci- Thane at twelve Hundred. They are wont to equal the fingle value of a King's

Head with fix thousand of Thanes, that is thirty thousand Sceats; for so much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more must be paid as a recom-pence for his death. The value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the Compensation of his death to the People. He that is valued at twelve Hundred shillings, his Oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six Countreymen. for were such an one slain, fix Countreymen would satisfy over and above for the value, therefore let the value of him and all them be the same, By the English Law the Oaths of a Priest and a Thane are of the like esteem, and in respect of the feven Church Offices, to which by God's Gift he is rifen, let his Place and Rank be equal

with that of a Thane.

Punithments

107. By these valuations of Heads from the highest to the lowest Rank, we may perceive, that in those ancient times punishments consisted rather in Mulcts than in Bloud, contrary to our present Custome, whereby small offences in comparison (especially if reiterated ) are become capital which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this Confideration that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reasons is not evident. The Wisedom of Legislatours is most seen in this, to ordain fuch Punishments, as by example and terrour may best prevent those Crimes against which their Laws are enacted, no other end or defign can be cal-

led properly theirs; this is that which vindicates their Pu-\* I caftighi fe non hanno per fine il dar Efempio fono furori enon Caftighi, Man-zini nell Furori, &c. p.91. nithments from the Imputation of Fury \* and Tyranny. And if less than Capital will doe it, as Men and Christians, they ought to be sparing of bloud, and as Politicians where the

Countrey hath not too many Inhabitants. Therefore flavery, rowing in Gallies and digging in Mines, most Nations anciently preferred before Capital Executions, as those which would more terrifie than death it self, especially high spirited Fellows, fuch as have fpent their Fortunes, and whom shame of begging provokes

to rob upon the High-ways. This was fo much practifed in the middle Ages, that the Law of the Boii tells us, that No offence is so great, but Life may be granted for the Fear of God. Amongst others the ancient Germans, and other Nor-

Nulla sit culpa tam gravis, ut vita non concedatur propeer eimorem Dei. Tit. 1.

thern People who afterward gave Laws to Europe, punished the greater fort of Crimes and Homicide amongst the rest with Fines or Mulcts. For the Germans, Lib.de mori-Tacitus witnesseth, who writes that Homicide was explated by a certain Number bus Germanoof Cattel, whereby all the House received satisfaction. For the Cimbri and Danes De bello Ritheven till the time of Christian the third, Crantzius produceth evidence. Our mar. Saxon Ancestours as well as others, as we have feen by some of their Laws, deprived Perfons of Liberty, and Mulc'ts generally they used, not commonly inflicting death upon Offenders, but where the value of the Head could not be paid, for the Murtherer was bound to pay the value not of his own Head but of him he had flain, and according to the Crime fometimes a double, treble, nay nine or eighteen values. Their Mulcts or Fines were either greater or leffer. The Grea-I wo forts of ter took away all or much of their fubstance, being the same with that which we

call the valuation of the Head by them called Were, which word originally fig-Weremulje, nifieth a Man, and this valuation or payment secondarily, and by way of Tranflation. The leffer fort of Mulc's they called Wite, which differed from Were both in this that it was less, as also in that it was uncertain, sometime more and fometime lefs, whereas the other was fetled and constant, at least for some time. The first answers to the word Redemption, or as it's now used in English, Ransome, and the last to Fine, and Amerciament properly.

108. But by this Valuation of the Head or Were, men were diffinguished into certain Classes or Ranks. Of these there were three, viz. The Lowest, the Middle and the Highest. The lowest consisted of such as were valued at two hundred Shillings, thence in Saxon called Twyhyndnemon, in Latin Vir Ducentenus. The tpyhynonemiddle were of fuch, whereof each was valued at fix hundred shillings, called Six- mon. hyndnemon and Vir Sexcentenus. The highest comprized those that were valued at juxhynonetwelve hundred shillings apiece, thence termed Twelfhyndnemon and Duodecies Central relighynds tenus. In like manner their Wives were termed Ceorliffa or Twyhynda, (for Ceorle nemon. and Twykyndmon were the same) as also Syxhynda and Twelshynda. Hence comes bynsane it to pass, that from these Classes, going by Hundreds, the word Hyndene is in- Societas

terpreted Lambardo.

Ante pax. Germ. Frid.

† Tit. 55. 9. 2.

Exed. 21. 30.

\* De Mirac. St. Martini. lib. 4.c.26.

Recipitque Satisfactionem universa de-

LL. Henr. I. c. 13. Qui legem aposta-bit Were sue sit reus prima vice; Si se-cundo secerit, reddat bis Weram suam;

qui tertio prasumat, perdat quicquia

mancy 7 in extremo fine Gram.

Cynezild.

Sceat nummum in genere significat ut

Belgis Schat Schot. in Borealibus etiam

Anglia partibus Shot adbuc usurpatur pro

potus, puta Cerevisia, pretio. Etiam Shor-

rcilling, phymra, runo.

Sect. 12 terpreted a Society of Men. According to the degrees of the valuation of Mens Heads, they were to purge themselves of Crimes by such and so many Compurga-According to tours. Herein he that was richer was thought more worthy of Credit, and his the degrees of Oath was the fooner taken, and therefore we reade that the Oath of a Thane was valuation their Oath was the fooner taken, and therefore we reade that the Oath of a Thane was Oaths were equivalent to the Oaths of fix Countreymen or Ceorles. As a Man's Value or his Wealth was more or less, so he might be a Purgatour for, or purge lesser or greater Crimes, and therefore do we hear so often of Purgation according to the rate of twelve Hides of Land or more or fewer. For there it's observable, from the late

mentioned Laws, that if a man-was flain, his Kindred fometime received the va-Magborewhat lue of his Head, which payment was called Magbore. In like manner were they mar cognibound on the other fide to pay the value of the Head of one flain by their Kiniman, tusprogeniu, in case he became not responsible, and that to the Kindred of the slain party, bore comin case he became not responsible, and that which in the Saxon Tongue they termed Cynegild and Cynebote, the same in signi- pension Cyne cop. fication as Mægbote, now mentioned.

109. Thus was the Offender variously punished both in himself and Kindred solution for the same Offence, which punishment was sometimes so heavy, that not able Satisfaction was made to to undergoe it, though Pecuniary, his life was taken for fatisfaction. Part of the Were or valuation the Kindred received, fo called as we have now faid; another Man famulus Servus Vaffallus.

To the Kin- part was paid to the Lord for the loss of his Vassal, which To the Lord, they called Manbote; and a third Mulct was paid to the To the King. King for the breach of his Peace, called Fridwile and Fridgild. This latter was in use with the ancient Franks, who termed it Fredus and Fredum, as appears both from Gregory \* Turonensis, and the Salick + Laws. As to the Cynegild or Mægbote, it appears also from Tacitus, that the whole Family received fatisfaction for a Kinfman flain. And the Custome might seem to be taken from Moses his Law, who saith, That in case a price of bloud be required of him that had killed a Man, he should give what soever was laid upon him. But

thus much concerning the valuation of Heads, called Weres, the payment whereof they termed Weregild, to which we shall onely add, that these valuations by called Were- King Ethelstan were very moderate, and that was the reason why many Weregilds were by after Laws put upon Offenders, fometimes two, fometimes three, and fometimes nine. Therefore in the Charter of Liberties to the City of London did Henry the first grant as a Privilege, that a Citizen should be but taxed or

The value of a Judged at one Were or an hundred Shillings, at which value he set a Londoner. And that in his days Weres also were moderate, appears from this, in that he ordained that whoso broke or fet at naught a Law, for the first Offence should pay his Were; for the second Offence double his Were, and in case he the third time offended, should forfeit all he had. This is certain,

that in the times of the English Norman Princes Weres and Weregilds were in fashion. They grew obsolete by degrees, but when utterly laid aside it is not certain. And the word Fredum (which was never in use with our Writers) grew also obsolete abroad after the Age of the Emperour Frederick the Second.

110. We have the History of the Valuation of Heads or Weres, but still shall we be in the dark if we know not the price, and that cannot be, except we something understand the value of these Thrymses, by which they are rated in Athellian's The value of Laws. That the word Thrym/a comes from the Saxon word Three, the same with our present Three is agreed, but in what respect it answered to Three is a little controverted. One was of opinion that it contained the third part of a German selden. shilling, answering to their Tremiss. Another thought it to contain three Pen-Sommer. nies; but most probable it is, that it contained Three Shillings English Saxon, with-Lambard. out any relation to German or Foreign Money, although the Mercians feem to have Libpa on leten if Punton en-

differed from the other English in its value. As for the other forts of Money; five Pennies in those days made a Shilling, glirc. rip peningar gemaciga 8 an-Saxon Money, and thirty Pennies made a Mancs (in Latin Mancusa) as ne relinge 7 XXX renega anne Ælfric tells us in his Saxon Grammar. Of those Pence two hundred and forty made a Pound, which confifted of forty eight of their Shillings; and then as Mr. Lambard ob-

ferved from some Silver Pence of King Ethelred, which he saw, two hundred and forty Pence equalled a pound in weight, that which feven hundred and twenty of ours now will not doe, although two hundred and twenty of our Pence also make

a Pound in value. The Word to express the most Money in those days was the Sceate or Scate, which according to Mr. Lambard contained a vast sum, to the value of five thousand Pounds of Silver. Some are of opinion that it fignified also a small piece of money to the value of an Halfpenny. Besides this Half-penny (if an Half-penny they had)

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Æthelstan.

they had also the Feorthing, Feorthling, or Farthing containing the fourth part of a Penny as we may suppose. In short, we are told, that these several sorts and fums of Money were in use amongst our English Saxon Anreon'sling, reneg, ore, reacta,

cestours, viz. Feorthling, Peneg, Ofe, Scat, Scilling, Thrymfa, and Pund. Concerning Ofe I have hitherto read nothing, but suppose Ore is meant, which was worth fixteen

pence. Fifteen Ores also in a Book seen by Sir H. Spelman, was put for a Pound. and from a Manuscript Register of the Abby of Burton in Leicestershire, he observed that the word Ora fignified the same as Uncia. From that time the value of it was reckoned for fixteen pence, and fometimes for twenty pence, whence proceeded the difference of having Ora for twenty pence so often in Doomsday Book.

111. To proceed with our Laws, all that we find of King Athelftan's in the Saxon Edition of Mr. Lambard we have already related, there are others, though not in the Saxon Language, to be seen in the Chronicon of John Bromton the Abbat of Fornal, of which also we must make mention, such especially as we judge most convenient to be known. The first Catalogue we meet with confists of nine feveral Laws, whereof the First shews how the Court of the Hundred ought to be kept, declaring, that to the number of four Abbats meet, and that Right be done to all men in that Court. The second appoints how a Thief is to be prosecuted from the Hundred to the Tithing. The third imposes upon him that shall rejet the Sentence or Judgment of the Hundred, so that it passeth against him the second time, for the sirly offence the sine of thirty Pence to the Hundred, for the second offence sixty Pence, whereof one half to the Hundred and the other half to the Lord." For the third offence the loss of all he hath, and be Banished, except the King otherwise dispense with him. The fourth confirms what had been said concerning stray Cattel, that no man should keep them without the knowledge and Testimony of an Hundred or Tything man, otherwise no benefit of Vouching should be allowed him. The fifth requires, That when one Hundred makes Hue and Cry, or pursues Cattel into another Hundred, this Hundred doe the like or forfeit thirty Shillings to the King. The fixth requires, That if any one decline the Law or make any escape, he that was the Procurer shall pay the value of the thing in question. The seventh again commands, That right and publick Justice be done in the Hundred, and in every other publick Meeting, and that a day be prefixed for every business, which whosoever transgresses, except hindred by the Command or Order of ones Lord, or by visible Instrmity Shall forfeit thirty Shillings, and yet be obliged to doe what he ought to have done at another appointed time. The \*eighth is very hard to be explained, and the Kernell not worth the labour of cracking the Nut. And the last is concerning Ordeal. of which in another place.

Oppa & blanhornum & de quibus sic Sommerus in Glossar. Locus mirê anigmaticus & meliori Oedipo relinquendus

112. After this follow certain Judgments, as they are termed, which Wisemen are faid to have ordained at Exeter by the Council of King Ethelftan, which were afterward confirmed both at Feversham a Town in Kent, and at Thundresfeld. Herein first are reinforced all the Laws formerly made at Greatley, except what concerned the Market of the City and the Lord's day. The rest contain severe Animadversions upon Thieves and such as receive them, viz. " Confinement into some place " of the Kingdom which the King shall chuse. Nay, if one that stole after the Assembly held at Thundresfeld iteal again, let he or she be what they will, they are condemned to death, together with fuch as harbour, or spare them if they meet them. And as to the manner of their death here are certain odd Circumstances. If she was a Free Woman that stole, she should be cast down from an high Cliff or Hill, or else drowned. If a Slave, he should be stoned by twenty of like condition; and in case any one's blow thrice failed he should " so many times be beaten. And when the Thief was dead, every one of these " Slaves or Servants should pay three Pence to his Lord. If the Thief was a She-

\* Pecoris ticimum & canis

Sect. 12." flave eighty Women of the like condition should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like condition should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions should each of them bring three conditions are flavored from the section of the like conditions are flavored from the section of the s " many Pence as the He-flaves were to do, or else be beaten. Another of these Laws forbids the receiving of another man's Servant, whom he cannot rule under pain of the forfeiture of an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, and the return and reparation of the Servant to be made besides. Another ordains, That a Lord shall not deny Hlafordsocna, or his Protection, Defence, or the like, to a Freeman, who (being a Vassal) does him right in all respects. The last decrees, That such Judge or Officer as breaks, or bath not sufficient regard to these Ordinances forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, be he Thane or any other kind of man.

113. These Judgments or Ordinances bear not the Name of the King himself, but of the Wisemen of Exeter, who devised them there by the King's Advice or Consent, whose allowance gave them the Power and force of Laws, and those were the Wisemen whom he mentions in the Preface of other Laws to have been with him at that City in Christmas Holydays. These were also confirmed at Feversham and at a place called Thundresseld. From these and other Passages it is evident, that in the days of this King Athelstan, the Wisemen, or knowing Perfons of particular Countries, Provinces and Cities, by the King's confent and allowance were wont to affemble and lay their Heads together, for the framing of fuch Ordinances as should be most convenient for the government of their particular Countries, and fecurity of their Estates, and for the receiving what was en-Wife men applied by the acted at the General Affembly of the Estates for the whole Kingdom; as in matking to ma- ters Ecclefiastical the Decrees of General Councils were wont to be received, or (as the Word was) confirmed in particular Synods, although of sufficient authority in themselves. And where in the particular Shires or Provinces such knowing men might be wanting, or for other reasons the King sometimes sent down certain from himself to consult with the Bodies of the Shires and Cities as well Noble, as Ignoble, and to convey to them fuch Ordinances or Laws as were thought most fitting for them. A notable acknowledgement hereof we have of the County of Kent in an Address made to the King, wherein with much Humility and thankfulness they make mention of certain Laws he had sent them; and testifie their acceptance of them. This because of the Rarity of the thing, and for that it makes very much for the knowledge of the Mode of Address of that Age, and illustrates the Polity or manner of the English Saxon Government, as well as confers to the farther knowledge of their Laws, we shall as well as we can translate from the difficult Latin of the Abbat Bromton.

The form of a Thanes, Counts, and Countreymen, give thanks to you their

114. Most dear, your Bishops of Kent with all Kentshire, Karissime, Episcopi eui de Kem, & omnis Kentescire, Thayni, Comites & Vil-lani eibi domino dilectissimo suo gratisi most beloved Lord, for that you were pleased to give us oragunt quod nobis de pare nostra praci-pere, &c. ders concerning our Peace, and inquire and consult concerning

our Advantage in a matter of such consequence to us both Rich and Poor. And this we have faln upon with all the diligence we could, by the advice of those Wisemen, whom you sent to us. And, most Dear Lord, the First is concerning our Tithe, to the which we are very desirous and ready to conform our selves, giving you most humble thanks for your Admonition. The second is concerning our Peace, which all your People destres may be observed as your Wisemen propounded at Greatley, and as now is appointed in the Council held at Fefresham. The third is, that all are very thankfull for the grace you were pleased to bestow on guilty Persons, in that all Forfeitures are pardoned, for such Thefts as were committed before the Assembly held at Fesresham, on condition that they commit no offence hereafter, and confess all their Robberies and satisfie your Majesty. The fourth, that

none receive another Man's Servant without his leave, to whom he formerly \* belonged, neither within nor without the Limits. As also that a Lord deny not a Freeman his Hlafordsocna, that is, his Defence or Protection, in case he have been faithfull to him. The fifth thing is, that he that acts contrary to this is worthy of those punishments which are prescribed in the Instrument of Peace drawn up at Greatley. The fixth, that if so be a man be so Rich, and of such Alliance that he cannot be chastized, and will not cease to commit his former Outrages, that you will cause him to be taken away and removed into some

other quarter of your Kingdom, as it is said in the Western Parts, let him be what he will Alderman (or Count) or Countreyman. The seventh, that every one hold all his men in his own Warranty against all Theft. If any there be that hath so ma-

\* Cui prius folgavit nec intra Marcam nec extra. Folgare est tradere se alicia in Clientelam, servire, sequi, sectari, in olim solebant ii qui Anglu dicebantur Reteiners. Saxonice polytan unde nostrum hodiernum to follow, g (ut sape) in u vel w mutato. Hinceriam Folgarius, pro Cliente sectatore, a Reteiner. Marca proprie signum est ve-

terioris limitis à Saxon. Meanc hodie

CHAP. II. Contemp, with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Stending.

ny men that he cannot keep them all, let him appoint an Overseer in every of his Vil-Sect. 12. lages, whom he can trust, and who will trust his men. And in case this Overseer dare not trust some of his men, let these men sind out twelve Persons of their Kin-dred who will be security for them. And in case the Lord or Overseer, or any other infringe this Ordinance, or depart from hence, let him be thought worthy of what was agreed on at Greatley, except any other kind of Justice better please the King. The eighth is, that what you said concerning the working of Shield's contenteth all. Our Lord we befeech you of your mercifulness, that if we have in this matter either exceeded or been defective, you will order it to be amended, as you your self shall think convenient. And we are devoutly prepared for all things which you shall please to command us, and which any way lie in our power to perform.

115. Next after this follow some other Articles, which are said to have been

devised by the Bishops and Officers belonging to the Court of London, by them published, and confirmed by the Oaths of the Ealdormen (or Counts, he terms them Comites) and Countreymen, or the ordinary fort of men in their Fridgild, Affociation, or Publick Meeting, with the addition of those Laws or Judgments which were first ordained at Greatley, and afterward confirmed at Exeter and Theft made Thundresfeld. All these Articles now agreed on tend to the prevention of Theft by the punishment of Thieves and such as harbour or protect them. Theft is now confirmed to be Capital, and not onely Affociations are allowed and incouraged but also the raising of publick stocks for defraying the Charges of prosecution, and the Incouragement of fuch as should shew themselves industrious in that behalf. We cannot but here fuggest to the Reader what Remark he ought to make of these times, how the Crime of stealing, which generally indeed is taken notice most of in all the Saxon Laws, and most caretaken for the prevention of it, grew more common than ever in the days of Athelftan; the English having, as Ingulphus observes, in the days of Alfred imitated the Example of the Danes, and because they thought the blame would still be laid upon the Danes given themselves to Robbing: For by the strength and sharpness of the Remedy we may judge of the violence of the Difease. But formerly a Wite or Were, a Fine or value of the Exemplo name Head would serve for the Punishment, now nothing but death it self, to be in-que Danorumflicted both on the Malefactours themselves, and those that abetted, received, or am guidan would not kill them if they met them. And whereas Gilds, Associations, or So-indigenarum cieties were in use among Free People, whereby the Company in general was re-latrociniis ao sponsible for each number in particular; the like for prevention of Thest must be condere capeerected even amongst Servants and Slaves of both Sexes, they being both con-rant. demned to execute one another by the cruel Deaths of stoning and burning, and also to pay Money, as it were a Fine to the endamaged Party, as if bound to be Sureties for one another. We see what a necessity of shewing an Example and Prevention can make lawfull as to punishments; and may hence take an account of the feverity of our modern Customs in particular Towns, and of the Publick Laws against These and Robbing. If we in England be more severe against Thieves than in other Countries, and make smaller Offences Capital, it is because our Legislatours faw the great proneness of the Natives to this Crime, and in their Judgments this way of punishment seemed more terrible than any other, (and perhaps more than later Ages have found it) and consequently the best way for prevention. Yet cannot I fee why, of those two ill qualities which are ascribed to Islanders, from the condition of their Habitation, inclination to Theft should be as proper and Connatural as Inconfrancy.

Edmund the

116. The next Legislatour after Libelftan was King Edmund his Brother and immediate Successour both in the Kingdom and in the practice of making Laws. We are told that in the folemn Feast of Easter (but not in what year) he held a great Council at London, as well of Ecclefiafticks as Seculars, where was prefent Oda and Wulftan the Archbishops with many other Bishops to consult for the good of their own Souls, and of those that were under their care and Government. At this Council were enacted several Laws, which being fix in number are of Ecclesiastical Concernment, and amongst such matters must be remembred. These are found both in the Saxon Copy published by Lambard, and in the Latin of Bromton; but in Bromton's Book follow seven others of Civil Concernment, said to have been made by the King, his Bilhops, and Wifemen at Culinton, which are not extant in the Saxon Edition. The first of these requires an Oath of Fidelity to King Edmund to be taken by all, in like manner as a Man ought to be faithfull to his Lord without all controversie or sedition both in publick and in private, in loving what he shall love, and rejecting what he shall rejest, and before the Oath be given, that no man conceal this matter no more in his Brother or

C. 2. Sax. Be Son Se mon oben-

C. 3. Sax. Be pyhopice 7 man-

C. 5. Saxon. Dæncunge Sam Se

Syrje ryrtap. C. V. Apud

C. 6. Saxon. Be munobpyce J

ne on Cypicean gerece. Obbe on

Mine buph.

bore. Fornal. c. 111. 4. Saxonic. Be blobgeore.

C. IV. Apud Jornal.

Sect. 12. Neighbour than in a Stranger. The second concerning apprehension of Thieves, enjoyns, That if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the Twelfhindi and Twifhindi unite together and take him either alive or dead. In case any one take up Mortal Feud against any one of them for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the Enemy of the King and all his Friends. And if any refuse to assist in the apprehension, he shall forfeit to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, and to the Hundred, thirty Shillings. The third, as several before, forbids the receiving of another man's Servant that hath injured any man till he have done the injured party right, on pain of making amends himself. The fourth enjoyns, That if several Thieves do steal, the Eldelt of them be taken and killed or hanged, and each of the rest beaten thrice, Racked. and for an Example have his Little Finger cut off. The fifth forbids the buying or receiving of Strange Cattel, without the Testimony of the Chief Officer, Priest, the Ordeale or the Portreeve. The fixth injoyns the profecution or fearch of Cattel from place to place. He with whom they are found shall restore the Beast and pay to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, which fine he shall also incur that refists and refuseth to doe right. The seventh and last requires, That every person make his Servants and all that live in his Peace and his Lands to be trufted. That all such as have ill Names and be loaded with Accusations have security given for them. And what soever Officer, Thane, Alderman, or Countreyman he be that refuseth to doe accordingly shall forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings, and farther, be thought worthy of such punishments as have been before mentioned.

117. After these follow seven other Laws of King Edmund, which are sound both in the Copies of Bromton and of Lambard. Before them we find a Preface wherein the King fignifies to all his Subjects, both old and young, that he had most studiously inquired in a solemn Assembly both of Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, by what means Christian Faith might best be propagated. And that it seemed most convenient to them all that he should cherish and procure love and mutual friendship through all his Dominions. For they were much troubled at the unjust Contentions that were among them, and therefore he and they did ordain. First, C. I. Saxon. That if hereafter one man kill another, that he alone take up Deadly Feud or Enmity Be manylihwith the Kindred of the slain, unless within twelve Months, by the assistance of his own ce. Apud Kindred, he pay the Weregild or value of the slain man's Head, of what condition so-c. I. ever he was. In case his Kinsfolks for ake him, and will pay nothing for him, he alone shall bear the Quarrel, and they shall not be taken for Enemies. But they in the mean time shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, which if they doe or have, they shall forfeit all they have to the King, and he that first forfook his Kinsman shall be taken as an Enemy by the Kindred of the Slain, and bear deadly Feud against them. And if any shall revenge himself upon or prosecute any other of the Kindred

beside the Killer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him. The second denounces, That if a man flie to a Church or the King's \* Town, and there any one set upon him or doe him any Cyninger bunh 7 Apud fornal. harm he shall be punished in the same manner. By the third the King expresly forbids that any Fyhtwite or Manbote, that is, any fine for Fighting or Killing be remitted. By the fourth he openly fignifies, that his House shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed bloud, except he have first made satissaction to God and the Kindred of the Slain, and have done what soever was enjoyned him by the Bishop in whose Diocese the Fact was committed. By the fifth he gives hearty thanks to God and them all who had assisted him in making this Law of Peace for the restraining of Thieves, and he trusts that they will be the more ready for the time to come to assist him by how much more necessary they see the Law is to be observed. The fixth hamrocne. C. VI. Apud Jornal. injoyns, That he that breaks the Peace, and fets upon a man in his own House, forfeit all he hath, and his life be at the

118. The Seventh and last of these Laws is concerning Emitties or deadly Feuds, declaring that it's the duty of Wisemen to Suppress them, and prescribing the way after this manner. First, as the Law is, everywhere a Mediatour is to be Jent be- C. 7. Saxon. fore to the Kindred of the flain man, who is to figuifie to them that he that killed Be while him will make satisfaction, then into the Hands of this Mediatour the Manslayer is to CVIII. open to chair action, then into the Hands of this Mediatour the Manslayer is to chain to the Hands of this Mediatour the Manslayer is to chair the same that the be delivered, that be may quietly appear and give Caution for the payment of the va-jornal. lue of the dead man's Head; which as soon as he hath done, the King's Peace is to be

made betwint them. One and twenty days ended let him pay Halsfage, (as the Abbat Sect. 12. Bromton hath it) or as the Saxon Text Healsfange, that is (as Mr. Lambard rightly interprets it, that which was paid in way of Commutation for the punishment of tying by the Neck to the King or Lord. Within one and twenty days after (or Nights as the Text hath it) let him pay Maubot or Money for the Servants death due to the Lord, as we have formerly explain'd it; and within one and twenty more the Weregild or value of the flain Parties Head, as Bromton hath it, or, rather as the Saxon Text, the first portion of the Payment. Sær reper 7 rpumgils rpum As for these Capital Enmities or Deadly Feuds the Reader autem significat principium, originem, must understand they were ordinary among the Germans 316 ut antea. and Barbarous Northern Nations, who ordinarily maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Fewds as it were Patrimonial and Hereditary. So Tacitus writes concerning the Germans. that they were constrained to take up the Quarrels and Friendships of their Fathers and Kinsmen. There was necessity of Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris seu propinqui, quam amicitias necesse est. it, Murthers and Homicides not being censured by the Sentence of the Judge, but, as one expresseth, by the hands and Vide Lambardi Glossar. in voc. Capitafury of the Kindred of the flain, who in punishing used Spelman, in voc. Faida. their own Methods and Measures as they listed. The custome as the Northern People used in their own Countries when transplanted into more Southern Soils they would not leave off no more than several others, no not when their Principles should have been bettered by Christianity. But whatever Princes or Laws could doe, those Enmities they still maintained, fo that Legislatours by degrees could scarcely get ground upon them, not daring to forbid the whole business, but regulating it as we see King Edmund doth by these two Laws, in the one prescribing the manner of carrying on these Deadly Quarrels, in the other the method of compounding them. Amongst the Salique

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Edmund.

Laws also, those of the Lombards, Franks, and other Obsolete Constitutions, as well as in the Capitula of Charles and Ludovic, are there many Laws concerning this Subject. The Capitulary of Charles the Great calls this Enmity Faida, in German it's Fhede and Feido, which feem to be derived from no other than the Saxon rah, now in English Foe, otherwise an Enemy. Our Saxon Ancestours termed it reth from the same Original, and hence we may well derive the present word Fewd,

and give these the Name of Deadly Fewds. Mr. Lambard was of opinion that to these Deadly Fewds succeeded that Action in Law granted to the next akin to the Party flain, called Appeal de mort. But the cruel Custome of the Fewds themfelves continued till the Norman times and longer, as appears by that \* Law of King Edward the Confessour, revised and confirmed both by William the Conquerour, and by Henry the fecond, as Hoveden tells us.

\*C. 12. Parentibus oc-

A Sax. pah & habe, junioribus

hode & hood, Germ. heyd, heit,

hat, quod in vocum terminatione ut

suprà monuimus conditionem vel qua-

litatem denotat.

natis more Francorum) fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum portetur. Unde Anglice proverbium habetur. Byhe rpeane or rite o de bæn. i. e. Eme lanceam à latere aut fer.

119. Besides these Laws before mentioned, there is a certain Constitution ascribed to this fame King Edmund, by Bromton, concerning the manner and Rites of The manner Marriage. The fame was found by Sir Henry Spelman, in Saxon, in a Book belonging to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, joyned to the Laws of King Alfred, but in the Margent is noted, by some observer, that the same constitution was found amongst the Laws of King Edmund, as Bromton the Abbat of Jerval hath it. The Tenour of it is thus. 1. If one purpose to marry a Virgin or a Woman ( a Widow Bromton bath it ) she and her friends consenting, the Bridegroom both by the Law of God and Man ought to give caution for the fulfilling of what Covenants made before, as also that his purpose is, and his defire to have her as a Wife, according to the law of God, and no otherwise, and for this his friends must also ingage. 2. The second thing must be to take care of their maintenance, and it must be known who shall maintain them, and for this, both the Bridegroom and his friends must in-

Spelman. Concil. p. 425,

bii man mæben resbian rceal. 7 hpylce ronepance banaxhon co beon 7 Jornal, in leg. Edmundi & Whelocus in Editione nova legum Lambardi Saxonic. p. 60.

Saxonicam autem versionem interpretati sumus secundum quod monuit Somnerus, in lib. de Gavelkind. c. 3. Constitutionem enim hanc a Spelmanno Editam erratis varin inquinaçam observavit.

(c) Dotem pégrilv & wyolka vocant an-tidotem vero ut ita dicamus, avriçég-var, Edvoy & SwoCodov.

Sect. 12 gage. 3. Then after that, let the \* Bridegroom declare what he will give his Bride, besides that which she formerly made. Zuma azymon curare, unde fine choice of with his good liking in case she overlive him. 4. In case they so agree, it's fit she have the one half of all his c.sse they so agree, it's fit she have the one half of all his fi self. Sponsin est sponsin families Estate, and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole and server die Napharum. The Estate till such time as she marry again. 5. What the Bridegroom bath promised, let him consirm by giving caution, let him carefully observe it, and his friends engage on his behalf.

6. If they be now agreed on all things, let the Kindred of the Bride contract her to him as a Wife, and ingage for her honesty, and then let castion be given for celebration of the Marriage. 7. If afterwards her Husband carry her out of the Territory of the Thane or Baron where she was bred, into the District of another Thane, let caution be given to her friends that she shall receive injury from no Man. And in case she her self doe any ill thing, let her friends be ready to make satisfaction to her Husband, if she have not wherewith to doe it. 8. At the bestowing of her in Marriage a Priest must be present, who of right, with the Bleffing of God, shall promote their Conjunction to the attainment of all Felicity. 9. Lastly, There must be good heed and assurance had, that there be no Impediment of Consanguinity betwixt them, lest afterward they be justly separated, who were

unjustly joyned together. The form of

120. To the fourth Article of this Constitution, Sr. Henry Spelman, in the Prise desain-Margent fets this Note; The ancient form of Endowing, as hinting that it was the mis formula. Custome amongst the English Saxon; ; for the Wife that overlived her Husband, to have half his Estate, and in case she had a Child by him, the whole till such time as the Marry another Husband. Accordingly he Interprets the Saxon words, 515 her 17a Quad figuidem eveniat; If it so come to pass, viz. that she overlive him. But Expenses Quoa jiquiaem eveniai; 1) if jo come is justified in this Edition of Sr. Henry, Inter-bly.

Mr. Sommer who hath discovered other faults in this Edition of Sr. Henry, Inter-The Antiquity prets the words, fi fic conveniet, viz. If they fo agree; the King thinks it just that of Garethins. the have the half if the outlive her Husband, Sc. This Endowing, being that C 34.7%. which they call Dotarium or Donarium, according to this best Interpretation of the words, was not then necessary, or by compulsion, but to as was thought fit, if it was so agreed before the Marriage: but whereas Mr. Somner in his Glossary, thinks it the same with the maintenance mentioned in the Second Article, by our Saxon Ancestours (as in that Article) termed Fosterlean, A Saxon. porten i. e. villus, cihis own Interpretation of the other words feems to conbaria unde hodiernum nostrum to

fute him. For that maintenance or Fosterlean hath rela-Foster nutrire, & lean exhibere. tion to their joynt condition during Marriage, or as now we say, whilst under coverture, the victus as they interpret it, after which follows, who shall maintain them? The one being necessary, but the other uncertain, and according as he himself will have it, to agreement. Besides this Endowing this Dotalitium or Donarium, there In leg. Canuti. c. 71.

was that which our Saxon Ancestours called Morgangise, the Lombards Morgangap, the Burgundians, Alamans, and others Morgengeba, and some Morgingab, so called (for all these amount to one) because it was a gift bestowed by the Bridegroom on the Bride, that morning they were to be Married. Yet doth \* Lib. 9. c. 10. Hift. Tam in date quanter to the Bride as an effection mark of the Bride as an effective mark of the Bride as an effection mark of the Bride as an effective ma

to the Bride, as an especial mark of the Bridegroom's fayour. Some think it to correspond or have some affinity with the English Cuflome of Endowing or Enfeoffing at the Church Door, as they term it. Whereby Ad of them Es the Bridegroom, when in the morning he is about to enter the Church to be Mar. elgan ried, makes a present, as it were, to his Bride of some piece of Land.

121. But these Gifts and Endowings are quite contrary to the Laws and Cufloms of the Romans, with whom, Dos, properly fignifieth that Portion which the Husband receiveth with his Wife. They were not wont to give their Wives any thing back, and therefore have no proper word whereby to express such a Gift ( Donations betwixt Man and Wife being carefully in their Laws forbidden )

which we in English call Dower, answering properly to Dotarium Donarium, (a) and the like. Tacitus admires the thing it felf, amongst the Germans expressing it thus. The (b) Wife brings no Portion (Dotem) to the Husband, but the Husband (Dower) to the Wife. Yet the Greeks most

(a) Vocatur etiam Doarium Dedariu

Mongan gire matutinum donum

fic etiam Germanice Morgin signif-

cat mane & Gab donatio.

(b) Dotem non uxor marito, fed as

anciently

\* Buioguma a bpyde fponia co dicimus corrupte pro Bridegume, qua-

anciently as they had (c) words to express both Portion and Dower, were wont thus also to provide for their Wives. Homer feigns Vulcan, to have endowed Venus, and to have demanded back the Dower after that the was taken in Adultery with Mars; and Bride's Groom, ita popellus fibi im-

How much

in like manner, Claudian feigns the same thing to have been done by Pluto to Proserpina. For the Galls, Cafar testifies that the Husband was wont to return Lib. 6. de belthe value of what he received in Portion with his Wife. Strabo writes of the lo Gallico. Cantabrians in Spain, that they also Endowed their Wives, and left their Daughters their Heirs, which thing he diflikes, as giving Women power over Men. To be sure the Teutonick and Northern Nations, practifed this course, as is evident

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Edmund.

from Gregory of Tours, concerning the Franks in Gall, and concerning the Goths, Hift. 1.9 .c. 20. Saxons and Lombards, their feveral Laws. In some places half the Lands, and Vid Spelman. fome a third part went in Dower, and in others Money. In other places it was Gloffar. in voc. left to the discretion of the Man to give what he pleased. The English and Scots Doarium. have in later Ages, after the Fashion of the Sicilians, alotted the third Part;

though Kent and some Boroughs, one half part, as also some Towns in France. But this Custome hath farther to plead for it, that it had the Hebrews also for its practifers, as appears from that place which faith, a Man shall Endow a Woman, Exod. 20. 16. and take her for his Wife. And Sichem being begging to Marry Dina, bids them ask Gen. 34. 12.

what Dower they would, and he would grant it.

122. So much is fit to be pleaded for our Custome, and in favour of the other Sex against the Romans, who yet were so just, as when they put away their Wives, bid them take what they brought along with them; which words were Suas shi yes used expressly, to signific a Divorce. Our English Saxon Ancestours were both hoters sufcarefull for the main Chance, not to have nothing with their Wives, because ferunt. meat cannot be bought in the Market without Money, and yet were both fo just and kind as to provide for their Wives by way of Dowry when they Married, that they might be able to Live when they were Dead, and were content to be bound up for performance, and not to be left to their own difcretions what they would doe after Marriage, or at their Deaths. By King Edmund's Constitutions we have seen their care on one side, and that they were ment given to not heedless on the other appears by an ancient Saxon Monument, or a Tripartite Writing, concerning a Marriage made in the Days of King Cnute, which

here for Illustration of this Subject we shall Exemplify as we have it published by Mr. Sumner. Here appeareth in this Writing the Agreement that Godwin made with Byrhthis Writing the Agreement that Godwin made with Byrhtric when he Woed his Daughter. That is, first he gives ad Traciat, de Gaveikind Scriptuher one pound weight of Gold on condition that she stand to ra 17. p. 196. the Agreement, and he giveth her these Lands at Strete,

with all that thereto appertaineth, and in Burware Marsh one hundred and fifty Acres; withall, thirty Oxen, twenty Cows, ten Horses, and ten Theowmen or Bondmen. This was agreed at Kingston before King Cnute, in the presence of Living the Archbishop, as also in the Covents at Christ Church, of Alfmere the Abbat, the Covents at St. Augustin's; of Æthelwin the Sheriff, Sired the Elder, Godwin, Wulfey's Son; Eadmer at Burham; Godwine, Wulftan's Son; and Charles, the King's Servant. And when this Maid was fetch'd to Brightling, then went off all these for Sureties, Algar, the Son of Sired; Frerth, Priest of Folciton; Leofwine, Priest of Dover; Wulfey a Priest; Eadred the Son of Eadelm;

Leofwine, the Son of Warelm; Cenwold Ruft; Leofwine, Godwin's Son at Horton ; Leofwine the Red ; Godwine the Son of Eadgife, and Leofsun his Brother. And which of them longest liveth shall have all the Possessions, aswell that Land which I give them, as every thing. This thing is known to all \* Doughty, or Valiant Men in Kent; and in Sussex both

Thanes and Churles, or Countreymen. And this Writing bohung man on Kant, Oc. is Tripartite, one is at Christ Church, a second at St. Augustin's, and the third hath Byrhtric himself. See here the manner of Marriage.

and fettling matters thereto belonging in those ancient Times. And take notice by this Justrument, as also all along by the Laws how cautious they were in all respects, scarcely transacting any thing but by the Intervention of Suretyship. 123. To return, The next Legislatour after Edmund, was King Edgar his Son,

who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLIX. and ended it in the year DCCCCLXXV. He amongst many Laws and Canons of Ecclesiastical Concernment, published also some which respected the Civil State of his Kingdom; or, as he terms it, to the People, to be observed by them, whereof this is

hen spucelah on byran geppice

\* Đirra þinga ir gecnæpe æld

Sect. 12 the first, whereby He enjoyns, that " Every Man, Poor or Rich, enjoy the C. 1. Same benefit of the Law, and have Justice done him. And for Punishments, he Peopul-" would have them fo moderated, that thereby, being accommodated to Divine cunb ge-Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto Men. The fecond forbids pasnyffe. Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto ruen. The record to tolerable Appeals to the King in Suits, except Juffice cannot otherwife be obtained. If grand, a Man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the King for relief. And in C. 2. Sax. " case a pecuniary Mulch be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the va Be conne " lue of the Man's Head. The third imposes a Mulct upon a Judge that pass of mon " fes an unjust Sentence against any Man, of an hundred and twenty shillings cyng se to the King, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of rece. The "to the King, except fuch Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of the myric, any malice, but onely it happened by errour and unskilfulness: in such case for myric, any malice, but onely it happened by errour hand became forces of the King. 6.7, adding "let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the King and Jon. "to keep it: and let the Bishop of the Diocese convey the Mulet that is C. 3. Sax. " imposed upon him to the King's Treasury. The fourth ordains, that Whoso Be unpub-" ever malitiously defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage ei tum tome. ever maintionity defames another trian, whether Person can wipe off those Re. 6.8. apud. ther in his Body or Estate, in case the defamed Person can wipe off those Re. 6.8. apud. formal, ports, and prove them false, the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or C. 4. Sax. the shall redeem it with the value of his Head. The sist is that which we be son to be present at the Ge. " have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be present at the Ge-mon open-" mote or Assembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burhgemote or Assem- ne roppe-" bly of the Towns or Cities be heldthrice ayear; and the Shiregemote or Meet- 5ab. c. 9. a. "ing of the County twice; whereat are to be present the Bishop and the pud Yound. "ing of the County twice; whereat are to be pretent the bunop and the pina Jamal.

"Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. C. 5. Sax.

"Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. C. 5. Sax.

"The fixth requires, that Every Man find furcties for his just behaviour. In case the fixth requires, that Every Man find furcties for his just behaviour. In case the fixth of the fixth requires and be raken within a poul Jamal. "have been laid upon him. If fo be he stole any thing and be taken within a C. 6. Sax. "twelvemonth, let him be brought to Juftice, and then let them receive back Be bon-" what they had forfeited on his behalf. The feventh orders, When any one zum.c. 11. "being of evil report and again accused of some crime, absents himself from the agual Jornal being of evil report and again accurate or former time, about 5 and 1.7. Sax. Genotes or Publick Meeting, some of the Court to go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; if they cannot get Be cyhoby-them and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; if they cannot get them, let them take him alive or dead, and feize on all his Estate, whereof apud Jarnal. "the complaining Party having had fuch share as may satisfie him, let the one " half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the "Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stran-" ger to his Bloud, refuse to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an " hundred and twenty shillings to the King. Farther, let not such as are taken

> " the Measure of Winchester be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weigh of cum 15e " Wool be fold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more. 124. The next Legislatour after Edgar was King Ethelred, his Younger Son, 3 and who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCLXXIX. and ended it in Tornal. the year MXVI. Brompton the Abbat of Jornal presents us with four several Bodies of Laws of this King, made at feveral times, and in divers places, whereof there is onely two extant among the Saxon Laws, published by Lambard. The Laws comprized in the first Body are fix, and faid to have been made at Woodstock in Mercia, according to the Laws of the English, in a Council of At pube Wifemen, held there by King Ethelred for the Promotion of Peace. The first of recce on whemen, neighbor the fixth of King Edgar, requires, that "Every Free-man have his opposite trufty Sureties, who shall be bound for him, that he shall be ready to doe every find and extended and made infamous C. I. Sax. "Man right in case he be questioned. If one be often accused and made infamous C. I. Sax." " let him undergoe the ferutiny of threefold Ordeal. But in case such an one's Be bop-"Lord contend, and affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor been gum. c. La. " cast by the Jugement of Ordeal after the Council held at Bromdune, let pud Jornal. " his Lord call to him out of that Hundred one or two Thanes, who together " with him shall confirm by Oath that this Servant neither ever forswore " himself, nor paid never any thing upon the account of Thest, except he have

" fome Officer, who (according to his Right) may doe it without Swearing.

" In case they made Oath let the Accused Party chuse whether he will under-

" goe the tryal of fingle Ordeal, or make an Oath in three feveral Hundreds,

" which shall answer to one pound and thirty pence in equal proportion. But " in case they refuse to swear, let the Accused undergoe the tryal of threefold

" rent throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man must refuse. That Be myne-

" in the manner of stealing or betraying their Masters obtain pardon of their "Lives. The eighth and last ordains, that One and the same Money be cur- C. 8. Sax.

"Ordeal: and if so be that he appears a Condemned Man, let him restore " twofold to the Complainant, and pay the value of his Head to the Lord, " and find Sureties for his good behaviour for the time to come. If he offend " the fecond time, let it cost him his Life. In case he refuse to be Tryed by " the Ordeal, and fly for it, his Sureties shall pay the just value of the thing " to the Injured Party, and to his Lord the value of his Head, if he have fo " carried himself as to be worthy of it. But if it be objected against his Lord, " that after the Fact, committed by his advice and affillence, his Servant fled " away, he shall take to him five Thanes, and thereof purge himself; which " if he doe, he hath shewn himself to be worthy of the Were, if he doe not " the King shall have the Were or value of the Head, and the Thief shall be made incapable of any benefit of the Law. The Lord shall answer for his " whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every person in it. And " if any of his Servants being accused, run away, his Master shall pay his " Man's Were to the King. And if the Master be Accused as the Advizer to " the escape, he shall purge himself by the assistance of five Thanes. If he doe " it not, he shall pay to the King his Were; and his Man shall be an Out-

125. The fecond "Appropriates the mulct which is laid upon any Man C. 2. San, " that possesseth Bockland, for any fault by him committed, to the King; and c. 2. apud " forbids any compensation to be made for any Accusation, but in presence or Yound. " the King's Reeve or Officer. The third ordains, that A Bond-man being C. 3. Sex. " Cast by the Ordeal, be marked with an hot Iron for the first offence; and Be Seopbeing Calt the fecond time in the fame manner, by all means to be put to me Sepul Death; which Law bears forme refemblance to our prefent Law or Cuf 'lyn're. c.; tome, where Clergy is allowed for the first crime committed. The fourth C. 4 Sax.

Forbids all Buying and Chaffering without Suretyfing and Witness. If it hap Be & 500 % or Sepul Committed the surety of the Soil is to hove the thing in his orbital. pen otherwise, the Lord of the Soil is to have the thing in his custody till mon ne cefuch time as it appear to whom of Right it belongs. By the fifth, The appeluron flich time as it appear to whom or night a belongs. By the little specified King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour Epitemers, of fuch as are of ill fame amongst all Men, which if flich an one do nor \$\frac{4}{2} \cdot + apid give he is to be put to Death, and Buried in a profane place with Maleiac-Conditions. And if any make resistence in his behalf, he is to undergoe the same \$\frac{4}{2} \cdot \frac{5}{2} \cdot S \text{ Say.} \$\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1} punishment. The fixth, after Brompton, but which hath neither Title nor men & e-Number in the Saxon, concludes it thus. "And whosoever neglects or doth allumpole " not promote what we have ordained, according to the Sentence and Judgment ungerpipe of us all, shall forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. 126. The next Body of Laws made by King Ethelred, as Brompton ranks Pud Jornal.

them, are faid to have been made at Venetyng, or Wanating, now Wantage in Berkshire, the Birth place of the glorious King Alfred. They are thirty in number, and were made by King Ethelred and his Wilemen for the encrease of Peace and Felicity. The first of them is concerning the Keeping of the King's Peace as it was in the days of his Predecessours, and for the punishment of the Breach of it, as that in a Gemote of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds, in one Borough by seven hundred (shillings are meant) in a Wapentack by one hundred; and in an Ale-house if a man be killed, with six half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve Ores. Hence (but especially from the Laws of Ina) we Ale and Ale- may observe how ancient the Liquour of Ale, and Houses designed to the sale hories among that of the have been in England; how ancient also Quarreling and the English and drinking of it have been in England; how ancient also Quarreling and the English and drinking of the Peace in such places. But much more ancient have all these breaking of the Peace in such places. But much more ancient have all these been than the continuance of the English Saxons in this Countrey; they were too much in fashion with these Northern Nations in those Days of Tacitus, as appears from what he writes of the Germans; fo that what Mr. Cambden writes in his Annals, of Drunkenness being first brought into this Countrey by the Souldiers that ferved in the Low Countries under the Earl of Leicester, and that then Laws were first made against this Vice, is to be understood with an exception of this Antiquity; for when the English Saxons came first into the Island, they brought Drunkenness along with them out of the Chersonesus of Germany. For of the ancient Germans Tacitus reports, that "To país a day " and night in Drinking was no difgrace at all. Being Drunk they would quarrel, and often wound and kill one another. Yet most commonly (faith he) " they confult in their Feafts and Banquers concerning Reconciling of Enemies, " making Affinities, chusing Magistrates, even of Peace and War: as if at no other time the mind was fitter either to entertain plain thoughts or heat upon

Sect. 12." great Conceptions. Quintilian also assures us, that in ancient times, such as had Fought in the Field against one another, would be Friendly at an Entertainment at the Table. In Germany this Cultome, we are told, still continues: and here in England at our Ales and Wakes, Controversies and Quarrels were wont to be heard and compounded. As to Drinking and Drinking Houses, the present Age can shew and say as much or more than any other, both as to quarrels, and as to the doing of buliness, for no buliness now is to be done, but in a Drinking House. But in our Greater Towns and Cities, the Scene of these too often tragical Meetings is removed from Germany and England, to France and Spain; or if it be still in Germany, it's removed close to the Rhine. The Grape hath got the advantage of the Barley: and Bacchus (if ever) may now feem a Deity, nay above all the rest, having (by Vulcan's means) in the Capital City lately turned his Houses into sumptuous Palaces, the most sumptuous there to be seen; and in the adjoyning Parts justled several Gentlemen out of their Habitations. 127. The second Law requires credit to be given concerning either quick or dead,

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according to legal Testimony which it will have all Persons, free to make aswell as to fwear. The third confifts of such Terms as certainly cannot be explained. The fourth commands that The publick Meetings be observed in every Hundred or Wapentake, and that twelve Thanes (faith Bromton) or twelve men of free Condition ( as Lambards reades it ) being elderly men, together with their Præpositus or Overseer, swear over Gospels or Sacred things, that they will neither condemn an innocent Person, nor acquit a guilty. From this Law as well as other Circumstan-Juries in use. ces it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury was in use with the English Saxons before the Conquest, and not introduced by William the Conquerour, as Polydore Virgil an Italian, and not much skilled in the Antiquities of this Island hath delivered in writing. To confirm what we have faid, the third Chapter of the League, betwixt King Alfred and Guthrun the Dane, very much maketh, which orders that If the King's Thane or Minister be accused of Homicide he shall purge himself if he dare by twelve other Thanes or Ministers. And in case he be in degree inseriour to the King's Thane he shall take Eleven of his Equals, and one of the King's Thanes or Ministers, and so purge himself from all Suspicion. The like is here ordered to be observed in all suits, exceeding four Mancules or Marks. And in case one be afraid so to clear himself, he shall pay the treble value of the thing in question. Besides these throughout the Saxon Laws as the Reader may observe, there is frequent mention of clearing, and purging by so many Men called together, sometimes of \* twelve, sometimes of † sewer, and the \* Vide Reliab more common and ordinary had this course been even in those times, but for the fani. L. 12. Ordeal so much in repute, which also got more strength and reputation toward L. o. the Days of Ethelred, and the Conclusion of the English Saxon Monarchy. Amongst the ancient Charters of Kings published by Ingulphus, are also Footsteps of this Custome though but in its youth as it were, or growing up do appear. As in that of Withlaf, where punishment is to be inflicted upon a Fugitive from P. 155. the Monastery of Croyland, his Flight is to be found by six men that must be fworn, so in the Charter of Confirmation granted by Edrede, such as injured the Monks, or infringed the Liberties thereby confirmed to the Monastery, are to make satisfaction for all Damages sustained, which are to be taxed by the Oaths P. 876. of four or five sufficient creditable Men, by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better made out, before his Judges or those of his Heirs and Successours. Therefore neither did Edward the Confessour first bring up this Custome of Juries, or deciding Controversies civil or criminal by twelve or other Number of Perfons, though he might introduce the Custome into Normandy, where he long sojourn'd as one of that Countrey hath written. But the Custome of trying Crimi- Vide Spelmannals even by twelve Men, was frequent amongst the Franks, Burgundians, Bois, ni Gloffar. and where the Custome of Fees took place, as appears sufficiently from the ancient Laws of these Nations.

128. The Laws of King Ethelred made at Wantage, have many of them relation to the Trial by Ordeal, and contain many obscure terms, Bromton, or whoever he was that made them Latin, being a very unprofitable Translatour. Others of them are refervable to other former Laws, and therefore we shall onely pick out from amongst them, such as are most worthy to be taken notice of. The Eleventh makes The adulterating of Coin a Capital Crime. The twelfth Forbids any Cattel to be bought but with two Witnesses, requiring that the Skin and Head be kept three Nights, as also that of a sheep; and in case any one sell the

Skin before three Nights be over, he is to forfeit twenty Ores. The twentieth De- Sect. 12viares how far the King's Peace shall extend from his Gate every way, that is three Miles and three Quarters, and three Acres in breadth, nine Feet and nine Barley Corns. The two and twentieth directs that Aldredesgate and Cirgelegate ( fo they are called ) have their Keepers or Porters. The twenty third declares, that If a small Vessel came to Bilynggesgate, an half Penny was wont to be given for toll; if a greater bearing sails, a Penny. If a Keel or Hulk, being a long and large capacious fort of Vessel, four Pence are to be given. Out of a ship loden with wood one Piece for Toll. Thrice a Week toll of bread is to be paid, viz. on the Lord's Day, Tuelday and Thursday. If a Boat arrive with Fish, it is to pay an half penny, if it be a bigger Boat a penny. Those of Rouen in Normandy, that came with Wine or Grampois, those of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France. were wont to open their wares and free them from Toll. Such as came from Liege and other Places, travelling by Land opened their wares and paid Toll. The Emperour's men coming with their ships were accounted worthy of good Laws, as we also to buy in their ships. And it was not lawfull for them to forestall the Market from the Burghers of London. They were to pay Toll, and at Christmas two grav Cloths, and one brown coloured with ten Pounds of Pepper, and five pair of Gloves with two Vessels of Vinegar, and as many at Easter. From Panniers that come with Hens, one Hen for Toll. Those that trade in Butter and Cheese fourteen days before Christmas, must pay a penny for Toll, and another penny seven days after that Festival. The twenty fixth Imposes the same Punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as they that make bad money. The twenty eighth Puts it into the King's Power whether to fine, or put to death such Merchants as import counterfeit bad money. and imposeth upon Portreeves that shall be accessory, the same Punishment as lies upon those that Coin false money, except the King think fit to pardon them. The last, That there may be fewer Minters than formerly, ordains that there be three in every great Port Town, and in every other Port one with their underworkmen. And the Governours of these Ports are required, as they

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Ethelred.

Unum monetarium in Stanford in perpetuam libertatem concedimus inquis Rex Edgarus scil. Monasterio Croyland, Ingulph. p. 884.

will avoid the charge of Contumacy against the King, to see to the weight, and that

the pieces be so stampt, that fifteen Ores may make a Pound.

The League twixt Ethel-

129. After these Laws in Bromton follows the League, which was made betwixt King Ethelred and the Army of Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund the Son of Danish Army. Stegete. The first Article hereof, Establisheth a Peace betwixt the King and his C. t. Sax. People, and this Army which the King Supplied with money, according to the Form of C. I. apud the Agreement, made by Sigeric the Archbishop, and Athelward and Alfric Alder- Jornal. man, when they obtained first of the King leave to buy the peace of those Countries. which they governed. If therefore hereafter any violence be offered to England by Sea, this Army, faith the King, is to afift us, and we will prepare all necessaries for its subsistence, as long as it shall continue faithfull. And if so be that any Foreign Nation make Friendship with them that doe the said violence, both we and the Army shall account of them as Enemies. The Second Article, Gives freedom to come into Port though C. 2. Sax. Be ceaprcypum; belonging to the Enemy, whether driven thither by Tempest or C. 2. apud Jornal.

C. 3. Sax. Be Sær cyninger otherwise. The third, To all their Friends and Allies conrpi Smannum 7 C. 3. apud Forfirms Peace and Security both at Sea and Land, though they be met in an Enemies Countrey. In case such a Friend convey his Goods into an Enemies House, he shall lose the Goods, but go free himself. But if he either flye or make resistence, or do not make known

himself and be flain, no satisfaction is to be made for him. The fourth requires that If a man be robbed in a ship the Master thereof is to make satisfaction, or by four others taken to him make faith that he came lawfully to the Goods that are challenged. The next Article imposes a Mulct of twenty five pounds upon a free Englishman, that kills a Dane of free

Condition, except the Murtherer yield up himself: the same forfeiture a Dane incurs if he flay an Englishman. If an Englishman kill a Dane of fervile condition he shall pay one pound, and the like a Dane if he kill an English man. If so be that eight Perfons be flain, the League shall be accounted violated, but if under this Number. Compensation shall be made according to the value of the particular Persons. 130. If this happen in a Town the Townsmen are to take

the Murtherers alive or dead, at least their next Kinsman is bypig 7. C. 8. apud fornal. to surrender them Man for Man, which if they refuse to doe,

C. 6. Sax. Be ppibbnec binnan

C. 4. Saxon. Be Son Semon

C. 5. Saxonic. Be monflege 7

rcipe benearos ry 7 C. 4. apud

C. c. 5. 6. apud Fornal.

Sect. 12. the Ealdorman must doe it, if he doe it not the King; if the King refuse, that Countrey must be accounted out of the League. The Seventh Article, indemnifies both sides, for all Murthers and Plunderings before this League. The one side is not to receive the Servant, Robbers or Enemies of the other. That which follows Condemns a Countreyman, that shall plunder or kill, if it be affirmed by a Seaman and a Land man. If he kill their Cattel, he shall be taken both by the King's Party, and the Army for an Outlaw without admission of any Excuse. And afterward it declares that the English purchased peace of the Army with two and twenty thousand pounds of Gold and Silver. The ninth directs that If a Man find his Goods in another Man's Hands, he with whom they are found tell where he had them, and give security to produce his Voucher. In this case if he be to

send for a Man out of another Shire, he shall have convenient time to doe it. If upon offer he take the thing upon him, the other shall be acquitted with whom the Goods were found. This Poucher must then produce his, and if he live in another Shire, have a Weeks time given him to produce him; if he live beyond two Counties, a Fortnight, if beyond three, three Weeks, or a Week to be allowed for every County. But all of them must come to the place where the Goods

were found. The tenth and last concerning vouching, tells us that in times past it was the Custome with whom a thing was C. 11. apud Jornal. found, that he should thrice produce Vouchers, and then they

should go to the place where the Voucher lived. Now to Wisemen it seems more rea-Sonable, that in the place where the thing is found, the Vouchery proceed till it come to a Period, lest that those who are not so able to bear it in seeking for their own be tired out with the length of the way, and time, whereas it's most just, that the trouble should be imposed upon the unjust Possessour. But he that finds his Goods is to beware, that he with whom he hath found them find sufficient security, to produce those that will save him harmless, and lest he make any unjust challenge, lest indeavouring to trouble others he himself be imbroyled in intricate Affairs. If there be any have challenged one that's now dead, and hath no Heirs to purge him, let him if he can, prove by Witness that he did so challenge him, and thereupon he being difcharged of the Guilt, let the blame lye upon the dead Party, except he have Friends that will legally purge him as if he had been alive. In such case he is to be taken as clear, and he is be accounted guilty of the Theft with whom the Goods were found, for a much as Denial is of more weight than affirmation. Lastly, if any one in this matter of vouching, refuse to proceed any farther, but contends that the Goods were his own, he may be at his choice if he can ascertain his propriety by credible witness. For, if it do not otherwise appear, Propriety is prelumed to be rather in the Possessiour than in the Pretender.

131. The next Body of Laws which follows in Bromton, and was made at a place called Habe, are all of Ecclefiastical concernment purely except it be the fifth, which prohibits any man to be fold out of his Countrey. But there is published by Concil. p. 513. Sir Henry Spelman the Acts of another Council held by this same King Ethelred at a Place called Axham, amongst which are some that relate to the Civil State. The fixth prohibits also the sale of a Man out of his own Countrey, especially into the service of a Pagan. The seventh will have no man put to death for a small fault, but inculcates mercy. The nineteenth forbids a Widow to marry within a twelve month at least. The two and twentieth takes care for preserving the Peace, and keeping the Coinuncorrupt, that one and the same go throughout the Land. The like for just weights and measures, the reparation of Cities, Towns, Castles and Bridges, and warlike expeditions, both by Sea and Land. The twenty third takes care that prefently after Easter, the Annual expedition by Sea be hastened, and ordains that if any Man doe any hurt to a ship designed for the service of the State, he both make satisfaction for the Damage, and be punified as a Breaker of the King's Peace. And if he utterly spoil the Vesselson as she be made unserviceable, he shall make full amends for the Da mage, and farther, be taken as guilty of High Treason. The twenty fourth Deprives that Man of all his Fortunes, who deserts the Expedition whereat the King himself is present. The next Deprives him that hath killed a Man, or forsworn himself, of all his fortunes; also if he offer to come into the King's presence before he hath made satisfaction, except the King will dispence with him. The twenty fixth Deprives him both of Life and Fortunes that Conspires against the Life of the King. If he deny it, he must purge himself by the most solemn Oath,

C. 7. Saxon. C. 8. apud Forn

C. 8. Saxonic. Be lanter manner tyhte 7 C. 9. apud Jornal.

C. 9. Sax. Be Son Se mon gers Se him loros pær 7 C. 10. apud

· C. 10. Saxon. Be to amum?

23.

or by treble Ordeal according to the Law of the English, or after the Dinish Law, Sect. 12. as it appoints. That which follows ordains, that if any openly fet himself to oppose the Laws of Christ or the King, he be punished either by paying the value of his Head, or otherwise according to the quality of the offence; and if he procure his own death by making refistence, he must bye unrevenged. These are the Laws of King Ethelred, which respect the civil State, made as we have distinguished them at several times and places, but what these times were we are uncertain, though we be fure the Laws were made during his Reign.

132. There are others which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the General conjecture be that they were, and these are comprized in an Agreement or Act, which the Wisemen of England and the Councellours of Wales, made concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey. The first Article of this C. I. Be prote gertolener yn-Senatusconsultum, as they call it, prescribes the pursuit after per 7

Cattel, by the Footsteps from one place to another. The se-C. 2. Be juhrer reonce beprecond wills that Within nine or ten days, the one Countreyman on realum 7 Englum ?

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. Ethelred.

do write to the other whether it be in purging themselves, or in any other matter which is in Controversie. But in all Accusations betwixt English and Welsh men, they shall clear themselves onely by Ordeal, except the Accuser permit it. And each of them if they cannot otherwise have their right, may lawfully take away pledges one from another. The third gives order that If any one be injured and have taken a pledge from him that did the fact, he that gave the offence shall Be babum?

redeem it, or so much of his Goods as it amounts to be seized. That he who refuses to doe Justice, may be compelled to doe it. Here twelve men, six English, and as many Welsh, shall administer Justice to those of both Nations: who in case they do not due right shall forfeit all they have, except they excuse themselves by their Ig-Another Pat- norance of the Law. Here behold another pattern of a Jury, and of that which tern of a Jury, we call Medietas Linguæ, viz. when a stranger is to be tried, fix English, and as tem lingua. many of the Parties own Countrey, at least, strangers are impanelled to judge as to many of the Parties own Country, a Land, Mangarette for Verdict. The fourth C. 4 matter of fact, and according to their evidence give in their Verdict. The fourth C. 4 matter of fact, and according or their crawless are supported by the fact of Theft and cast in the Be Sone Search will, That when an English or Wellh man is accused of Theft and cast in the Be Sone Search will the fact of the fact of the Sone Search Search will be supported by the Sone Search Se

Trial, he shall onely pay the forfeit due for the Theft, and no other mulct or any thing besides. The fifth, Exacts but half of the Value of the Head, in case a Wellh man kill an English man, or an English man a Welsh man, of what Family soever Be manglish

133. The fixth Article, Forbids the Welsh to come into England, or the English C. 6. to enter Wales, except received at the other Bank by the Borderers, who shall take Be Son Se care for their safe Conduct and Return. And in case any Borderer be accused of false Englisce on dealing herein, and cannot by witness disprove it, let him be find. In the same man- bylirclans ner, if any one procure that any stranger doe any damage to a Man of the Place, and Fane. be suspected to have been privy to the Fact, with respect had to the Damage he shall purge himself by the Oaths of Select men. First the Accuser shall make his Accusation by Oath; and then if the accused Party be cast in his Trial, he shall pay double Damages to the Plaintiff, and a Mulcl to the Lord. The seventh Article sets the value of an Horse, that miscarries at thirty Shillings, and if it be pretended that Be alcer there was no fault in the Person accused, the Purgation shall be according nytener beto that rate, and so for the rest the value of a Mare, and a yearling Colt at twenty Only. Etc. Shillings: A wild Asses Colt at tweeve Shillings: An Ox at thirty Pence, a Cow at hilopap. twenty four Pence, a Swine at eight Pence, a Sheep one Shilling, a Goat at two Pence. Any other thing unfeen must be valued by Oath, and recompence made accordingly. The Eighth directs that If one find his Goods with another man, and he challenges to C. 8. avowry one that lives beyond the water, then that the Controversie may come to an Be one oend, shall he give Sufficient Caution. And he that finds the Goods shall by the Oaths represent of fix men make it good, that he justly lays challenge to the thing that was stoln berange. But he that goes to avoury must swear alone, that he doth rightly doe it. And in num. case any beyond the River contend, that the thing questioned is of his own proper goods, he must make it evident by the Judgment of Ordeal. The ninth declares that C. 9. Wemfete (by which some understand Southwales, but others more probably Be jentye-Monmouthshire being anciently called Guent, Went, Wentset and Wentsland, 10 cum 7 cunnamed from its chief City which of old, had the Name of Venta Silurum ) Some- feetum. times was subject to the Dunsætes or Mountainers, but seems rather to belong to the West Saxons. And thither they must fend Tribute and Hostages of Peace. As also that it's meet, that the Mountainers fend Hostages if the King think it sitting.

Sect. 12. 114. These were the Laws made by the English Saxon Kings, before the Danes established their Monarchy throughout the Land, which Laws King Coute after his return from Rome, commanded strictly to be observed, especially those made by the late King Ethelred. And being now at leifure from War, and applying himself to the good usage of what he had ill got, he made Laws of his own, refpecting both the Ecclefiaftical and Civil State, reinforcing some old Laws, and altering and adding others, as he found occasion, in all which, as he tells us in his Preface, he used the Council of his Wisemen, and commands those his Laws to be observed throughout England. "The first of Civil

" Concernment commands Juffice to be faithfully and in-" differently administred both to Poor and Rich, and abo-" lisheth all unjust Laws. The second commands Mercy " to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small " Offence. The third prohibits a Christian to be fold out " of the Kingdom, especially to Unbelievers. The fourth " Banishes or Condemns to Death, Witches, Sorceresses " and Whores; and threatens Thieves and fuch as injure " and doe violence to the People. The fifth forbids the " Superstitions of Pagans, with Inchantments and Delusi-" ons. The fixth expells Murtherers, perjured Persons, " and Adulterers out of the Land except they speedily repent. The feventh exhorts all men to beware of these Crimes and suppress all Flatterers, Lyers, Robbers, " Thieves. The eighth commends to all People the keep-"ing of the Peace, orders one and the fame good Money Apud fornal. " to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any one im-

C. 2. Sax. C. 25. Apud fornal. G. 2. Sax. C. 20. Apud Jornal. C. 4. Sax. c. 26. Apud Jornal. C. S. Sax. C. 27. Apud Jornal. C. 6. Sax. c. 28. Apud Jornal. C.7. Sax. c. 29. Apud Jornal. C. 8. Sax. C. c. 29. 6 30. " base the Money, his Hands are to be cut off without any redemption. And if

" a Reeve or Governour be accused that it was done by his consent, he shall purge " himself by a treble purgation, and if he be cast incur the same punishment. "The ninth enjoyns a due care to be had of just Weights and Measures. The Co. Sax. c.31. tenth commands as the Law of Ethelred (for these are but as repetitions of his Apud Javallands and the shaddling both by C. 10. Sax. Laws) that " Towns and Bridges be well looked to, and that the Militia both by " Sea and Land be inforced according as the necessity of the Commonwealth re-" quires. By the eleventh he promifes to use and entertain such Councils as may c.11.82xc31. " tend to the promotion of Juitice, the profit of the State, and the advancement Apad Jornal.

135. That which follows, being the twelfth, is remarkable for comprizing those Forfeitures which the King challenges as due to himself in the Countries of the West Saxons, except he please to confer them upon any other, viz. " The Pe- C.12. Saxo33. " nalty incurred for breach of the Peace, for breaking into an House, stopping up Apad Jurial. " a Passage, and forsaking ones Colours. If also for some Crime a man be Out-" lawed the restitution of him to his former condition belongs to the King. He " also that possesseth Bocland, forfeits to the King, whosever else may be his " Lord. And whosoever relieves or harbours a Fugitive, except he can plead ig-"Lord. And wholever reneves of nationis a righter except in earl pleasing for norance, shall pay to the King five Pounds. The thirteenth Law makes the c. 13. Saw makes the fame Challenge of all these Mulcts or Forseitures in Mercia. The fourteenth c. 14. Sax. makes the same Challenge in such parts as are governed by the Law of the c. 23. 34 makes the same Challenge in such parts as are governed by the Law of the c. 23. 34 pad Danes, of Mulcts incurred for fighting, refusing to goe out in the Militia, breaks 28 35. Apad Mulcts incurred for Mulcts account he honour are self-same. " ing the Peace, and violent entry of an House, except he honour any man else, 900 by granting these Royalties to him. The like is to be said of such an one as " harbours or relieves one that is made incapable of the King's Peace. If any " Judge have for hatred or lucre perverted Justice, by the Law of the English he is to pay to the King the value of his Head, and also to be removed from his " place, or redeem it as the King shall please, except he plead that what he did " was out of ignorance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath. By " the Law of the Danes he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of the Law, ex-" cept he plead Ignorance. In case any oppose or refuse to submit to lawfull " Judgment, let the Mulct be theirs that are concerned. If it belong to the King the Fine shall be an Hundred Shillings, if to the Earl Sixty Shillings, if to the Hundred thirty. By the English Law, if all be concerned, all are to be " pay'd. But by the Law of the Danes, if any one make opposition to the just " administration of the Law, he is to pay Lahslite.

136. This

136. This word Lahflite is Danish, and first found in those English Danish Laws. It signifies properly the Transgression or Breach of the Law, but here secondarily, the penalty incurred for that breach. Ab Anglo Danorum lah, lex & The Reader must take notice, that though the Danes minflice raptio, violationes adbuc dicigled here with the English, yet both Nations preserved their own common Laws and Customs. The English for as much as can be perceived, to every several fort of offences affigned generally their feveral Millets, which they called Gildwites. But the Danes punished feveral offences by one fort of Animadversion called Labslite. Therefore in these Laws often occurs, Let the English man gilopice mis Englum 7 mis sebe punished with Gildwite, and the Danish with Labslite. But num lahylice. though this one punishment was common with them for feveral Offences, yet was it various in quantity according to the condition of the Party offending. As, a man of liberal condition his Lablitie was five Marks, His Somner, in that possessed Bocland three Marks, that of a Cevile or Countreyman twelve Ores, Glossia, ex. Here we have what answers to the English Twelshind, Sexhind and Twihind men. ExtraRessort. Some have imagined, that when Labflite is mentioned in general terms or Wite in reference to the English, the value of them is twelve Ores, because of that Ar- c.3. ticle in the League, renewed betwixt King Edward and Guthrun, which ordains, that if a Priest deny Baptism, where it is requisite, he shall pay Wite with the English, or Labslite with the Daves, that is, faith the Text, twelve Ores. But this was the lowest fort of these Mulcts, neither can we imagine that the punishment for breach of all Laws was the fame, or not fitted to the height of the

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. Cnute.

137. The fifteenth Law of Coute confirms that of King Alfred, "Whereby is C15,52x.636. ordained, that he that by defamation does another man damage in his Body Apud Jonal. or Fortunes, and is convicted of fallhood by the proofs of the Party, have his Tongue cur out, except he redeem it with the value of his Head. The fixteenth C165ax.c37. alfo, asother Laws before mentioned, will have no Complaints made to the Apad Janal. King, except relief cannot be had in the Hundred, at the Meeting whereof all are to be present, or be amerced for their absence. The seventeenth requires, C.17.Sax.238. that the Burhgemote be held thrice a year, and the Sciregemote twice or oft. Apud Jornal. ner, whereat the Bishop and Alderman are to be present to those purposes as has been before faid. The eighteenth will have no man by taking away Pledges, C.18.54x c.39. or distraining to doe right to himself against any man, except he have four times Apud Jornal. dimanded it, and expected right to be done him in vain in the Hundred; then he has liberty to get his own where he can. The nineteenth commands, that c.19. Saxonic. every one of free condition put himself into some Hundred and Tithing as he c. 149, 54xente desires, that being in a condition to purge himself he may also be in capacity to fluid formal, claim from another the value of his Head. Otherwise none that exceeds twelve years, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same Privilege with a Free man. Be he Master of a Family or a Reteiner, he must be entred into some Hundred or other, and must have Fidejussours or Sureties for his appearance in case he be accused of any Crime. Some great men, as they can doe it, protect their Servants, giving out fometimes, that they are Free, other times that they are Slaves, but we not induring any such unjust practice, command, that every one of twelve years of Age give fecurity by Oath, that he will neither steal himself, nor be acceffory to the Thest of any other. Thus doth he revive what King Alfred had before cautioned, that no Freeman should be without Society, without Law, or live at randome, without this most Efficacious appropriate and the state of Without Society, without Law, of the at fainted by the Curb of Suretyflip, by being thus received. And to what was before, adds are this Caution of twelve years, beyond which for the publick Peace and fecurity of the Humanian none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and air Notor.

138. The twentieth Law of King Canute " fo far indulges a man unblamea- C20-Saxc42. ble and of good repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was \$\frac{6}{43}\$. Apud cast by the Ordeal, that his single purgation be accepted. But a man of the Innal. contrary reputation shall either be compelled to take his single Oath in three " Hundreds, or a threefold one according to the cufforne of that Court, or be " put to the Ordeal. But a fingle Purgation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath. A man of good efteem may have some faithfull man in his stead to be his Prejurour, or else he must doe it himself; for a preparatory " Oath is never to be omitted. The one and twentieth forbids any man to C21.Sax.e43.

have the privilege of vouchery, except by fufficient Witness to prove from whom Apad Jornal.

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" he had the Goods that are found with him. The Witneffes must affirm, as Sect. 12. " he had the Goods that are Joulin with him."

The have most religiously born testithey love God and their Lords, that they have most religiously born testithey love God and their Lords, that they have are affired that he rightly mony, and that both by their Eyes and Ears they are affured that he rightly mony, and that both by the thing in question. The twenty second revives the Laws about came by the thing in question. The twenty second revives the Laws about case the value case should be bounded above the value case should be bounded above the value. "buying without Witness, forbidding any thing to be bought above the value Apad Jonal. "of four pence without the tellimony of four Credible Witnesses. In case any one buy any thing contrary to this Law, if any one challenge the thing so " bought, the Buyer shall not have the benefit of Vouchery, but restore him " the thing, with the just price of it, and a Mulct to whom of right it belongs. "But if the thing was bought by legal Testimony, he shall have thrice allowed " him the liberty of Vouchery, and the fourth time the thing is to be delive-" red to the Owner, except some other make use of his right in challenging it "to be his. For neither doth it feem fitting to us that any one should chal-lenge a thing when there are Witnesses to disprove it, and consequently he is " convicted to be guilty of Fraud or Malice; neither that what was ftole should " be recovered within a less time than six Months. 139. The twenty third " directs, that if a man of evil report ablent himself C23 Sereas, "from the Publick Meetings thrice, at the fourth time fome of that Court go for thicker, and if they can get no sureties for his appearance, to apprehend him 6 46. " alive or dead, to feize on all he hath, and when the just pretenders have re-" ceived the true value of what they lay claim to, then of that which is left "the Lord shall have one half, and the Hundred the other. If any of the "Court, of Kin or Stranger, refue to goe, he shall for that fine to the King in an hundred and twenty Shillings. Of those that are taken in the manner of stealing, or betraying their Lords, their lives shall in no wife be spared. "The twenty fourth forbids one Acculation to be superseded by another, but C.24.544.44. "The twenty tourth toroids one Accumation to be appeared. The next for find formal as the Hundreders shall think fit, orders the first to proceed. The next for Cartanage as the Hundreders shall think fit, orders the cartanage as the Cartanage a bids also the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by Apud Janul. " him he formerly served: As also to remove his Servant from his House till he " have purged himself of what is laid to his Charge. That which follows de c.268acc49. " nounceth, that if any one meet a Thief and permit him to pass without dif \$50. Apad " covering him, shall pay the utmost Farthing of the value of the man's head, be formula " it as much as it will, or by a full and perfect Oath make it good that he knew " nothing of his Theft. And if he cried out against him, and those that heard " him would not purfue the Robber, they shall be punished as contumacious a-" gainft the King, except they make void the suspicion. The twenty seventh, C.27,54x531. " In case a man be of evil report in the Hundred, and be accused by three se. Apud Jarnel. " veral men, admits of no purgation but by threefold Ordeal. But if his Lord " affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor fince the Council held at "Winchester been cast by the Ordeal, out of that Hundred the Lord shall " take one or two men of Credir, and with them make Oath, that he neither " hath broken his Faith formerly given, nor been condemned by the Ordeal, " nor paid nothing for stealing; except some Reeve or Officer there be whole authority may have weight sufficient to clear him without these Oaths. If they " make their Oaths, the Accused shall be at choice whether he will be tryed " by fingle Ordeal, or make an Oath in three Hundreds, which in proportion " shall answer to one Pound and thirty Pence. But in case they refuse to " fwear he shall goe under the Examination of threefold Ordeal after this

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140. "The Accuser must find five Persons who shall be Prejurours, and he of Examinate himself shall be the fixth. As soon as the Accused is cast, the first time he " shall pay double damages to the Accuser, and to his Lord, if he have shewn " himself worthy of it, the full value of his own Head, and give Sureties that " he will abstain from all Crimes for the time to come. But in case he be cast " the fecond time, he shall have no liberty of making any Compensation, but " his Hands, or Feet, or both, if the heinousness of the offence require it, shall " be cut off. But if after this he doth not leave off his former Courses but "ftill commit more Villanies, then as they shall think fit that are concerned, "either his Eyes shall be pull'd out, his Nose cut off, his Ears or his Upper " lip, or his Skin be drawn over his Ears for an Example, with a respect to the " fatety of his Soul. If he flie and escape the Judgment of Ordeal, his Sureties " shall make full satisfaction to the Accuser, and to the King or some other that " deferves it, the value of his Head. But if his Lord be accused for having been " accessory to his escape after the Fact committed, with five men of credit he " must purge himself, which if he doe, he shews himself to be worthy of the

" value of his Servant's Head. If he doe not, the King shall have the value of Sect. 12. " the Head, and the Thief shall by all men be taken as excluded from the be-" nefit of the Law. 141. " The twenty eight will have every Master to be Fidejussour, or respon- C28 Saxe. 12. "fible for the appearance of all his Family. And if any of his Servants be im- apud Janual."

peached, he shall answer it in that Hundred where the other brings the Action. "In case any of them accused of a Crime run away, his Master shall pay the va-" lue of his Head to the King. If the Mafter be accused as accessory to his slight, " he shall purge himself by five men of good repute. If he do not acquir " himself he shall pay to the King the value of his Head, and his Servant shall "be Outlaw'd. The twenty ninth enacts, that if a Bondman or Slave be by the C.29.Sax. 13.
"Ordeal condemned, he shall first be marked with an hot Iron, and if cast the Apud Jornal. fecond time, be put to death. The thirtieth ordains, that if a man be of evil re-c<sub>30.54x.c.14</sub>, port fo as no man speaks well of him, the Reeve (the Sheriff doubtless is Apud Jamal. meant) shall take security for his appearance when he is called, which if he " doe not give, he shall be put to death and buried in a prophane place: And if " any one stand up in his defence, he shall incur the same punishment. And if " any Officer neglect or refule to put this in Execution, he shall by one univer-" fal Sentence pay an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King. The thirty " first wills the same manner of Purgation of Criminals be used in all Boroughs. " The next directs, that if a man be destitute of all Friends or be a Stranger so " that he hath none to be bound for him, fuch an one, if accused, shall be sent into Custody to be examined by the Ordeal. That which follows sentenceth fuch as are convicted to have forfworn themselves upon the Gospels or Sacra, to loose their Hands, or to give half the value of their Heads to the Lord and the Bishop. The thirty fourth accounts it of small moment, that one who has openly born false Witness have no Credit given to his Testimony for the "time to come; but orders, that he moreover pay to the King or the Lord the Fine wont to be paid in the room of the Neck being tyed, called Healsfange. 142. The twelve Laws that follow next in course respect Ecclesiastical Mat- c47. Saxc75. ters, and therefore to fuch we must refer them. "The forty severith requires, Apad Janul." that Adultery be punished more or less as the Circumstances be, affirming it bad for a Married Man to lie with a Maid, much more with another Man's Wife or one in Religion. The forty eight directs, that Incest be punished ei- C.48.Sax.c76. " ther with the value of the Head, with a Mulct, or the loss of the whole Estate, Apid Jornal. there being a difference betwixt abusing ones own Sifter and another Kinswoman more remote. The next Chastizes him that Ravishes a Widdow or a Vir- C.49. Sax. 277. gin with the payment of the value of his own Head. The fiftieth denoun. 4ptal 3ptal, C. 50.54x4.53. ceth, that if a Man's Wife be convicted to have lain with another Man, she Apud Jornal. " shall for ever be noted as Infamous, and her Husband shall have all that be-" longs to her; besides she shall loose her Nose and her Ears. But if she be onely accused of Whoredom, and in the Tryal be cast, the Bishop in such case is to be Judge, and commanded in his Judgment to be severe. As for Married C.51.Sax.c.79, men the next Law enjoyneth, that " if one lie with his own Maid Servant he & 80. Apud " forfeit her and make satisfaction both to God and Man: If belides his Wife Jornal. " he keep a Concubine, the Priest shall deny him all Christian Privileges till he " put her away, and as well by his forbearance for the future as in other things according to the Bishop's direction, he have made ample fatisfaction. That " which follows banishes Strangers with all their Vices and Fortunes out of the C.52.842.81. Land if they do not bridle their Links. By the fifty third, If a Man upon Apud Jornal. premeditated malice kill another, he shall be delivered up to the kindred of the apud formali flain. If he be onely accused of the Murther and be found guilty, the Bishop in that case shall be his Judge 143. " By virtue of the fifty fourth Law, who over C. 54 Satt. c. 83. April fornal. Conspires against the King, or his Lord shall forfeit Life and Fortunes, except he purge himself by threefold Ordeal. By order of the fifty fifth, He that breaks his C. 55. Sax. c.84. Apud Jernal. Faith given to the King shall forfeit five Pounds; if it was to an Archbishop or great Nobléman three Pounds, if to a Bishop or Alderman two. If any fight in the C. 56. Sax. c. 85. Apud Jornal. Court, by the next that follows, it's Capital except the " King will pardon it. The fifty feventh punishes him that C. 57. San. c. 86. April formal thall difarm a man with that which they call Heals-

" fange,

Sect. 12. " fange, if he binds him, with half the value of his Head.
The next restrains the violence of Souldiers, ordaining, C. 58. Sax. c.87. Apud Jornal. that if in an Expedition any break the Peace he shall either forfeit his life or the value of it; and if he plun-C. 59. Sax. c. 88. Apud Jornal. " der make fufficient Compensation. That which follows, declares, that he that breaks into another man's House, " according to the Law of the English, is to pay five Pounds to the King; if it be done where the Law of the Danes obtaineth, he must be punished according to their Custome. And if he be justly killed in the Attempt, nothing shall be forfeited upon that account. The fixth ordains, That if C.60. Sax. c. 89. Apud Jornal. one man rob another of any thing, he restore the thing " together with the value of it and pay the value of his " Head to the King. The fixty first declares breaking down and burning of Houses open Thest, manifest Mur-C. 61. Sax. Durbnec. 7 bænner J open Syrb. J æbenemonb. J " thers and betraying of one's Lord, according to humane hlapoporpice. ærcen reonulo laga ir boclear. c. 90. Apud fornal. " Laws, to be Crimes, for which there is no bote or fatis-" faction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compensation. "The next fines such as shall deny to pay toward the Repairing of Towns, or mending of Bridges, as shall refuse C. 62. Sax. c. 91. Apud Jornal. " to go upon the Warlike Expedition, it he be an English men, an hundred and " twenty Shillings to the King; if he be a Dane, he is to make fatisfaction accor-" ding to their Custome; or fourteen men are to be named to him, out of which " number he may make his choice of eleven to purge himself. 144. The fixty third in like manner declares, that "all C. 63. Sax. c. 92. Apud Jornal. " ought to contribute to the repairing of the Churches. " The fixty fourth denounces against fuch as shall harbour C. 64. Saxonic. c.c. 93, 94. Apud Jornal. " Excommunicated or Outlawed Persons, that they shall " bring them forth to Justice, make satisfaction to those that are concern'd and pay " the value of their Heads to the King. But in case they will keep and defend "them, loss of Life and all their Fortunes. The next wills, that Mercy be shewn as C.65. Sax. c.94. " much as may be to fuch as plainly and unfeignedly amend their ways. And by Apud Jonal. " that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt small C.66.Saxa.95. " and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthfull, forafmuch April Jonal. " as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity, and a distinction is to be " made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act. Therefore will he fuccour where " there is most need of his Help. The fixty seventh contains an Act of Grace C.67. Sax.c.96. " of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves such as formerly were oppress. Apad Janual. " fed. He enjoyns all his Officers, that they make provision for his House out of " his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compell no man to furnish him with " any Conveniencies in this kind, upon pein of paying the value of their Heads " if they impose any Mulcts upon Refusers. The fixty eighth ordains, that in C.58.Sax.cog. " cafe any man by neglect or by the fuddenness of his death depart this World Apud Jarnal. "Inteflate, his Lord shall take nothing of his Goods but what is due to him as an "Heriot. But all is to be distributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, " and next Kindred justly according to their feveral right. The fixty ninth in or- C.50. Saxe. 97. " der settles the Rates of the Heriots, ordering that the Heriot of every one be ac- Apud Jornal. " cording to his Dignity. As first, that of an Earl eight Horses, whereof four with " Furniture and four without, four Helmets, as many Corflets, eight Spears, as many Shields, four Swords, and two hundred Mancules of Gold. That of a " King's chief Thane four Horfes, whereof two with Furniture and two with-"out, two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields, one Helmet, one Corflet, and fifty Mancules of Gold. The Heriot of an Inferiour Thane an Horse with " Furniture and Arms, or amongst the West Saxons the sum that is paid called " Halsfange, in Mercia and East England two Pounds; but amongst the Danes " the Heriot of a King's Thane, who has free jurifdiction, is four Pounds. And

145. This word Heriot, or as the true Saxon word is, Heregeate, fignifies Furniture for War, given by the Vaffal to his Lord, probably at first deexercitud

" if he be nearer to the King his Heriot is two Horses, whereof the one with Fur-

" niture and the other without, a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty "Mancules of Gold. But the Heriot of a Thane of the lowest condition is two

& Keore à Saxon Keoran fundere & Metaphorice reddere vel erogare, unde Scoto Britannis Herexelds, q. d. Heregeld, g in z. (ut illis sape) transcente.

figned for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the Das Sect. 12. nish or Northern Nations so frequently invaded the Land; for though the word Here do in the Saxon Language fignific an Army, yet is it in our Saxon Authours (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for Invaders and Spoilers, a lawfull Army collected by the King for the Defence of the Nation, and Spoilers, a lawfull Army conected by the Rang to the Double of Error, being called by the Name of Fyrd. Sir Henry Spelman fetches the Original of Fypo. the thing from Clodonee King of the Franks, who having about the Year of Our orum. Lord DXI. given the Alamans a very great overthrow, and deprived them of all Honour and Liberty, afligned them as Vasfals, some to his Treasury, and some to the Church, the former being termed Servi Fiscalini and Fiscales, and these Servi Ecclesialtici. He ordained, that when any Master of a Family Died, the Officer of the King, or Bishop should seize upon the best Horse he had, or the Cloths of most value. Some are of opinion, that to this Heriot succeeded what was afterward called Relief; but that these were several is manifest in this, that fometimes both an Heriot and Relief were paid from the fame Lands, and an Heriot had place where an Heir did not succeed in the Patrimony, which Relief never had. Mr. Lambard thought that the Normans when they Conquered the Land, and spoiled the inhabitants of all their Arms and furniture for War, remitted the Heriot, and took Money in its slead. Most probable it is, that Heriot and Relief were different, and that Vassals in the English Saxon times contributed those Habiliments of War to their Lords. towards the Expulsion of those Northern Thieves and Invaders, as we said. Their Land they held on that condition with that burthen and fervice, and therefore they held them as Feudataries. Heriots were in use in the Infancy of Fees, when Fees were held in a more general and Law fense, as we have already demonstrated. Relief succeeded when they were grown up to more regulation and certainty, clothed with new circumstances, of Succession, and the like. The giving of Horses and Arms by Vassals to their Lord, was a thing Temp. Comitaalso practised by the Germans and Italians.

146. To make an end of King Cnute his Laws, The seventieth "Confirms to a Woman and her Children the Seat and Habitation which her Huf-lib. 8. "to a Woman and her Chidren the Seat and Hashadou which has her who hand enjoyed. But if there were any Suits commenced against the Man C. 70. Sax.

The Guesty first Requires Wi. 2.98. apid " when living, his Heir must answer them. The seventy first Requires Wi- fornal. "dows to continue in Widowhood twelve months, and then permits them C.71. Sax. " to Marry. If a Woman Marry before her twelve months be out, she is c. 99. apud. " to loofe her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come, " in fuch case, to the next akin; and he that Marries her shall pay the value " of his Head to the King, or whomsoever he assigns it. Nay, although she " was taken by force she shall loose all she had, except she depart and return no more to this Husband. Widows are not fuddenly to enter into Religion; Widows shall not be compelled to pay their Heriots till twelve months be over, especially if not able to pay before. A Woman, by the seventy second C. 72. Sax. the Man voluntarily will give fomething. The next confirms what had been C.73. Sax. formerly enacted, Concerning a Man's leaving his Weapon at another Man's contained boor, and another's making ill use of it. That which follows in like manner C.74. Sax. confirms what was Law before, Concerning a Woman's not being ac- c, 103, apud cellory to the Theft of her Husband. First, If a Man be convicted to have fornal. brought stoln Goods into his House, it's the same thing as if he stole them; but his Wife shall not be accounted guilty of Thest, except she kept it un-"der Lock and Key. Now the Wife ought to keep the Keys of these things, "viz. of the Store-house, of the Chest of Cloths, and her Coster; in any of " which if she lock up any thing, she is to be accounted guilty of Theft. " Otherwise the Wife cannot hinder her Husband from bringing any thing into " his House. It was the custome (such is the avarice of Men ) for the Child " which lay in the Cradle, and never yet had eaten Mear, yea though it was " asleep, to be accounted as guilty of this Crime as if it had had understanding. But I (saith the King, absolutely forbid that, with some other things that are odious to God Almighty. Here Mr. Selden demandeth if from any other in Jan. An-Fountain than this can be derived what Henry de Bracton and other English Law-glorum. yers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being accessory to his Thest.

147. The seventy fifth Law "Deprives him of Life and Estate, who either c. 75. Sex. "in an Expedition by Land or Sea deserts his Lord, or his Fellow Souldier: 104. aprd and in such case the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it formal. Gios.

was

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" was Bocland it goes to the King. But in case any one dye in a Fight in the Sect. 12. "Was Boctand it goes to the king. But it abroad, his Heriot shall be remitted, presence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his Heriot shall be remitted, and his Children shall succeed both to his Goods and Lands, and rightly di-" vide them. The feventy fixth Gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, C. 76. Sax. "and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the Sciregemote or Coun- garnal. " ty Court, to possess it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleafeth when he dies. The feventy feventh Gives liberty to every Man to C. 77. Sax. " Hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all under penalty to meddle with the 6.106. "King's Game, especially in those places which he had Fenced by privilege. By those places thus privileged, he means those which alterwards the Normans called (a) Forests, being Ground defart and woody, most commonly exposed to the Kirg's Wild Beafts or Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumscribed and privileged, as here he words it, Fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, Immunities, Magistrates, Judges, Officers and Servants. Concerning these Forests, he published Constitutions thirty four in (b) Number, which because he mentions them not in this nor in any other of his Laws, feem to have been

made afterwards. But the thirtieth Article is almost the very same with this Law, forbidding all to meddle with his Game, but permitting them to Hunt in their own Grounds, (c) yet without Chase. Afterwards the Norman Kings made strange improvement of what he began, turning many Towns and Churches into Denns of Wild Beafts, with what fuccess it's neither pleasing nor feafonable for us here to relate. The feventy eighth Law " requires, that Drinclean and other Offices of Service " due to Lords, be inviolably observed. Mr. Lambard interprets this Drinclean, Honorary Gifts of Drink. It feems the same with Scotale, which was Ale wherewith Fellow-Vassals joyning together were wont to entertain their Lords or their Stewards when they came to their Ma-

nors. The feventy ninth Law revives the Law before, which will have C. 79. Sax. "All enjoy persect peace, and be free from all molestation which go to, or " return from Gemotes or Publick Meetings; as now they that are Members " of Parliament. The eightieth and last, in Confirmation of all these Laws C. 80. Sax. "made by the King to be observed by all his Subjects, upon any that shall gernal. " break them, for the first offence imposeth the value of his own head whe-" ther he be English or Dane; for the second offence it doubles the punish-" ment; and for the third, deprives him of all his Fortunes. The King closeth all with a very Religious Exhortation to Piety, and a Prayer.

148. There are onely now remaining the Laws of King Edward the Confessour. These we have not published in the Saxon Tongue, nor as he set them forth, but as they were afterwards confirmed by William the Conquerour, and as Transcribed by one who had lived in the Days of Henry the Second, or after, who has interlaced them with things very much, fometimes Foreign to the purpose, and with tales of King Arthur, and other matters. At best they are a Rhapfody of things, rather telling and explaining things what they anciently were, than expressed in Legislative manner; but of such of them as make for our purpose, (as several of them do) and give us light in the Discovery of the ancient Polity or frame of Government of our English Saxon Ancestours, if we have not already made use of them, we shall give the Reader an Account.

To pass those which are merely of Ecclesiastical Concernment. The eleventh Law or Article tells us what was the Original of Danegeld, declaring that The payment of it was appointed for Pirates, which infesting the Countrey, was-

ted it to their utmost power. Now for repressing their Insolence, Danegeld was D.megeld laid appointed to be yearly paid, viz. twelve pence out of every Hide of Land through-upon Hide: out the Kingdom, to hire those that should resist the Irruption of Pirates. Here the Reader is to remember what we faid before concerning King Ethelred's raifing of this Money called Danegeld, that two forts of Payments are called by that Name, viz. that which upon occasion was raised to give the Danes wherewith to buy off their Hostilities now and then as the case required, and that other which was imposed for procuring Danish Ships and Men to restrain

(a) A Latin. foris, binc exteris

Forestiere pro peregime, Saltus autem bujusmodi Saxonibus nostris & Danis dicebantur Buc Dole, i. e. Saltus Cervinus ; aliter teperalo vel beonralo, q. d. ferarum stabulum.

(b) Vide eas si placet apud Spelman, in Glossar. voc. Foresta.

(c) Sine Chacea tamen quid boc fibi erlit venatores viderint.

C. 78. Sax. c. 109. apud Jornal. Drinclean à Sax, bninc & lean finendium, tributum, unde nostratium

Scotale à Sax. rcot (potius rceat) symbolum & ale cerevisia.

11. De Danegeldo, Danegeldum redditio propter pyratas pr<del>imit</del>us ftatuta eft, &c.

the Irruptions and Infolencies of the Northern Rovers, the former (as we faid Sect. 12 was upon occasion, but this was Annual. As for the payment of the latter, the Custome was, according to the Laws of that Age, that the Richer fort should be taxed according to the number of Hides, as is evident from Doomfday Book, written in the time of King William the first. Now as to the Rate, Marianus Scotus, Hoveden, and Florentius Wigorniensis, all tell us that at that time whosoever possessed three hundred and ten Cassatas or Hides of Land, was charged with the building of one Ship, and a Coat of Armour and an Helmet was imposed upon nine, or as Huntingdon and others upon eight; all being rated proportionably after this manner, who were owners of more or sewer Hides, or of part of an Hide. Huntingdon faith an Hide was so much Land as could be Tilled with one Plough in one year. But others of the quantity of Hides determine otherwise. And indeed it was various according to the different Customs of several Countries.

149. Some there are who write, that two Shillings were yearly laid upon eve-Dialogus Cacry Hide of Land for suppression of those Pirates, so that they make the pay-caris M. S.

ment double to what is faid by this Law afcribed to King Edward. But as they trem Math. differ herein without any reason; so do they with as little discretion set the Math Paris, yearly Tax at the rate of thirty eight thousand Pounds; as others do at thirty Vide Scillenum thouland. For at what Rate foever that Tribute was paid to the King according in according to the Line accordi to the alteration of times, it appears for certain from our feveral Histories that the Stipends usually allowed to the Danish Fleet were so uncertain, that they were fometimes higher, fometimes lower, as it could scarcely otherwise happen, according to the number of Ships and Forces, that were necessary for defence of the Realm. This payment being higher or lower as occasion served, was to be sure paid till the year MLI, or the tenth of this King Edward the Confessour. "But then as Ingulphus himself tells us, in regard that the Earth did not bring forth its "fruits in fuch plenty as it was wont, but devoured many People by Famine, thousands dying through fearcity of Corn and want of Bread, the Pious King being moved with Compassion towards the People, released that most grievous Tribute called Danegeld to all England for ever. It is reported (faith he) by fome, that this most Religious King being brought by his Officers into the Treafury to see the Danegeld that was collected, and to take a view of so vast an heap of Treasure, stood amazed at the first fight, protesting that he beheld the Devil dancing upon the heap of Money, and extremely rejoycing, whereup-on he immediately commanded it should be restored to its former Owners, and would not keep any of fo cruel an Exaction, but remitted it for ever, wiz. In the thirty eighth year after Swane King of Demark commanded it to be paid every year to his Navy, in the time of his Father Ethelred. So Ingulphus, with whom agree both Hoveden and Matthew of Westminster, that King Edward remitted it for ever. Yet whatever this good King might refolve or order, the Dialogue belonging to the Exchequer makes it to have been paid for fourteen years longer, till the time of the Conquerour; nay, during his Reign, and the Reigns of his Successours, when they either had or suspected a War with Foreigners.

Courses being taken to scower the Seas and defend the Kingdom, of which we are not here to take notice. 150. The twelfth Article of St. Edward's Laws declares, That the Peace of the King is manyfold. As sometimes it's given by his own hand, which the English call Cyninger honoe realbe gnyp. This was given to places and Persons by way of Privilege as to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King Edward and Guthrun the Dane, in which it is termed Cyninger hand gni). Another fort of Peace is on that day he is Crowned, which lasts eight An. s. days. That at Christmas, which holds also eight days, as also at the Feasts of Ea-ster and Whitsontide. Another sort is given by his Brief or Letters. And another there is belonging to the four great High-ways, viz. Watlingstreet, Foss, Hickenild-street, and Ermingstreet, whereof two are extended to the length, and two to the bredith of the Kingdom. Another yet there is of the Rivers of note, which convey Provisions to Cities or Towns. Then doth this Writer declare the Forfeitures incurred for breach of these several forts of the King's Peace, as to which we refer the Reader to the Laws and Customs already mentioned, as well as to what he here writes thereof; onely here mentioning this, that the Breach of the King's Peace in those great High-ways and Rivers was punishable in the greater Assemblies or

From Hoveden it appears, as well as from the Interpolatour of St. Edward's Laws,

that it was paid to William Rufus and King Stephen, and from the Accompts of the Exchequer, fometimes to Henry the second, after which it grew out of date, other

14.

Sect. 12. Courts of Judicature, but that in the leffer Ways and Waters was subject to the Law of the County. The fourteenth declares, That Treasure found in the Earth is the King's, except found in a Church or Church-yard; in this case if it be Gold it's all the Kings; if Silver one half goes to him and another to the Church.

151. The fitteenth treateth of Murther, and declares, That if any one was murthered, the Murtherer was wont to be enquired for in the Village or Town where the Body was found. If he was discover d, he was delivered up to the King's Justice within eight days after the Fatt committed. In case he could not be found, a Month and a day was allowed for search after him, within which term, if he could not be found, forty fix Marks were gathered out of the Town, and if it was not able to pay fo much, what it could not the Hundred was liable to. But forasmuch as this payment could not be made in the Towns, and Inconveniencies arose, the Barons took care that fix and forty Marks should be paid out of the Hundred, and being sealed up with the Seal of some one Baron of the County, they were sent to the Treasurer, and by him kept so sealed up for a Tear and a Day, within which time if the Murtherer was found out, upon his delivery to the King's Justice they were to be repayed; but in case within that time be could not be discovered, then were the Kindred of the Murthered Party to have fix of the Marks, and the King the other forty. If he had no Kindred his Lord was to receive it; and if no Lord his sworn and devoted Friend and Companion. If none of these there were, the King should have the whole Sum, all men living under his Peace and Protettion. Now the fixteenth Article tells us, that Murthers were found out and appointed (that is this way of discovery and punishing the Hundred if the Party could not be found) in the days of Cnute the Danish King, who after he had gotten England and fetled it in Peace, at the request of the English Barons sent back his Army into Denmark. These Barons became Sureties to the King, that all that flaid behind with him should in all things enjoy perfect Peace. But in case an Englishman killed any of them, if he could not clear himself by the Judgment of God, that is, by Water or Iron (meaning Ordeal) Justice was to be executed upon him, And in case he escaped, Payment was to be made as is aforesaid.

152. That which made King Canute thus fearfull and cautious, was the memory of the Massacre committed upon the Danes, during the Reign, and by the Command of King Ethelred. The fense of this made him keep an Army on foot along time, which forely oppreffing the People gave occasion to the Request of the Nobility, (the Norman Interpolatour calls them Barons) and to the making of this Law. And when the Normans had conquered the Countrey, they Conscious to themselves that from their ulage of the Natives, they could expect no better entertainment than what the Danes had received, made use of it for their own fafety. If a Norman was found flain, his death was more grievoully by far punished than that of an Englishman; the onely mitigation of it was if the Englescheria of him that was killed could be made out, that is, that he was

an Englishman, and neither Dane nor Norman, nor any Stranger. Hence came this word Englesceria, Englecheria, or Engleceria to be used as the name of this Law. For, as Braction writes, when any one was killed it was prefumed he was a Frenchman, Nisi Englecheria, i.e. quod Anglicus sit probetur per parentes & coram Justitiaris præsentetur, Except bis Englecheria, that is, that he was an Englishman could be proved by his Relations and presented before the Justices. But this Law was abrogated by the Statute of the Fourteenth of Edward the Third as Stanford writes, who delivers also that this Englecheria was an Institution of the Common Law, whereby you may take notice, faith Sir Henry Spelman, that our Modern Lawyers attribute that to the Common Law, whereof they can find neither beginning in their Annals nor in their Book of Statutes. But according to this History, and the Original of it, well enough doth Bracton

define Murther to be the killing of a Man privately, none either being present, knowing, hearing, or feeing. But Fleta feems beside the matter, saying, that it was not Murther except it was proved that the Party slain was English and no Stranger, as Dr. Comell understands him, who rightly observes, that at this day Marther is otherwise to be defined, viz. by prepensed malice, whether secretly or openly, be the man what he will.

Fictitium Substantivum à Saxonic. Englire. Anglicus. Quafi Anglietas vel nativitas Anglica.

Vide Bracton. L. 3. Tract. 1.

Pl. Cor. l. 1. c. 2.

Ex quo animadvertas hodiernos furifconfultos id legi Communi tribuere, cuju initium nec in Annalibus sun nec in Stau torum Volumine deprehenderint. In Giffer. voc. Englecheria.

153. The seventeenth Article concerning the Duty of the King, and the Right Sect. 12. and Appendices of the Kingdom of Britain, as also the Epistle of Eleutherius to Lucius King of Britain, favour so much of the Interpolatour, that to him we leave them. The eighteenth Declares the King's Power by virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon loss of Life and Member, yet so as the Malefactour make satisfaction to such as he hath injured, according to his power, and find sureties for his good behaviour, which if he doe not, he is to be banished. The nineteenth in like manner, Declares his Royal Prerogative to be fuch, that he may set at liberty a Captive or Prisoner, whereever he comes in any City, Borough, Castle or Village, or if he meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Iet shall he that is so set at liberty, make satisfaction to the injured Party. But a Murtherer, Traytour, or one Guilty of like Crimes, although the King pardon him as to Life and Member, according to the Law, shall in no wife stay in the Countrey, but shall swear that he will depart to the Sea Coast within a Term set him by the Justice, and pass over as soon as he can get the opportunity of a Ship and Wind. And in case any such be perjured and stay in the Land, any one as he meets them, may doe Justice upon them. And if any one entertain such a Malefactour for one fingle night, he shall be fined in the bighest degree, according to the Laws of the English or Danes; for the second night he shall pay double, and for the third be punished as an Associate and Abet-tour of Malesactours. If such leave any Wives behind them, which by the Kindred of the murthered Party, are accused as conscious to, and partakers with their Husbands in the Crimes committed, they shall by Ordeal purge themselves, by which if they make their Innocence appear, they shall continue free with their Dowers and Emoluments they have by Marriage. As for their Children born or begotten, before the Commission of the Fact, they shall neither be Outlawed, nor loose their Inheri-

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Empire. St. Edward.

154. The twenty seventh Article, gives leave to harbour a Stranger or Foreigner, whom in English they termed Cup J uncup, that is, known or unknown, as a Guest for two nights together: If within this space he transgres, he that harbour'd him shall not be answerable for him. But if any one he injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the Counsel and Advice of him that lodged him, he shall with two of his honest Neighbours by Oath purge himself as to the Advice and Fact, or otherwife make satisfaction. But in case any one lodge a Stranger three nights, and he commit any offence, he shall be answerable for him, as for one of his own Family, accor-vanight ding to the English saying; two nights a Guest, and the third night one of the House. Sere pris If he cannot produce the Malefactour, he shall have allowed him a month and a day to night agen doe it, within which time, if the Malefattour be taken he shall make satisfaction if huner be can, and with corporal punishment, if it be so adjudged. If he cannot find him within that time, he shall make compensation for the loss sustained, and undergoe the within that time, he shall make compensation for the loss squamea, and undergoe the forfeiture, and if the fusice have him suspected, shall purge himself by the Tryal of the Hundred or Shire. The twenty eighth, wills that if any one bring any Cattel or Money into a Town, and say he found them, before he bring them to his own or any other man's House, he carry them to the Church, and before the Priest, the chief Officer of the Town, and the better fort of Men declare all he found, whatever it be, Then shall the Officer of the Town send to the four next Towns adjoyning, for the Priests and the Officers, who shall bring with them three or four of the Inhabitants of the best note of each Town, before whom all that is found shall be produced and shewn. They being Witnesses, the Officer of the Town where the finder dwells, shall keep the thing by him till the morrow, and then goe to the Governour of that Hundred, of which his Town is a Member, and to him he shall shew all. If it was found in the Ground belonging to a Lord who hath not his Customes or Privileges, viz. Sake and Soke, the Finder shall deliver all up to the Governour of the Hundred if he will receive it, with good witness. But if the Lord have such Privileges, he shall be answerable to him in his Court.

155. The twenty ninth Article, will have all Men know, that all Jews, wheresoever they are in the Kingdom, ought to be under the King's Liege Protection, and Safeguard, neither without his Licence can any of them put themselves under any Rich Man. For the Jews and all theirs are the Kings. And in case any one detain them or their money, the King shall make enquiry if he please of his own. The thirtieth; gives warning to such as have the King's Pecce, either by his Hand or his Letters, that they be faithfull to him; as also that they must necessarily observe, and keep it inviolably towards all others, neither because of this Protection, detain other Mens Rights, whether of their Lords or Neighbours; for a funch as he is not worthy of this Peace, that will not himself strictly observe it. In case out of too much con-

Sect. 12. fidence therein, he proudly injure any man, he shall make double compensation for the left which the English call Application. The thirty first requires, that the King's C 31. Peace, granted by his own Hand, that of the eight days of his Coronation, of the cions peace, Fessis lately mentioned, and the others granted by his Breve or Letters, if broken, have the same way of panishment or forfeiture, and that by the greatest way of tryal, had in the County where it was broken; as thus. In Danelaga, or after the Law of the Danes; by eighteen hundreds, which number makes up seven times twenty pounds and four: because the Danes had the forfeiture of the hundred; those of Norway had eight pounds, Therefore eight being multiplied by eighteen, make up an hundred and fourty four. And this was not done without cause: For of these eight pounds, the Ring had an hundred Shillings, and the Conful (Earl he means) of the County fifty, he having the third penny of forfeitures: But the Dean of the Bishop in whole Deanry the Peace was broken, the other ten remaining, the Peace of the King, viz. granted with his own Hand, that of his Coronation, and the Fealts above aid of Christmas, Easter and Whitsontide.

156. The thirty fixth Article directs that, if after a Man be flain as a Thief or C. 36. Robber, any complaint be made to the Justice, that the man was wrongfully put to D. larrenden. death, and lyes buried among st Thieves, and such like Malesatiours, and offers to make it good, that he first give fecurity for so doing. "Then shall a month and a day be allowed him to bring together the Kindred of the dead man, of both " forts, twelve by his Fathers fide, and fix by his Mothers. In case these eigh-"teen will take the matter upon them, together with him who first complained " and hath given fecurity, let every one of them give also security with a Sword, " and afterward find furcties, who shall be able to pay his Were, in case they " cannot make good what they have undertaken. Then must be that killed the " man give fecurity, and find furcties to ingage that he was justly flain, and as "a Thief justly lyes, according to the Law amongst such Malefactours. And "first, he must shew in what Thest or Robbery, and how he was slain. If it " appear that he was taken alive, let him name the Justice and Judge, and pro-" duce his lawfull Witneffes out of the Neighbourhood, which Perions, if they " warrantize that Justice was rightly done upon the man as a Thief, he that kil-" led him shall be acquitted; and those that made their complaint shall forfeit " their ingagement as to the Judges and Witneffes. But if they make it out "that he was unjustly flain, he that killed him shall forfeit his obligation to the Justice of the Bishop, and find sureties for doing what is right: then shall the Justice of the Bishop (his Officer he means) cause a Procession to be made " with a Prieft, habited in an Albe Maniple, and Stole, and Clerks in their Sur-" plices, with Holy-water and a Crofs, the Candleslicks and Incense-por, with " Fire and Incense going before, and the Friends of the dead having taken his " Body up, shall put it on a Biere, and carry it to the Church, where Mass being faid for him, and other Rites performed, they shall inter him as becomes a . Qual As-"Christian. Then within fixteen days, shall he that killed him pay to the Bishop gli dicent

" he gave fecurity to acquit himself but could not. 157. The thirty feventh Article or Chapter, tells us that King Edward defended or prohibited Vsurers, forbidding them to remain in any part of his Kingdom. And if any was convicted to have exacted Usury, he was to forfeit all his Estate, and be outlaw'd. And you must know that he heard it faid in the Court of the French King, while he there fojourned, that Ofury was the root of all Vices. The next Article acquaints us, that in the same Law also was prohibited the buying of quick Cattel, or used Cloth without furcties or good witnesses. If it was a thing of Gold or Sil-

ver, or seemed such to be, it should not be bought without the testimony of Goldsmiths or Minters, who if they saw it belonged to the Church or Treasury, should take care it were not done without security. In case the seller could find no sureties, the thing with what belonged to it, should be kept till his Lord came or some other that would warrantize him. If any one bought any thing without these circumstances, he should forfeit it, and otherwise be punished. Afterward the Justice was to enquire by the lawfull men and those of best account in the Town, Village, or Hundred where the buyer dwelt, of what manner of life he was, and whether ever he was charged with any other misdemeanour. If it was affirmed that he was a Man of good

"three forfeits. One for killing an honest Man instead of a Thies, another be his enme " cause he Buried his (Christian) \* Brother as a Thief; and the third, because Content C. 37. De Osirrariis, Osirrarios ques, defendit Rex Edwardus. Normanus he seriptor unitur voce defendit ut hodiemi Franci pro vetare, prohibere. Nostrates etiam aliquibus in locis adhuc dicunt, God

defend, pro Deus veter, God forbid.

C. 38. De emptionibus sive sidejussoribus, quod Anglice dicitur sasteman-

repute, he finald purze himself by the Judgment or Sentence of the County, that he Sect. 12. knew not the seller to be guilty as to the sale, neither of any other crime, and if he knew not the fetter to be gathly as to the jute, neither of any other crime, until the could, should tell who, and where he was: whereapon the Julice should enquire after him to bring him to Tryal; and if he could not be found be should be outland. Now De Emporithe thirty ninth and last, farther acquaints us, that whereas it is faid that no man bu & Mashould buy any quick Cattel without sureties; The Butchers of the Cities and Towns, cheanist. whom the English called Fleshmongers, made complaint that they every day ought to buy such Cattel, to kill and sell them; forasmuch as in the death of Cattel, their life confifted. Moreover, the Citizens, Townsmen, and the multitude, cryed out for their Customs, that about Martinmas, they were wont to buy Cattel in the Market, to kill against Christmas. Great murmuring was there amongst the People, by reason of this Law. Wherefore I am of opinion, saith our Writer, that as in other Assemblies, if the question had been put yea or nay, they would have answered the latter, and if you had been present, you should have heard private murmurings, as well as clamours and noise of the tumultuous People. Therefore the King thought fit not to take away from them these Customs that were just and prudent: witnesses and consideration of the sellers, being of force in bargaining in the King's Market.

CHAP. II. Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp. St. Edward.

158. These are they which bear the Name of the Laws of King Edward the Confessiour, together with such as we formerly mentioned in describing the Polity of our English S.ixons. But such as ( what we hinted before ) are rather to be called Rhapfodies than Laws, being Notes or Comments made upon his Laws by fome Sciolus, some pretender in the time of the Norman Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. Edward fo much talked of, fo much contended for, both by word and fword, after the Conquest, he must not understand these to have been the Laws, which are onely some scraps taken up and commented on in this manner. For indeed these Laws were said to be the Laws of the Confessour after the Norman Revolution, not because he made or exacted, but observed them, as the Monk of Malmesbury tells us. One of those that King Canute enacted, or rather revived with some other circumstance, being in substance formerly ordained by King Alfred, commanding every one above twelve years old, to be entred into some Century and Tithing, Bracton ascribes to this King, writing that this was enjoyned by the Law of Edward the Confessour. So this Lib. 3. Interpolatour or Noter himself tells you, that those Laws of St. Edward so much Tradi: 2. defired, and at length obtained from the Conquerour, were invented and conflituted in the time of King Edgar, his Grandfather; but after his death they were laid afide for fixty eight years, during the Reigns of the succeeding Princes. But after that King Edward came to the Crown by the Counsel of his Barons, he revived, repaired, adorned and confirmed this Law, and being confirmed, it was called the Law of King Edward, not that he first invented it, but when it had been laid aside and quite forgot, from the time of his Grandsather Edgar; for the faid space of fixty eight years, because it was just and honest, he drew it out of the deep pit of oblivion, renewed and delivered it to be observed as his own. By these and other circumstances, we may gather that the whole Body of these Laws we have recited, or all fuch of them as were approved by this King Edward, who was a Prince of great mildness and indulgence to his People, such written Laws as were in force in his time, and fuch Cultoms as had been all along

159. Now after the Norman Conquest what alteration was made in those ancient · Laws and Customs, by introducing the Norman way of Fees, and other matters out of that Countrey, as also after the strugling of the Barons, how far Magna Charta and the Common Law were the issue and product of these English Saxon Laws and Customs is not our work, especially now to enquire, lest we should exceed the Bounds of our present Period, and seem to thrust our siekle into the Corn of o ther Men. But this would better be done, by digesting these Saxon Laws into a Methodical Body under certain Heads, which feems not very hard to be accomplithed. For these Laws it's more than time we difmiss them, having already committed an Extravagance, being carried farther than the general Nature of our

observed in the Saxon times, and still were kept on foot in his days, were after

the Norman Conquest, when the People so earnestly contended for their Liber-

ties, called by the Name of the Laws of St. Edward, thereby being indeed meant

the English Saxon Laws, which received denomination from him, being in effect

the last King of that Race, and one whose memory the People reverenced and

preserved in an especial manner, for the great Reputation he had got of Sanctity,

and the gentleness of his Disposition.

The Polity of the English Saxons in Britain, Sect. 12 Delign permits, and not to be practifed as to other Nations, but that the defire 334 of giving the Reader the most ample Knowledge of his own Countrey, that we could, hath transported us. So feant are our Histories of those times, that had it not been for these Laws, very little of the Polity of our Ancestours could have been discovered, and thence it is no wonder, if sometimes we meet in them several things that are obscure, or at this distance not perfectly to be understood. For the main they do very much contribute to the Knowledge of the Saxon Antiquity, the Nature of the Government with the State of those times, and the humour and temper of the People, matters of the greatest consequence in things Historical. By the Nature and Force of the Medicine, a skilfull man will know both the kind and violence of the Disease, Punishments, Censures and Cautions are the Medicines which are preferibed in the Laws. By the general Current of these Laws, which run against Theft for prevention both by Suretyship and Punishments, as Theft the we hinted before, the general Inclination of the People to that vice may be difcovered. But whereas the Thest most aimed at by the Laws is that of Cattel, and fuch care is taken for purfuing them when floin, this thereby is hinted to us, that the Wealth of our Saxon Ancestours, as of the Ancients chiefly and principally confiled in Cattel, Gold and Silver with other Goods or Houshold stuff of price and value, being not so ordinary in these days, nor some Ages after as in succeeding times. Therefore were Rents formerly paid in kind, and our Rings themselves were so paid till the time of Henry the Second, who changed the Custome. And in the writings of those Saxon and later times by the word Pecunia, quick Goods or Cattel are often meant, which are for explication expressed, sometimes by Viva Pecunia. And from their Heads or Capita, was framed the word Capital, Capitale, Capitale, Capitalia, which fignified Goods movcable or immoveable, fometimes Pledges and the Price and Value of things, and what we English now term Catalla and Chattels; but originally Beasts or quick Goods. But of the Saxon Laws fo much, from the Knowledge of which as we faid very much benefit may be reaped, though we go no farther than to those published by Mr. Lambard, those being sufficient if not more than sufficient to

Danegeld.

160. We have seen the Polity or Government of the English Saxons much by our Delign. Subdidies, Re their Laws and otherwise, for the maintenance and support whereof, we must venues and Profits of the admonish the Reader to take notice what Revenues and Profits the Kings enjoyed. Belides their own Demein-Lands, he may observe how much came to them by the way of Mulcts, fo frequently occurring in the Laws. Then for Danegeld that much money they received yearly from the People. And for military Expeditions both by Sea and Land, they levied much money of the People, which they called Heregeld. By Doomfday Book, (which Book besides the knowledge and valuation of the Provinces, contains very many Cultoms in use amongst the Contribution English Saxons) it appears that several Towns contributed by prescription toward Naval Preparations. As to inflance in some. It was a Custome at Warwick, if the King went by Sea against his Enemies, to send him either four Boatfwanes (Sea Souldiers or Mariners ) or else four pounds in money. And the City of Exeter, when he made any expedition by Land or Sea, served after the Rate of five Hides of Land. The three Towns of Barnestable, Lydeford and Totnes, paid asmuch as Exeter alone. The City of Glocester paid six and thirty Dicres of Iron, and an Hundred Iron Rods fitted to make Nails for the King's Ships. Leicester, if the King went against his Enemies by Sea, sent him four Horses to London for conveyance of Arms or other Necessaries. At Lewes in Suffex, King Edward the Confesiour had an hundred and twenty seven Burghers at his service, who if the King went not hiraself in Person, but sent others to guard the Sea, collected twenty shillings of every man of what Countrey foever he were, and provided men who were to look to the Arms on shipboard. Moreover Colchester paid out of every House that was able fix pence a year for maintenance of the King's Souldiers, upon an expedition by Sea or Land.

161. Some places held many Privileges by way of service, as Torksey, a Town of Lincolnshire upon the Trent, wherein before the Conquest were numbered two Hundred Burghesses, enjoyed many on this condition, that they should transport the King's Ambassadours, whensoever they came this way in their own Barges along that River, and conduct them as far as Tork. From this same survey of England, sufficiently is evident that most eminent Towns paid money to the King upon several accounts, and sometimes to the Earl or Alderman of the Shire. As for the later way of Subfidies, we must say with a Learned man that we cannot

find that the Saxon Kings had any collected after the modern manner. But they Sect. 12. had many Customs whereby they levied money of the People, or personal fervice as we have already faid, and toward the Building and repairing of Cities, Spelm Gloff.

Caftles and Bridges (as we have feen in their Laws) which they called Burghbote vec-fubfidium. and Brigbote. The Danegeld being imposed upon Hides of Land, it was afterwards called Hidagium, and this Name remained afterward upon all Taxes and Subfidies imposed upon Lands, for money was also imposed upon Cattel, but then it was called Hornegeld. When the Normans came in they called both these forts, fometimes according to the Latin and Greek word Taxes; and fometimes according to their own word Tallagium from tallier to cut or divide, and fometimes according to the word usual beyond the Seas, Auxilia and Subsidia. The Conquerour had these kinds of Taxes, and made a Law for the manner of levying

Their Cuf-

Hornegeld and other

CHAP. II.

162. Of their Polity and Laws we have faid enough. Their Customs as of all other Nations, partly proceeded from their Laws and Polity, or were adjuncts of them, and partly from their natural Dispositions and Tempers. Their Disposition, as we formerly shewed, was very sierce and warlike before Prosperity and Idleness betrayed them to effeminate Courses. By the constitution of their Government, they were to appear all once a year in Arms, which gave occasion to the Massacre of the Danes in the time of Ethelred, which cultome rendred them expert and valiant by way of use and exercise. But a natural Courage they required in their Children while yet but Infants, and as the Eagle is faid to try her young ones by fetting their Eyes and Faces against the Sun, so those of East England tried the Magnanimity and Courage of their Babes by another Experiment though of a more ordinary and homely Nature. "They were wont "to fet them upon the thatcht fides of their Houses, and such of them as were a-" fraid and hung timorously or cried for fear of falling, they pronounced would

" be pufillanimous and Cowards; but fuch as laid fast hold of the Straw, clung fast "to the Thatch, and fearless would endeavour to secure themselves, with great " Acclamation they predicted, that they would be Stoutheres, as their term was, "or valiant, magnanimous or courageous Lords. 163. The ordinary way of their Reckoning or Supputation of times was by

tation of time. Winters, possibly for this reason at first in barbarous times, because the memory

of sharp and severe weather, as of all other things which smart, make a stronger impression in the memory. And as they preferred Winter before Summer in their Reckoning, so also Night before Day, which custome we still retain using these words, a Sennight and Fortnight for Seven Nights, and Fourteen Nights more usually than feven days, or fourteen days, even as Tacitus writes of the old Germans, their way Nec diermin of Computation. Their year was two fold, natural and civil. Their natural year numerum ut they measured not as other Nations by the Sun, but the Moon, beginning it nos fed notifiwhen she was at the full after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, when the greatest time c Tides usually fall out, and hence this Month they called by the Name of Winter filleth. For the Reader must know, that their twelve Months they equally denominated: fix from Summer and fix from Winter, but began the year with the first winter Month, which they accounted October to be, for in the days of Beda, the Autumnal Full-moon fell in this Month, and thereupon the beginning of the Saxon year was fetcht from thence, although Posterity to fix it at some certain and remarkeable time, fetled themselves upon Michaelmas Day, a Day still observed as the beginning of the year, both as to Officers, and the letting and hiring of Grounds (the Fruits of the foregoing Year being now gathered in, and feed time arrived for the following ) in many if not most places of the Land, The Civil year they derived from the five and twentieth of December or Christ- Beda. mas Day, the Night whereof they termed Modranett or the Night of Mothers, from fome Ceremonies by Matrons then used, and whereas they thus began the year before their conversion to Christianity, we may imagine it was out of respect to the winter Solftice or the Full-moon thereof, for in the Days of Fulius Cæsar, the Solstice fell on that Day.

Their Months 164. As their Years fo their Months were either Civil or Lunary. The later and the Names fort were thirteen in Number, for every year. The former were twelve for three ordinary years together, and in the fourth a thirteenth was added by way of Embolism, and placed at the end of Summer; but by these must also, whatever Beda and others write, be meant Lunary Months; for had either a folar or lunar Month been added to a civil or folar Year, the year would thereby have fwollen to three hundred ninety five, or three hundred ninety three days, which

Sect, 12 would wonderfully have perplexed the feries of times. Now to come to the Names of their Months, and begin with the first Circle, or those of Winter; we are told by Verstegan, that their Month answering to September, they called Gerst monat from Barley, which by that Month commonly yielded was anciently called Gerst, the later Name of Barley, being given unto it by reason of the drink therewith made, called Beer, and from Beerleyh it came to be Berleyh, and so Barley. But notwithstanding what this Authour writes,

yet in our ancient Saxon Monuments ordinarily, this Grain is called Bere, and thence leveral Names of Places derived, and fo indeed from the Grain the Name came to be trans-

Hinc Beretun hodie Barton vicus Hordei. Berewick vel Barwick Bereham alias Barham, pro quibus hodie utimur Grange.

terred to the Liquour, as from the place of growth to the grain it felf, for Bareley or Bereleyh, fignifies the Ley or Ground where the grain of Bere did grow. September was otherwife called also Haligemonat. That which answered to October had the Name of Wymnonat, for alleit they had not anciently Wines made in Germany, yet at this feafon they received them from the Countries adjoining. But, as we faid before, this Month they also called Winter filleth. That we call November, they termed Wintmonat or Windmonth, it being then the Custome of Mariners to shrowd themselves at home till blustering March was over, but wherefoever Verstegan picked this up we have it from better Testimony, that this Month was called Blotmonath or the Month of Immolations, because such Cattel as were to be facrificed they now devoted to their Gods. He tells us farther, that December had his due appellation given him in the Name of Winter monat, or Winter month, but that after the Saxons received Christianity they then out of devotion to the birth-time of Christ termed it by the Name of He-Geolampia ligmonat or Holy month. But Beda writes that our Saxons called December goola apby the Name of First Giuli, as January by that of Later Giuli, for these Names cena a Keol were taken from the turning of the Sun, in respect to which December precedes & boc à 5e-January, though ordinarily accounted the last of all. Hence came the Feast of olsen reddethe Nativity or Christmas, happening at this time to be called Geol, as it is by re reflicuere King Alfred, and in the Northern parts of England, as well as in Scotland, the num yield) ut G being turned into I as is usual, it is yet known by the Name of Teol or Toul, fic idem fit as by the Danes it is termed Jul. as by the Dunes it is termica fue.

pofinist refzin@ feu verfatilis quòd Sol jam ad autumnale delapfus fe in auftrum fublevat, vide Spelm. Gloff de Anno Saxonom.

165. But to take along with us what Verstegan, writes of each Month, he tells us that January was called Wolfe monat or Wolfe month, because People are wont always in that Month to be in more danger to be devoured of Wolves than in any season else of the year; for that through the extremity of Cold and Snow, those Ravenous Creatures could not find of other Beasts sufficient to feed upon. Concerning February he adds, that they called it Sprout Kele, by Kele meaning the Kelewurt, which we now call Colewart, the greatest Pot-wurt in time long past that our Ancestours used, and the Broth made therewith was thereof also called Kele. For before we borrowed from the French the Name of Potage, and that of Herb, the one in our own Language was called Kele, and the other Wurt: and as this Kele-wurt, or Potage-herb, was the chief Winter Wurt for the fustenance of the Husbandman, so was it the first Herb that in this Month began to yield out wholfome young Sprouts, and confequently gave thereto the Name of Sprout-kele. But from Beda we are assured that the Old Saxons called February by the Name of Solmonath, as the Month of Cakes, which in it they offered to their Gods. The word Saoul indeed of Old to the Textonick Nations fignified Meat, and still it is used in the French Language for one who is filled with Meat, or especially Drink. But here Beda interprets it of Cakes, which the Idolatrous Fews are faid to have Offered to the Queen of Heaven, Jerem 7.15. probably the Sun, which in the Hebrew is of the Feminine Gender. And the Germans (as Tacitus witnesseth) Worshipped also the Sun, and still use the same Gender.

166. These were the Months belonging to the Winter Course. Of those of the Summer Semicycle the first was that answering to March, which (as Verflegan fays) they called Lenct-monat, or according to our present Orthography Length-month, because at this Scason the Days first begin in length to exceed the Nights. This Month being by our Ancestours so called when they received Christianity, and consequently therewith the Ancient Custome of Fasting, they called this Chief time of Fasting the Fast of Lent, because of the Lents monat, whereon the greatest part of the Duration of this Fasting always fell, and hereof it cometh that we now call it Lent, it being rather the Fast of Lent,

though the former Name of Lenct monat be long fince loft, and the Name of March borrowed instead thereof. But though (as he writes) this Name be lost long fince, yet there's another mentioned by Beda, which having a more ancient Original, seems also to have ceased long before it. For the Saxons (as he witnesseth) termed this Month by the Name of Read monath, from their Goddess Rheda, to which they Sacrificed at this time of the year. What Goddess this was, neither Tacitus, nor Cæsar, nor Diodorus do tell us; but the Saxon word Read fignifying Council, probable it is the thence received the Name, that as (Tacitus writes) the Germans were wont to Consult at the beginning or Full of the Moon, and confequently at the Full Moon of this Month, held their great Consultations for the year ensuing. For (as Sir Henry Spelman well observes) Pliny demonstrates the Moon to be most potent at the Aquinoctials, and therefore March and September have been esteemed as most fit for such

167. To the Month of April answered that which they called by the Name of Ofter or Eoster monath, from their Goddess Eostre, as most write, whose Festival they now observed. Some call her Goster, and yet she was supposed to cause the Winds (which by ancient Observations were found in this Month) most commonly to blow from the East. Now East in the Teutonick is Off. as Oftend, which rightly in English is Eastend, hath that Name for the Eastern situation of it, as to the Ships it appears which through the narrow Seas come from the West; so that Ofter seems the true writing, and Goster to have crept in by way of mistake. But by a prophane Custome hath this Heathenish Name been applied to the most facred Festival of Christianity, so hard is it to obliterate old Manners and Habits; though fome there have been who interpret the word concerning the Resurrection, and thence in the Teutonick call it Costern; which some ancient Copies of Beda do savour, calling it Costur, and not Eoster. But in Saxony the Feast is called Oftern at this present, which hath near affinity with oursand their Ofter Monath. The pleasant Month of May they termed by the Name of Trimilki, because in that Month they began to milk their Kine three times a day, such being it seems of old the fertility of Britain, or of Germany, out of which this Nation came into the Island, though no fuch fruitfulness now appears in either Countrey that we know of. However on the eighth day of this Month Beda placeth the beginning of Summer. To June (as Verstegan will have it) they gave the Name of Weyd Monat, because their Beasts did then Weyd in the Meadows, that is to say, so to feed there. For a Meadow in the Teutonick is called a Weyd, and of Weyd we yet retain our word Wade, which we understand of going through watery places, such as Meadows are wont to be. But Beda writes, that June in Saxon was called Erralida, Lida signifying fair or navigable, as the Season is pleasant and fit for Navigation both in June and July, whereupon June they termed Lida Era or Lida the first, and July Lida after or Lida the Second. Verstegan writes, that July was called Hen Monat or Hay Monat, that is to fay, Hay Month, because therein they usually Mowed and made their Hay-harvest. And August they termed Arn Monat, or more rightly Barn Monat, intending thereby the then filling of their Barns with Corn. But from Beda it appears, that August in Saxon was called Weod, or Wend Monat (not Wenden Monath, as some Copies corruptly have it) from Cockle, which then doth most abound. He uses Cockle as a species to express the genus, for which the Latin Tongue hath no proper word; but the Saxon fully expresfeth it by that of Weod, as we still at this day by Weeds, thereby fignifying all forts of harmfull or unprofitable Herbs.

· 168. To this Account of the Saxon Months and Year, we shall onely add some Customs which we cannot but observe out of Ingulphus, and so dismiss this almost tedious Subject. First he tells us it was the Custome of the English, that when any one was to be Confecrated to Warfare, the Evening preceding the day of his Confecration he should confess his Sins with Contrition and Compunction, to a Bishop, Abbat, or some Monk or Priest; by whom being Absolved, he should continue in the Church all night, giving himself to Prayer, Devotion and Affliction. On the Morrow, being about to hear Mass, he should Offer his Sword upon the Altar, which being Blesled, after the Gospel, the Priest should put about the Neck of the Souldier with his Benediction: then having communicated, he should be accounted and

remain a lawfull Souldier. This custome of Confecrating Hanc consecrandi militis consuetudinem Normanni abominantes non mslitem legitimum, &c. p. 901. a Souldier (Miles he terms him) the Normans afterward

abominated, not accounting fuch an one a lawfull Souldier, but a dull and heavy Knight, a degenerate Citizen. But faith Ingulphus, not onely this, but other customs they changed. For the English way of making Writings of Contracts, which till the time of King Edward were wont to be confirmed by the Subscriptions of credible Persons, together with the shape of Golden Crosses, and other facred Manners of Signature, the Normans condemning, gave to these Chirographa the Name of Charts,

Hic omnino distinguendam inter ascrip-tionem in militiam honorariam & culgarem. Hac gregarii militis, illa infiguo-ris. Ad gregarii fufficit post evecationem vel conductionem nuda solummedo in tabulas militares conferiptio. Ad alterius folennitas adhibenda.

PART IV.

nre of Wri-

and confirmed these Charts by impressions of Wax made by each one's particular Seal, and the Attestation of three or four Witnesses present at the Action. Their manner At first many Possessions were passed over by word of Mouth alone without of passing Scrip or Scroll, onely with the Sword, the Helmet, the Horn or Cup of the Owner: many Tenements with a Spur, or Bow, and some with an Arrow. This was the Custome at the first coming in of the Conquerour, which shortly after was absolutely changed. After this, he writes, how the Normans absolutely changed. minated English Men, and drove them from all Dignities. He adds, that they fo abominated their Language, that the Laws of the Land, and the Ordinances of the English Kings were handled in the French Tongue, and to Children at School were the Rudiments of Grammar explained not in English, but in French, and the Englift manner of Writing being laid afide, the French mode was introduced in all Charts and Books.

169. What Ingulphus, as to the Custome of the English Saxons calls Chirographa, and after the coming of the Normans, Charts or Charters; after the Decay of the Roman Empire, under the Emperours themselves, and the Kings of the Goths and Lombards, went under the Name of Epifles, and by this Name all matters of Conveyance and Contract were transacted. Their style is turgid, affected and not beferming Majesty, as sufficiently appears from those of Caffiodorus. Some of our present Charts or Deeds still retain the Form of an Epistle, as thus, To All Christian People to whom these Presents shall come greeting. Know ye, &c. And the King in conferring honours, and other matters, still follows this Form. To All Archbishops, Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Barons, &cc. The Ancients had as many forts of Epiftles as we have of Charters, or more; as for Adoption, Donation, Concession, Confirmation, and many other, as may be seen sufficiently in Marculfus. As to the manner of the English Writing, though our Authour says it was new laid aside, and the French brought in at the time of the Conquest, yet

toward the end of his Hiftory he tells us, that the Saxon Hand was used by all Mann ele-Saxons and Mercians till the time of King Alfred, but he being very well influe- nin Saxonic do omnibut ted in Learning by French Teachers, though before his time it was used in all Saxonibu 8 Writings, by degrees grew out of Efteem, and the French Hand as more legible and Merciii 11/9 writings, by degrees grew out of Enterin, and the Premo Hand as index regions and additional pleasant, began to be practifed by the English. Therefore he affures us, that additional the Charters granted to his Monastery by King Ethelbald, and all the ancient &c. p. 912. Kings were written in the Saxon Hand alone; but those of Edred and Edgar were written double, both with Saxon and French Characters. 170. It appears therefore from all that Ingulphus fays upon this Subject laid

together, that from King Alfred's time the Saxon Characters were not fo much uled as formerly, but not abolished, as appears from very many Monuments yet extant aswell of Civil as Ecclefiastical concernment (whereof some in the Latin Tongue it felf) all written after the time of King Alfred, and to be feen both in the publick Library of the University of Cambridge, and the private or inner Library of Corpus Christi College. Nay, notwithstanding what the Conquerour and the other Norman Kings could doe, both Language and Character continued in use, those things being carried by the Multitude notwithstanding all opposition. Therefore as this same Ingulphus writes in another place (at the very end of his History) as to the Language William the Conquerour was forced to commend to his Justices the Laws of Edward the Confessour in the Idiome they were written, left any one by ignorance should offend against them, Annii sadon And as for the Character, it so long continued, that our Antique Hands of Court vice meaning

terium loge aquissmi Regis Edwardi, quat Dominus meut inchtus Rex Willichmus ausbenticas esse Septetuas, per tunus Regium Anglia neiolabiliter tenendas sub panis gravissmis proclamaras. S spin sustitutis commendaras es estemation conceitas sur es ignorantism contrigen nos vel nostres aliquando in nostrum grave periodum contraire Sessionado que concerno Regium Majostemo, ae inquis construir stiglismas improvedam polam ferre contentas septus in essentia, becauchte esta contribution sur sur establistica que su sur establistica de la contribution de la contribution sur establistica de la contribution de l

and Chancery owe to it their Original, however now altered by continuance Sect. 12: of time. Publick Infcriptions also were made in these Characters as appears by the Names of Kings and Noblemen in golden Letters written about the Wall of the Abby Church of Westminster. The Inscriptions also of Coins, whatever the Conquerour and his Norman Successiours did, continued ordinarily in these Characters, even till the time of Queen Mary, although some of King Edward I have also beheld, with the Roman Characters. And this is observable that those Saxon Characters were borrowed by the Irifb, feveral most ancient Books of which Nation are found written therewith, though in their own Language as I have feen, And not long fince if not at present, although they retained the sense of their own words and their own way of pronunciation, yet in writing they used the Saxon Letters. That this Communication first happened, when in the Infancy of the English Sixon Church there was great entercourse betwirt the Religious and Learned Persons of both the Scotch and English Nations, is most probable. But it feems more confirm'd after that in the days of Henry the Second the English fent their Collonies into that Island.

171. Of the Original, Nature and Progress of the English Saxon Tongue, now it remains in the last place that we should speak, if we did not daily expect an entire Treatife upon this Subject, which we cannot but promife to our felves to be very exquifite if we may judge from that very learned Preface to it already pub-

The Antiquity lifhed. This Language is of the same Antiquity with the whole Teutonick, being a of their Lan Language carried by the Colony into Afa, and brought back again by Weden, not fetch'd and derived from the Greek, as some by reason of some Correspondence do imagine, though the nearness of the People brought back by Woden to the Greeks in Asia and Thrace, might procure some Communication of Words, a Language which looks as old as any that arose from the confusion of Babel, that we may not with others carry the Original higher up. A Dialect of the Teutonick it is, to which the most ancient German Records bear most resemblance, which hath fuffered most impairment from Brethren, who having first lost their own Native Language, another Branch of the same stock, could not be satisfied withour endeavouring to abolish this also where they found it unmixt with their affectations. For the greatest alteration made in it hath been by Normans and French, both which People were Teutonick, and before they loft them in Gall spake but different Dialects of the same Tongue. Take but away French and Latin Mixtures, and what thou speakest, Reader, is still a part of this Saxon Language, especially the shortest Words and Monosyssables. By these Mixtures thou halt lost Multitudes of such Words, and now speakest by Circumlocution, what thou mightest have expressed with much more brevity; but it's well if still Feather very gay onely because it is not thine own. If Latin and French should each take their own, how naked wouldst thou appear where thou hast stript thy Copious and fmooth. felf of thine own Plumes. As this Language whereof we speak was Copious, so not harsh in its pronunciation, not so harsh as other Dialects of the Tentonick, as the Low Dutch, which bears great affinity to it, but in pronunciation is more rough and full. Where the Dutch both high and low use the d, we use the th, as for dat that, dunder thunder, dinke thinke, dicke thicke, and many more; a motion of our Tongue not easie by them to be attained. So where they write the v Confonant we make use of the f, as to inflance in a word which hits both Particulars, for their Vader we say and write Father, for their vor we say for; and Instances of this nature might be infinite.

172. In comparing our ancient English Saxon with that remainder of it we Compared now fpeak. I cannot yet but take notice of one thing, wherein Time hath done with the anci-ent Tentonick, forme fervice, in lopping off forme Superfluities with which the Dutch Tongues do still abound. In the Saxon, Be sometimes, but most commonly Ge prefixed before Verbs, Verbals, the Preterperfectence of Verbs, and the Participles of the Preterpersectense is superfluous, being that we call incaptivum augmentum, or Syllabicum, or merely Expletive, as yand i have more lately been, especially with our Poets, for the increasing of Syllables, as in yeleped, ywritten, ybroken, and the like. The Low Dutch according to their usual manner of pronouncing with Afpiration, use to put an b to it and so make it gbe. Inflances in this kind were alfo infinite; but for a few Becoapan they used for Ceapan or to fell, Beclamed for cleamed or glewed, Beclanfed for cleanfed, Becleaped for called; Geboad Prayer, Gebletfud bleffed, Gebode bidden, Gecind kindred, Gedon done, Gefeoht fight, Gehird heard, Geruote to meet, Geplantud planted, Gewrit writing, Gewitness witness, and

Sect. 12, the like. We have now quite left off the Ge, and where we retain this Augment we use it in Be, as still we say for Geleafe belief, Gecomen become, so we still say, bespeak bethought, and several others. It were tedious here to make Observations of other Alterations introduced by time and foreign Commerce, and not hard to trace them down by degrees to such as understand the Saxon Tongue, and are conversant in the Writings of Chaucer, Lidgate and others that wrote nearer to the Conquest. An entire Volume of this might be made, and the Reader in a business of his own Countrey may himself take some pains or expect an account from the Learned Authour of the Original of the English Nation. I shall now onely farther observe that the Conquerour took not so much care to destroy this Language (which his own Ancestours spake for the substance before they came into France) Quem in fibut the English our Ancestours however Conquered were as carefull to preserve it, nem superior strong seculist but the English oil Altectoria Bower and the English of Tavisloke in Devonshir majorishs and Lectures were read of it, and certain Persons were appointed to protess it, even as tris manial-long, or well night as long as these Monasteries continued. Had this course fill been man quadrant the state of the tribute of the t observed the Antiquities of our Nation with many things which now lie hidden and tuta fint, in to this giddy humour of defpiing all words, as well as Fashions and other things, ligne frienwithout consideration, merely because they are not foreign or new.

dem (cum ali-is Communicaudo) ad posteros transsmitterent. Quod quidem in Canobio monialium Tavossokensi in Comitatu Devonia, E multis aliis-conventiculis (nostrà memoria) receptium suit, credo ne ojus sermonis persista, ob lingue infolentiam penius ob-solesceres. Math. Parkens in Press. ad Hist. Alfredi.

AN

## AN INSTITUTION General History:

The History of the World,

The Fourth Part.

## BOOK II.

Of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

## CHAP. I.

From the promotion of Nicephorus, to the Death of Leo the Philosopher.

The Space of one Hundred Tears.

Nicephorus Emperour of the East, RENE being deposed as we have said, Nicephorus the Patritian, and General Logothets, was Proclaimed, and Crowned Emperour in the great Church at Conftantinople, on Tuesday, being the first of November, in the tenth Indiction, the seventh year of Pope Lee the Third, the Second of Charles the Great, Emperour of the West, A. D.

2. The day after his Promotion, knowing *Irene* to be possessed of great Treat Theophanes fures, he went to her, and with flattering words and fair promises, obtained a Codemus Hist. Wheelkakene discovery of them, after which he neglected her, and whereas the had furrendred compend in them on this condition, that the might be fuffered to live peccably and honoura. Niephor Za-bly in the Palace of Flauthering which the hos fall had been been been as a function of the state of the sta bly in the Palace of Eleutherius, which she her self had built; having obtained Tom. 3 in Then Banish his ends, he banished her to the Prince's Island, to a Monastery there also of her endem.

then banning in straight and afterwards, perceiving himfelf hated of the People, left they sher, where own building, and afterwards, perceiving himfelf hated of the People, left they field with should reftore her to her former dignity, without all mercy he removed her to Mitylene in very ill weather, and there in the Isle of Leshos she died of grief, the ninth of august after. Her Body he caused to be buried in her own Monastery; for several such places of Religion she had built, together with many Hospitals

for Relief of the Poor and Aged, and done many other Acts of Piety, as our Historians deliver----- who much admire her, and as much detest Nicephorus,

upon what ground it's easie enough to conjecture. She being gone, he betook himself in the same manner of Address to her blind Son, pretending great kindncs to him, and receiving him into his own House, out of hope to flatter him into a betraying also of more Treasure; and his flattery had such influence upon Cajoles Con-Constantine, being a Man of a light and heedless temper, that he discovered to him Treasure that was hid in the Sigma, a place so called from its semicircular F the difcovery gure. This obtained, he neglected him as he had done his Mother. And before Poisons Ni- this, on the last day of April, Nicetas Triphyllius, by whose stout endeavours ceras Triplythe he had obtained the Diademe, he so far rewarded for his good deeds, as to take moter to the him out of this miserable world by poison.

fantine for

of more.

Is very cove-

Man. Glygas calls him a Man greedy of flaughters, the flave of gold, and absolutely another Midas; writes farther, that he let to fale places of Magistracy, and ever shewed a four and angry countenance to the People, except any brought him Gold; then would he appear very gentle and gratious. Upon the City of Constantinople he laid an heavy Tribute, under pretence of repairing their old decayed Walls called Diceratum, from two Ceratia, which were paid. The dif- Ceratium dusfatisfactions railed amongst the People, one Bardanes or Bardanius, Sirnamed Turk, a decim folles sinatisfactions rained amongst the technique further incouragement to his Ambition, which fo far carried him as to affect the Empire, and living at Philomelium, he made known his purpose to a certain Monk, who was esteemed to have the cedrenus. gift of Prophecy, Leo the Armenian being privy to the matter. The Monk told him, that if he went about to make himself Emperour, he should loose both his Estate and Life; with which answer as he was going away forrowfull, and ready to take Horse, the Monk cashing his eyes upon his Attendants, called him back, who expecting now he would say something that would better please him, readily returned. He told him the same tale over again he had formerly heard, affirming that if he were Emperour, either by his own feeking, or by having it put upon him, he should loose both his Eyes and Fortunes. But he added, that of those his Attendants, the first and second should obtain the Diademe, and the third should be declared Emperour, but should presently perish without ever attaining to his Aims. But for all this, when in some places seditions were raised by reason of the exactions of Nicephorus, they chose him Emperour at Chrysopolis, and either willingly or unwillingly he accepted of it on the nineteenth day of July. Theoph. Now did Leo and Michael forfake him, and went over to Nicephorus, who preferred the one to the Command of the Confederate Forces, and the other to be Cap-

tain of the Counts Troop; onely Thomas remained with him, and for his fake

shunned no Enterprize, how dangerous soever. But Bardanius, either terrified by the predictions of the Monk, or, as our Writers fay, abhorring that a Civil War

should rife upon his account, fent to Nicephorus to beg pardon, upon promise of

the Tonsure. The Emperour sent after him to come to Constantinople, under shew

of kindness, but in the way, in the Island Prote (or the First Island) where he

had built a Monastery, by Order of the Emperour, his Eyes were put out by cer-

4. Nicephorus, having thus secured himself from Bardanius, resolved farther to

Butafterwards which he departed to Catabolium, and in the Monaltery of Heraclius, received

And his Eyes tain Lycaonians. The Emperour pretended he was very forry for the thing, pur out by the which by Oath he affirmed done without his knowledge or command. But if Emperour's we may believe Cedrenus, he never swore truly in his Life. establish his House, by Crowning Emperour his Son Stauracius, a Man neither in

Stauracius his Body or Mind qualified for such a Dignity, as our Authours write. Being thus Son. Makes War fetled at home, he made War upon the Arabians, but with fuch bad fuccels, that he mion the Ara-narrowly escaped taking, being hardly rescued out of the Enemies hands by some of his floutest followers, and with loss and disgrace was constrained to return. The next year, or the third of his Reign, being at leifure, he applied himself to Cedrenus ad the building of Towns, as Ancyra in Galatia, together with two others, Theba Ann. 3. Niceand Andrasus. But the following Summer he had diversion enough given him, Idem ad An. 4 and his mind was sufficiently startled, by News that Aaron, the Captain of the Arabians, had invaded the Roman Territories, with no fewer than three hundred thousand Men, and having marched as far as Tyana, there erected a Mosche or

House to his superstition. Many fortified places he took, and a Body of sixty The Empethousand fent toward Ancyra, which wasted all the Countrey as iar as that City. nour expottu- Nicephorus gathering together his Forces, took also the Field, but finding the Arabian

3. All Writers now extant generally affirm him a cruel, griping and covetous

" Arabian too strong for him wrote to him a Letter; whereby he taxed him with injustice for invading another Man's Territories, not contenting himself with what was left him by his Father. He demanded by whose command he did it. " Mahomet his Prophet he faid commanded him to love all Christians as his Bre-"thren, Almighty God took care for both, and was not delighted with the bloud of Man unjustly shed. He could not come to hurt those that did him no " injury, for any want he had of Gold, Silver or other matters, having abun-" dance of pretious things and Rarities of his own; but in case any thing he had " would supply him he would lovingly fend it. He concluded his Letter by put-" ting him in mind that they were both Mortal, and being to die e'er long, " should be called before an higher Judge, by whose award each was to receive ac-" cording to what he had deserved whether good or bad.

5. To this Letter he added confiderable Presents, by which the Arabian was

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Nicephorus.

so charmed that he condescended to a Peace on these terms, That the Romans Should pay the Arabians a yearly Tribute of thirty thousand Nomismata, besides three thousand as Tribute for his own Head, and as many for that of his Son, and such Forts as the Arabians had taken and dismantled should in no wife be repaired. But Aaron being retreated, Nicephorus rebuilt and reinforced all these places which so Which being irritated the Arabian, that this very year he sent an Army which took Theba, and another by Sea to Cyprus, where it overthrew the Churches, and either kilmakes another ling or driving away the Inhabitants, plundered and wasted the Island. The Invalion into year following he invaded the Isle of Rhodes, where was taken a great Number of Prisoners, but the Castle was stoutly defended by the Garrison, and the Fleet in its return suffered much damage by an hideous Tempest, which our Writers attribute to the violence they purposed to offer to the Relicks of St. Nicholas at Myra a City of Lycia in their return. Nicephorus in the mean time was employed in the Marriage of his Son Stauracius, for whom when he looked for a Wife he made choice of Theophania the Kinswoman of the late Empress Irene, though she was contracted to another man. To this unjust act he added the deflouring of two most beautifull Virgins, which so incensed the People, that several Conspiracies were hatched against him, but he suppressed them e'er they could produce any thing considerable, and raged cruelly against such as were detected. Many of the Nobility made choice of Arsatius a Questour and Patritian for their Prince. but he having smelt out the design caused the Man to be shaven, and enter into Religion, which done, he banished him into Bithynia. Of the Conspiratours some he put to death, others he banished, and of some he confiscated the Estates, sparing none of what condition foever, whether Bishops, Monks, or the Officers

of the Great Church, in those times held in great Veneration by the Peo-

6. The year following being the feventh of his Reign the Bulgarians gave

him farther trouble, intercepting eleven hundred pounds of Gold wherewith the Army was to be paid at Stragmon, and killing the Convoy with its Captain. At The Bulgari- the same time Crumus their Prince took Sardica, and therein put to the Sword six thousand Souldiers, besides Townesmen a little before the Feast of Easter. Nicephorus went with an Army against him, but performed nothing worth the mentioning, onely fuch Officers as had escaped the hands of Crumus he handled so roughly, that he constrained them to revolt to him. Being returned to Constan-Which causes rinople he imposed upon the City a new Tribute for the repairing of Sardica, anew Tribute which vehemently incenfed the People, fo as to cast the Multitude into great on the People. Turnults, but he still had the better of them, and revenged himself by Executions and Banishments, as he had done before; and laid upon all the People most grievous, heavy, and unheard-of Impolitions. Some of this Wealth obtained by The Saracens violence, was as violently taken away by the Saracens, who making an Inroad inmake an In-violence, was as violently taken away by the Saracens, who making an inroad in-road into the to the Roman Territories as far as Euchaita, fell upon Leo the Captain of the Ar-Roman Pale, menians as he was going to pay the Army, and took from him Sixteen Talents, a thousand and three hundred Pounds, besides the slaughter of a great Multitude

of his Souldiers. This happened in February, and in July following Nicephorus undertook an Expedition against the Bulgarians, with Stauracius his Son, at partmakes an Ex. ing giving order to Nicetas the Patritian and general Logotheta to lay Taxes upon Churches and Monasteries, with an Imposition of eight years upon the Houses of Noblemen, which caused great Lamentations in the City. Hereof when he was admonished by Theodosius Salibarn a Patritian and the Manager of his Affairs, who told him how the People murmured and would be glad he came by any mischief. If God hath hardened mine heart as he hardened Pharoah's, what good may my Sub-

Sect. 12. jeds exped from Nicephorus? And he bade him expect no alteration of what he faw at present. This Theophanes protests he had from Theodosius his own

Refusing

7. Having gathered together the Forces both of the East and the West, and conilrained many poor men to ferve at their own Charges armed with Slings and Staves, with their Curles and the Curles of the whole Army he marched into Bulgaria. Crumus having notice of his coming fent to him while he yet lay at Marcella to desire Peace, fearing such a Multitude as he brought along with him: but overcome hy his own Inclinations, as well as by the Flatteries of those about him, he rejected his Proposals, and on the twentieth day of July about the rifing of the Dog-star invaded the Countrey, himself predicting his own ruine, for he had these words often in his Mouth. Who shall go and deceive Ahab? Whether God or the Devil draw me, I am drawn unwilling. And this was accounted an ill Omen, that before he entred Bulgaria, a much beloved Servant he had, called Byzantius, fled to Crumus from Marcella, carrying away with him the Imperial Robe and an hundred Pounds of Gold. At first he seemed to have the better, yet ascribed the success not to God, but cryed up the Conduct and good fortune of Stauracius. Such Commanders as withstood his Progress, he exceedingly threatened and commanded all living Creatures to be put to the Sword, and neglecting to bury the Bodies of the flain, was onely intent upon Plunder and Booty. Taking the The Court or Palace of Crumus he took and fealed up the Doors thereof as his

very palace of own, and such of his Followers as imbezelled any of the Booty he punished by cutting off their Ears and other Members. Cramus now again being much out of heart offered him good terms, on condition he would quit his Countrey. But he puffed up with his success and acted by covetous desires, was impatient of the 8. Crumus therefore acted by the more prevalent passion of desperation, like a

very name of Peace.

desperate man indeed, instead of opening a way to the Enemy, blocked up all egress and regress by Palisado's, which so affrighted the Emperour that he presaged his ruine, faying, That if they had Wings they could not escape imminent destruction. Two days after Crumus fet upon his Camp, and stormed it, wherein Nicephorus himself was slain, together with all his Officers, and a vast number of Souldiers. Here fell Aetius, Peter Sisinnius, Theodosius Sabbaras, and Triphiles, all Patritians, as also Eparchus a Patritian and Governour of the East; with many Protospatharii, the Excubitus Domesticus, the Captains of the several Troops, the Drungarius of the Imperial Watch, the Governour of Thracia, with the other Governours of the Provinces. All the Arms and Baggage were also taken, and so miserable was the Estate of the Empire at this day, that the Writer thinks it not fit to be understood by Christians, as exceeding all height of lamentation. The Head of Nicephorus he put upon a Pole, and when he thought he had sufficiently exposed it, inclosed the Skull in Silver and caused his Nobles in an infulting manner to drink out of it. Although this day were made many Widows and Fatherless Children, yet many love it the better, and were something comforted with this onely thought that he was dead. For as Theophanes affirms, never did Christians feel any thing more insupportable than his Government, exceeding all that Reigned before him in Ambition, Luxury, and barbarous Cruelties, so as to declare all in particular to posterity would seem incredible, and to him labo-9. But Cedrenus gives us the main of his Acculation in ten Particulars. " The

" first is, That he constrained his Subjects our of all Quarters to remove in-" to Slavonia, and afterward fold their former Possessions, which thing Nicephorus his to Stavonia, and alcownant Hofile Captivity, all of them being put to the Character. "nothing differed from an Hofile Captivity, all of them being put to the " utmost extremity. The next was, That he caused poor men to serve in the " Wars, and their Neighbours to supply them with Arms and Money, eighteen " Nomismata for each, and besides pay for them their publick Taxes, which they " called in Greek Allelengium, because for Tribute they were Sponsors or Sureties " one for another. The third Crime was, That he commanded an account to be ta-"ken of every Man's Estate, and the Owner accordingly to be taxed; moreover, " for the Auditour or Accomptant every man to pay (for every Nomifma, faith Zo-" naras) two Ceratia. In the fourth place all Easements and Relaxations formerly " granted he took away. In the fifth, from all Religious places, publick Houses, Ta yang "deflined to the Educations of Orphans, and all forts of Hospitals, he caused to in Colerant " be exacted Smoke or Hearth money, even from the beginning of his Reign. The Zonate disthe exacted Smoke of Itearin money, even from the beginning of the Reign. The little # 18 25 what belonged to these Places he seized to his own use, yet made them the first seizes the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the little # 18 25 which is the seize of the

" pay for what was left, and fome double, though he had fo emptied those Hou-ies that they were constrained to remove out of them. His fixth Tyrannical Practice was to cause his Officers to take an account of such as were grown fuddenly Rich, and to exact money from them in fuch manner, as if they had found Treasure. Nay, in the seventh place from such as had found but a Barrel or Vessel twenty years before, he would squeeze money. His eighth Crime was, that those who received any Inheritances from their Grandfathers or " Great Grandfathers, he would force to pay fomething to the Treasury, though the Inheritance had been divided twenty years before; and fuch as bought any " Slaves beyond Abidus, he constrained to pay for each two Nomismata, especially the Inhabitants of Dodecane fum or the City of twelve Islands. His ninth that he made the Mariners and Seamen, especially those inhabiting the Maritime parts of Asia the less, such as never were practised in Husbandry, to buy such grounds as he had taken from other Men, and pay him Rent. In the tenth place he fummoned all the eminent Seamen of Constantinople together, and to each delivered twelve Pounds of Gold, with this burthen, that for every Numisma they should pay four Ceratia for use, when at the same time they paid

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Nicephorus.

all the other Duties for their Vessels.

10. Thus much Cedrenus tells us, he delivers by way of Compendium, having omitted the manifold Injuries he did both to Perions of high and low condition in the City, being more than can be written, but fuch as these. The Slaves of Rich men he suborned falsly to accuse their Masters, rewarding the Accusers and fleecing their Masters of their Wealth. So rapacious he grew, that a certain man who living in the Forum fold Honey and Wax by Retail, and by his own labour and industry had acquir'd competent Wealth, being sent for he commanded to lay his hand under the Emperour's Head, and by Oath assure him how much Gold he had. He confessed he had an hundred Pounds of Gold, which he caused him speedily to bring to him. This being done, to what purpose (saith he) shouldst thou be at all this trouble? Dine with me, and taking home with thee an hundred Numisma's, therewith be contented. He adds, that being much addicted to the Manichees, and rejoycing at the difference of Churchmen, he scoffed at all Christians that loved their Neighbours. His Captains he commanded to use Bishops and Clerks no otherwise than like Slaves, to make use of their Houses and all their Goods at their pleasure, deriding those that dedicated any thing to Holy uses. All Emperours that were before him, he taxed as ignorant in the Art of Government, took away Providence, and affirmed that none was greater than the Emperour if he had but the Craft of Government. Such is the Character Cedrenus gives us of this Emperour, with whom agrees Zonards as to the substance of the Charge. He Reigned eight years and nine days, as some have it, or as others more truly eight Years, eight Months, and fix and twenty days.

Stauracius fucceeds.

But turning Monk,

11. Nicephorus being flain, Stauracius his Sop escaped but with a deadly wound received in his Neck, and in his bitter came to Adrianople, where by the endeavours of some Magistrates he was faluted Emperour, but could not appear in pub-lick by reason of his Wound. Sensible of his condition he resolved to devolve the Empire upon Theophania his Wife, so great affection he bore unto her, and upon that account endeavoured to deprive of his fight Michael, firnamed Rangabes, or Rancabes, the Curopalata, who had Married his Sifler Procopia, because he stood most in the opinion of the Nobility for the Dignity. But Michael having timely notice of it so wrought with the Senatours, that calling together the Souldiers by break of day they named him Emperour in the Cirque, which when Stauracius knew he quitted the Palace, and with his Wife betook himself to a Monaftery, where having taken upon him the Habit, he shortly after died, having been Emperour but two Months and ten Days. Michael at first seemed shie of the preferment, professing himself unable to undergo such a burthen, and made mention of Lee the Armenian, a Patritian, and Captain of the Forces of the East, as a courageous and valiant man; but Leo strained Courtesse, professing himself unworthy of the Throne, which he affirmed to belong to Michael, whom he exhorted to undertake the Government, promiting him by Oath his utmost affistence, and that he would be his ready and faithfull Servant to his lives end. Thus whether at first he indeavoured to be Emperour merely to preserve his Life, or diffembled his Ambition in the offer made to Leb (which for what end foever pro-Michael Rom. ved of dangerous confeditionic, as we shall see anon) he obtained the Diademe, garronament wherewish he was Crowned in the great Church by Nicepherus the Patriarch, as Zonardi.

ter he had by an Instrument written on purpose declared, that he would neither

violate

CHAP. I.

violate the Privileges of the Church, nor defile his Hands with Christian Bloud, in the Eleventh year of Charles the Great, Emperour of the West, the fixteenth of Pope Lee the Third, the fourth Indiction. A.D. DCCCXL

12. He hath the Commendation of a Pious and good natur'd Person, such as had been injured by Nicephorus, he relieved and provided for the Widows of Souldiers. Theophania the Wife of Stauracius, he courteously treated, giving her a good Summ of Money together with an House which she turned into a Mo-Idem. naftery, and from the Burial of her Husband in it bore his Name. A few days after his Coronation he caused Procopia his Wife to be adorned also with the Makes his Son Diademe, having given her the Title of Empress; and after some time commanded the Patriarch to perform the same Ceremony to Theophylact his Son, whom he also dignified with that of Emperour, and propounded a Marriage for him, Theophanes writes to Charles King of the Franks. This Charles must be no other than Charles the Great, as we reade in the Annals of the Franks, fent an Embaffie to Nicephorus, for Confirmation of the Peace betwirt the two Empires. The Ambailadours were Hatto Bishop of Bafil, Hugh a Count, Aio a Lombard of Forumjulii, Leo the Spatharius, a Sicilian by birth, and Wilharius Duke of Venice. Coming to Constantinople they found Nicephorus dead, and therefore transacted their matters with Michael, who was fo ready to entertain their overtures, that he fent his Ambassadours with them at their return to Charles, whom finding at Aquisgranum, they complemented in behalf of their Master. Their Names were Michael a Bilhop, and Theograftus, both Protospatharii, from whom Charles having received their message, the Spring following sent other Ambassadours to their Master for farther Establishment of the Peace, viz. Amalbarius Bishop of Triers

and Peter Abbat of Nonantula in Italy, both of them men famous for Learning in that Age; but coming to Constantinople, they found not him then in the

Throne, but Leo who succeeded him, by whom they were heard, and dismissed

together with Ambassadours from him to Charles upon the same errand,

13. But to return to Michael, not long after his Promotion he was ingaged in Repells the in- War on feveral Hands. The Agarens or Saracens made Inrodes into the Eastern Zonaras. vading Sara- Provinces, but were repelled by Leo the Armenian who governed those parts, who in one battel flew of them two thousand men, and got many Horses with other booty. Crumus Prince of the Bulgarians took up Arms with more success, having received a repulse in a matter which he demanded. Some of that Nation Ceditary. leaving their former Habitations, had with this Emperour's leave fetled themselves within the Roman Territories. Hereby some better understanding than formerly there had been between the Subjects of both; but it happened that some Romans, who in the former Wars had been taken by the Bulgarians, broke Prison and returned home. These Crumus demanded to be fent back, and some were for gratifying him in this particular, amongst whom the Emperour and several Religious Persons of great account, believing this would prevent the usual hostile Incursions of the Bulgarians. But many others were of the contrary opinion, Riad payers and of them the chiefest were Nicephorus the Patriarch, with Theodistus the Ma- is derived fler, as Cedrenus calls him, a Man of mighty efteem for his Vertue and Wifedom, and who urged that they were to trust to God's Affistence, and not by giving up the Thomas With The Bulgari. Fugitives to gratify the pride and infolence of the Barbarians. Crumus also rerall upon quired, that the Articles made formerly by Mediation of Theodofius of Adrymitium, and Germanus the Patriarch might be observed, else he threatned to fall zonavas. upon Mesymbria. But Michael by advice of those about him, denying to gratify him in all he accordingly fell upon Mesymbria, using in the Battery of the City the Skill and Industry of a certain Arabian, excellently skilled in the framing of Engines, who having formerly betaken himself to the service of Nicephorus, was so ill treated by him that he fled over to the Bulgarians, and instructed them in all forts of Machines. Zonaras writes, that Nicephorus the Patriarch and the Churchmen, were for the delivering up of the Fugitives, alledging that a few were to be facrificed to the publick fairer; but the Senatours, Courtiers, and Theodorus Studites vehemently opposed their Delivery, by whom the Emperour was governed, being a Person by nature mild, and Orthodox, but slow in business, and easie to be led to any thing which his Officers defigned.

14. Now is a Comet faid to appear in divers shapes, and amongst the rest of a Man without an Head; this probably having little other Foundation than in the Fancies of Men, who in feeing the shapes of Clouds as in ringing of Bells, may work their imaginations to any posture or found they please. But Crumus takes Melymbria, and wastes the Western Parts of the Empire with Fire and Sword. Here-

upon the Emperour fends out his Orders for raifing of Men, and haftes into Thrace, his Wife accompanying him as far as Cedoctum, at which his Souldiers murmured and reviled him, that he was forc'd to fend her back. Crumus having notice of his coming drew back his Men from their Depredations, and Michael coming into Thrace, fuffered his Men to behave themselves so disorderly, that they were as offensive to the Inhabitants as the Enemy himself, which procured the Emperour no small prejudice. Crumus fortified himself against his coming nor far from Adrianople, and after his fitting down near to his Camp began to skirmish; but in these the Romans still had the better, and therewith were so elevated, that with great earnestness and impatience they required a Battel, which the Emperour either out of fear or for good reason deserring till he could have a good advantage, differing they grew mutinous, and upbraided him with sawcy and importune Clamours, threatning that except they were led forth, they would break out, and of their own accord attack the Enemy. Michael being thus constrained to doe it led them forth, and put them into a Posture for a Fight, which Crumus perceiving ordered his men also according to the Custome of his Nation, and to blows they came. The Bulgarians had plainly the worst of it, and were so overpowered by the Valour of their Enemies, that they were about to run, Crumus their Captain having even spent himself with riding to and fro, and by Andin a Bat- his presence and speech labouring to reinforce the Battel, when Leo the Captel through the tain of the East, whose Ambition was now come to maturity, caused his Squatelimongular tain of the East, whose Ambition was now come to maturity, caused his Squa-Lerouthe dron to leave the rest and depart the Field, no hardship or necessity at all tirging him to it. This fight utterly difmayed those that were so hotly ingaged, and as much incouraged the Bulgarians, whom at first Crumus restrained from pursuit, believing it was some Strategeme, and done of purpose to draw them into some greater danger. But seeing the Romans flye without all order, or any ftop, he then inforced the pursuit, and made great slaughter of them. The Emperout with much difficulty escaped to Adrianople, and thence got to Constantinople, with a slender Equipage, leaving Leo behind him in Thrace, to protect

the Countrey and repress the Incursions of the Barbarians.

15. He being gone, Leo, who had already prepared the minds of his Souldiers by declaiming against him as an effeminate, unskilfull and cowardly man, now more openly discovered his Design. Consulting with his Officers, and concluding he had now a good opportunity, he sent abroad his Emissaries to tell through the whole Army, how filly and unexperienced the Emperour was, and that by his ignorance in warlike matters the Roman Forces had been defeated, and their ancient glory and fame eclipfed, or rather quite extinguished. By this means the minds of the Souldiers were corrupted, and fuch as he could pick up he joyned to his own Troops, and perswaded them to revolt from Michael. On the other fide these Agitatours cried up the Ability and Integrity of Leo, as a man born Emperour by to preserve the Roman Name and Empire, and they caused the Souldiers to compass about his Tent, and having reviled and renounced the other to salute him Emperour. He pretended great unwillingness, nay, so pertinacious seemed he to be in the refusal, that Michael Traulus or Balbus the Stammerer one of his Principal Officers drawing his Sword, and causing those with him that were of the conspiracy to doe the like, threatned to kill him, except he would accept of the Empire. When the Report of his having affirmed the Title came to Michael, fome would have perfwaded him to buckle himfelf to a vigorous reliftence, and fuppress the Usurper; but being of a quiet disposition, he refused to cast himself into 60 great danger, and reprehended those sharply that instigated him on to a Civil War, to the destruction of many innocent Persons. By some of his inti-Hath the Dia. mate Friends, he sent to Lee the Diademe, Purple and Scarlet shooes ( Ensigns of the Empire) whereby he might fee that he quitted the Dignity, as one ready also to part with his life, rather than that upon his account one drop of Christian bloud should be shed, and he bad him without all fear or doubt to come and take Possession of the Palace. Procopia his Wife being a Woman of an high Spirit, vehemently indeavoured to perswade him to the contrary, nay, rather to dye than so quit the Imperial Throne, but to no purpose.

16. So write our Historians generally concerning this change and promotion of Leo, that it was accomplished by his own Arts, through his Infinuations, his crafty and fraudulent Suggestions against Michael. Yet the History of Theophanes attributes the fall of Michael to his own Imprudence, alligaing the contempt and hatred of his Person, to his oppressing his Subjects by the Army he had raifed against Erumus: It saith nothing of Leo's tampering with the Souldiers;

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but on the contrary, that when Michael after the Defeat would have refigned to him, he refused it. But Michael being firm in his resolution to lay down, notwithstanding for some time he was hindred by his Wife and Sons, and quitting the City, the Magistrates and People earnestly implored his assistence, for the saving of both Church and State from Ruine. He as earneftly refused, confidering the difficulty of the times, the continual Incursions and Violence of the Barbarians, and being unshaken in his Fidelity to the Emperour. But perceiving the Enemy to draw nigh the City, he fent to Necephorus the Patriarch who was much for his advancement, and desiring his Prayers, with the Magistrates and Souldiers went to the Tribunal raifed without the City, and there was declared lawfull Emperour of the Romans. Michael having notice hereof, went with Procopia his Wife and his Children to the Oratory of Pharus, where being shaven he put on the Monastical Habit on the Eleventh of July in the fixth Indiction, and on the second day of the week. Thus relates the matter the History of Theophanes, who lived at this time, and was an Eye-witness of all these passages. But some say he brought down his History but to the end of Nicephorus, so that this must not be his but the addition of some other who savoured Leo, and concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the Empire. However it came to pass, Michael laid down the Purple after he had reigned one Year, nine Months, and as 17. Lee the Armenian began his Reign on the seventh day of July, in the thirteenth

Leo begins

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the fixth Indiction, A.D. DCCCXIII. However he first obtained the Government; having once obtained it, he took care for the fecuring of it to himfelf. Banishing Mi. Michael he parted from his Wife and Children, fending him away to the Island Prota to the Monastery there, where he spent the remainder of his Days; and And Gelding Theophylast his Eldest Son, they say he Gelded, and then Banished him with Zonaras. his Mother and Brothers. Michael Balbus, or the Stammerer, he promoted to Cedrenus. the Degree of a Patritian and Count of the Schola Excubitorum, and to Thomas his other Fellow-servant he gave the Command of the Consederate Forces. The Bulgarians at this time were puft up with their late Victory, and made Incurfions afresh in Thrace, where without controll they wasted all things. Leo not well setled in his Seat, thought it best at present to restrain their Hostilities by good words, and fent Ambassadours to Crumus, who thinking he had much the advantage of the Romans, refused to entertain any reasonable Propofitions, and fent the Ambassadours back without having any thing obtained. The Emperour hereby forced to take Arms, omitted nothing to strengthen himfelf, and Marched against the Enemy. Ingaging in a great and bloudy Battel, the Bulgarians had much the better, and having routed the Romans, gave the Chase in great disorder, which Leo perceiving, who stood upon an Hill, with Beatsthe Bul- a Reserve fell down with great violence upon them, renewed the Battel, and got a notable Victory. Many were flain, and more taken Prisoners. Crumus

year of the Reign of Charles the Great, the eighteenth of Pope Lee the Third,

himself hardly escaped, for having received a Wound by an Arrow, and beaten from his Horse, he had quickly faln into the Hands of his Enemies but that he was rescued, and set upon another Horse by the more than ordinary Valour and Industry of his Guard. This Victory very much repressed the Insolence of the Bulgarians, and kept them within their Bounds fome time after; and on the

other side raised up the drooping Spirits of the Romans, whom the Valour of their Ancestours had in a manner forsaken. Leo in Triumph with great Spoils and many Captives returned to Constantinople.

18. After this our Historians very much revile him as Heretical and Cruel, His Character. because he opposed vigorously the Worshipping of Images. Otherwise they confels he was a most Vigilant and Industrious Prince in Reforming what was amiss in the State, omitting nothing that might tend to the benefit and advantage of it; fo that Nicephorus the Patriarch whom he had Banished from his See, and out of respect to matters of Religion was his utter Enemy, yet when he heard he was Dead, confessed that the Common-wealth had lost an ungodly, but however a Great and confiderable Governour. As he was very exact in or the desired to the confiderable governour. ordering his matters of State, so very severe against flagitious Persons. On a time Poqualin as ordering his hatters of state, to very secret again, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he passed out of his court a certain Man met him, and complained that his a possible as he had been a considered to the court and his court and Wife was taken away from him by a Senatour, of which he had complained to the Governour of the City, but could have no redress of the Injury. Leo com- sen. Celtimanded that at his return should appear before him both the Complainant, the nut. Criminal, and the Judge. By Evidence the Senatour was fo pressed, that he con-

fessed the Fact; and the Judge being asked why he had not punished so heinous a Orime, was filent, as having no excuse. The Judge therefore the Emperour discharged of his Place, and ordered the Adulterer to be punished according to the Laws. Most commonly Lee heard Causes himself. The Officers of his Army, his Souldiers, and all forts of Magistrates he chose merely for their Worth and Abilities, no Place being purchased for Money or any other Consideration than that of Merit, in his time, for he was a great contemner of Money. He endeavoured also after leveral Accomplishments, as that of the Voice, autocaustic though not naturally fitted for Musical Exercises, and he himself was wont to sales. begin the Pfalms in the Church, especially at Christmass. In conclusion, he was one of the best, if not the very best Prince of this Age in this declining state of the Empire; and had he not been against the Worshipping of Images, in many words and much flourish by our Writers who were of the contrary opinion,

for fuch an one would have been acknowledged.

19. That Jealousie, and consequently Cruelty was not his fault appears from this, that want of fufficient caution produced his Ruine. Michael of Amorium the Stammerer (as we faid) he had preferred, and as it proved to that height, that he grew proud and infolent; and as it often happens to fuch as have done eminent Service to Princes in obtaining their Crowns, imagining that he could never be fufficiently required, nor commit any offence which the reputation of his former Services would not explate. Being amongst other vices very lavish of his Tongue, and not able to conceal any part of his mind, he first began to talk against the Emperour, and at length threatned to deprive him, and Marry the Empress. The Emperour being informed of his Discourses, at first refolved to diffemble the matter, and take no notice, knowing him to be very lavish of his Tongue. But afterwards he let him know that he was sensible of his opprobrious language, which he would deny, and then fall into the same fault again. Lee therefore refolving not to be wanting to his own fafety, fet fome Spies upon him to observe him more strictly, that they might give Evidence against him, and amongst the rest there was one Enabulius very familiar with them both, who would often reprehend him, and admonish him of the danger into which those intemperate Discourses would bring him; but feeing he was not to be reclaimed, he made the Emperour acquainted with all his Deligns, which in his drink he eafily discovered. Leo then not thinking fit to delay any longer, on Christmas-Eve fate himself in Judgement and heard his Accusers, by whom he was evidently convicted of Treafon; and having not been able to deny the same, had Judgment to be Burnt Michael Bal- alive. The Priloner is bound, and on his way to the place of Execution, when for Treason is the Empress Threadofta having notice of it, runs out of her Apartment in the Parespited from lace like a Distracted Woman, lays hold upon her Husband, and calls him

wicked, and an Enemy to God, in that he would have no respect to that Holy time, wherein he was also to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. Leo was mo- Obras 3 and ved with her words and passion, and fearing to offend Almighty God, respited with the Execution, and commanded him to be kept by one Papia, with Shackles on

his Legs, whereof he himself would keep the Key. But turning to his Wife, he told her he had done what she had defired, being overcome with her Frantick paffions; but she and her Children would find at length what would be the Issue of it.

CHAP. I.

20. So intent was he upon this matter, and as our Writers affirm, so terrified But is fill mi- by several figns portending his Destruction, that the following Night he could fauther byte not fleep, but to fecture himself of the Traitour, broke into the House of Papia. where, to his great wonder, he saw him bestowed in a very fair and costly Bed, Papia lying by on the bare Floor, and so fast asleep, that with no jogging of stirring could he awake him, a thing not incident to those that expect nothing but death. With this fight he was fo vexed, that he resolved on the Destruction both of the Prisoner and his Keeper. But Papia got knowledge of his coming by one of the Watch, who knew him by his purple Buskins, and observed narrowly his behaviour, and having told to Michael the extreme danger they were now joyntly in, as desperate Men they consulted how to extricate themfelves. Michael pretended by the means of one Theodistus to come to conference with certain Religious Perfons about the estate of his Soul, to which the Emperour being not averse, when Theolissus had liberty to come to him, instead of providing for his Soul he took care for his Body, causing him to go to his fellow Conspiratours and to threaten them, that except they would enter into some sud-

den and effectual course for his deliverance he would Discover them all to Leo. 21. These Men being very much startled, ventured upon this course to rescue him, and preserve themselves. It was the Custome then, that such Clerks as Sung in the Emperour's Chapel did not (as afterward) lye in the Court, but each at his own House, whence about the third Watch of the Night they all met at the Ivory Gate, and by that entring the Palace, so went to perform the Morning Service. With these the Conspiratours mixed themselves, and carrying their weapons hid under their Cloths, entred the place, and in an obfcure part of the Church hid themselves till the sign was given. One part of the Service being done, in comes the Emperour according to his Custome, the Service being done, in comes the Emperour according to his Custome, and with a loud Voice begins his usual \*Anthem, when they take the adverse of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the company of the Chapel, or he that performent the chapel of the chapel o † Prelided over the Clerks, either because his Head was covered as the Em- 39. † Prelided over the Cierks, either became its float was sorted by Spream fun-perour's was, for it being then a great Frost they all wore warmer Hoods, but mi cumilar. he quickly uncovered himself, and by shewing to them his bald Pate saved his more Princi-Life. The Emperour perceiving the matter, conveyed himself to the Altar, and p Life. The Emperour perceiving the matter, conveyed illimetr to the Anar, and The row and there with the chain of the Incense Pot, or as some said, with the Cross, defen-Who is Mur- ded himself as well as he could: but they all rushing upon him together, thered by the Confipratours, forme wounded him in the Head, others in the Belly, and others in other Parts, till overpowered by the Number, though he demeaned himself most stoutly, like an Hart at a Bay, he was at length knock'd down: Perceiving one of a vast flature to fetch a blow at him, he conjured him by that Grace which inhabited the Sacred place to spare him, but he answering that this was a time for killing and not conjuring, cut off his Hand, together with the Horn of the Cross. At length, spent with wounds, and falling to the ground, one of them struck off his Head; and to such an end came Leo, after he had Reigned seven years five months and fourteen days. In a Book of Predictions belonging to the Emperours

Library, is faid to have been an Oracle of Sibylla, expressed in an Hieroglyphical way,

by a Lion, from the Back of which, as low as the Belly, was drawn the Greek

Letter X and a Man, who standing behind the Lion, thrust a Spear into his

Body through the Letter. This obscure Oracle the Questour of old time could

alone Interpret, affirming it to fignifie an Emperour, that being called Leo, should

His Empress

be flain on the day of Christ's Nativity.

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22. The Body of the flain Prince the Conspiratours cruelly dragged into the Cirque, being void of all manner of fear, for that they fet a guard about the Court, out of which they presently cast the Empress, together with her four Sons, Sabbatius, to whom, being defigned Emperour, was given the Name of Constantine, Basil, Gregory, and Theodosius, all which, putting into a Boat for the And his Soms present, they sent packing into the Island Prota, and there caused them to be gelded, after which Theodofius speedily died it seems of the wound, and was buried with his Father, and Constantine thereupon grew dumb; as for their Mother, she was shut up in the Monastery of the Lords. But Michael, freed now from his Gaoler Papia, with the Shackles on the Feet (for Leo had got the key) fate down upon the Imperial Throne, and was faluted as Emperour, and Michael in his worthipped by all in the Palace. About noon the noise was all spread abroad, Shackles falu- and then, as time it was, were his Bolts knocked off with an Hammer, and without either washing his Hands, thinking on God, or doing any thing fitting such an occasion, he hasted to the Great Church of St. Sophia, desirous to be Crowned by the Hand of the Patriarch, and received for Emperour by all the People, trufting onely to his fellow Conspiratours, and the Murtherers of Leo. Here Cedrenus makes a wonder, first, that Leo of such and so many flatterers should have none to stand up in behalf of his cause, but like so many creeping Animals, each of them betake himself to his lurking hole; and at the impudence of Michael, that he should enter the Church, not like some Murtherer or Hangman, whose Hands were polluted with Bloud, but as some Conquerour, who had deferved the Palm of Victory, and justly prized himself for some notable Atchievement. Whereas he had not flied hostile but civil Bloud, and that not in an ordinary place, but at the Holy Altar, where the Lord's Bloud was offered for expiation of fins. This Michael was born at Amorium, a City of the upper Phrygia, and in this manner became Emperour, in the feventh year of Ludovick the Son of Charles the Great, Emperour of the Franks in the West, the fourth of Paschal Bishop of Rome, in the thirteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXX.

miniously he Reigned, shewing himself to be Emperour, by no other thing than the Diademe and the Purple. All Discipline, Order, and rational ways of Administration, he with great scorn rejected, as formal sopperies, but indeed because he knew they would discover his folly, and render ridiculous those courses, his own Inclinations and filliness put him upon. Such as in his mean Estate had been his Trade or Exercise, now in the highest degree of Eminency and Power he esteemed his best qualifications. As ( if you will have it in down right terms His Character, from Cedrenus ) to guess and divine, whether \* Pigs newly pigged would prove Ta range of the character. well, if brought up; to be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will also enough to be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or As, we will be skilfull enough to s to have skill in Mules, whether they would prove better for riding or carrying of year 850172 ther burthens. In like manner by the mere look, to be able to tell what Horses soon would be good for the Race, and what for the War; the like concerning the quis, &c. fruitfulness of Sheep and Cows, the quantity of Milk they were like to give, and the quality of their young newly brought forth. Most ingratefull he had been to his first Master and Benefactour Bardanius, and worse did he behave himfelf to Leo, whose Wife and Children he used as we have said, onely allowing them a small pittance to live on out of their great Estate he had seized, with fome of his own Servants to attend them. Learning fo much he abominated, that he would not fulfer Children therein to be instructed, lest they should be able to understand and resist his madness, or be able to write more readily than he could, for therein he was so slow, that another might as soon reade a Book as he go over the Letters of his own Name. Such Ignorants as he, have left an evil example to the world; for before the decay of the Roman Empire, and Hogherds and Neatherds came to Arrive at the Sovereign Power, who in their younger years by reason of the Poverty of their Parents, had no opportunity to learn, Princes were the best instructed in Learning, the greatest care was had to breed them in Philosophy, and they thought it behoved them to excell others, as well in knowledge as in birth and Dignity; but these upstarts, these base and illiterate Perfons coming to be Emperours, began first to decry as mean, useless, and formal, that to which their flender education could never reach, and what they did

23. As he came to his Preferment by Treason and Cruelty, as basely and igno-

Reigns of such fordid Princes, a Civil War fell out in the Eastern Parts, which brought all forts of inconveniences upon the World, and confumed fo many mor-A Civil War tals, that it caused a great scarcity of Men throughout the Empire. The Authour occasioned by of it was one Thomas, concerning whose birth and condition, there is a difference amongst Writers. some have reported him born of obscure Parents, Barbarians, and very poor, and that according to his Original he led his Life in his own Countrey; in continual drudgery and hard Jabour, the onely means of his prefervation. After this he came to Constantinople, where he got into the Service of a Senatour, and there plaid several pranks, being so impudent as to defile his Master's Bed, which being discovered, to shun the disgrace and punishment of his crime, he fled to the Agarens (or Saracens) and with them having continued the space of five and twenty years, and approved himself by his Actions much unto them, he abjured the Christian Religion, and turning Mahometan, procured the Command of a good Party of Men, and to be fent against the Christians, promifing to subdue the whole Roman Empire to their Authority. And left the Romans should be averse to him as a stranger and a man of another Religion, he affirmed himself to be Constantine their Lawfull Prince, the Son of Irene, whom his Mother had deprived both of his Eyes and Empire, and who before this time had left the World. Others there were that affirmed this Thomas, the fame with him that ferved Bardanius, and concerning whom the Monk of Philomelium prophefied, as we faid, before, and whom Leo had made Captain of the Confederates; that this Thomas understanding Leo to be Murthered by Michael, partly to be revenged on him for the death of his Patron, and partly to fatisfie his own malice (fdr. from his youth he had ever born ill will to Michael) and out of fear of the Monk's prediction, he now took Arms. First of all he raised a great Army in the East, the place of his abode, lifting all that were able to fight, whereof some followed hum our of harred of Michael, who had incurred the contempt of all men, others followed him out of good will, some for hope of booty, and those whom none of these motives urged, he compelled to give their Names to the enterprize. His advantages were, that in respect of the gravity of his aspect, he was reverenced by all besides he was very familiar and tair spoker, qualities

24. But as feldom it happens, but that some notable mischief happens in the

very acceptable to Souldiers, and inferiour to no man in strength and cou-

25. Having seized on the East, and made sure of the publick Revenue there, as he began to he proceeded, whom he could not allure to his Party, by force bringing them over to fide with him. Afia he miferably wasted, and dealt severely with those Cities, which out of respect to the Emperour, stood out against him; the whole Region he took, except the Countries of the Ophiciani and Armeniaci, which through the valour of their Commanders, Olbianus and Catacelas. stood it out, and for that were rewarded by the Emperour, with the gift of the Smoak-money or Hearth-money, which was wont to be paid into the publick Treasury. But the Saracens now taking notice how the Romans were imbroiled in a Civil War, took the advantage, and made incursions into all places, Islands as well as others. Thomas was hereat concerned, fearing left his Men affrighted hereat, would desert him, and betake themselves to the desence of their own possessions. He resolved therefore by a sudden onset to repress them, which he did, together with a promise that he would put into their Hands the Territories of the Empire, and fubdue it wholly to their Command. By this means being rid of them, he put the Diademe on his own Head, and assumed the Title of Emperour, being declared fuch by the Patriarch of Antioch. Now did he increase his Forces by new Levies, not onely out of the Neighbouring, but remoter Nations, as the Agyptians, Indians, Perfians, Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldwans, Iberians. Zichi and Cabiri, and changing his Name to that of Constantine, adopted one whom he thought would be a support to his usurped Dignity. Michael all this while was not wholly idle, but made preparations for refiftence, but so unequal, that Thomas ingaging with them, eafily defeated them, killing many, and for-cing the relt for to shift for themselves. Having by this success very much establithed his affairs, he pursued his good Fortune with great industry, setting out a Fleet to Sea of Ships, both fit for Fight and Burthen, which had such success, that he became thereby Master of the Emperour's Navy, and appointing the Rendezvous at Lesbus, with eighty thousand men, came to Abydus, wasting all places in the way. Not onely such as were easie to come at; but such as made resistence he took by force, and fet on fire.

26. One Castle there was which made stout resistence, and this Thomas sent his adopted Son to Attacque. He proceeding without care or good order, fell into an Ambush laid for him by Olbianus, who sent his Head to the Emperour, and he dispatcht it back again to Thomas, as he was proudly pursuing his Victories. But little affected with his lofs, which the world was wide enough to supply, Adoption being easier than natural Generation, he remitted nothing of his former vigour, but passed over into Thrace just upon the changing of the Moon, when the Night was darkest, that he might not be discovered. Michael was aware of it, and to prevent his Defign, had reinforced all his Garrisons, and by both good words and deeds confirmed the resolutions of his Souldiers as much as he could, although to very little purpose. For as soon as he was returned to Constantinople, and Thomas was arrived in Thrace, they all revolted to him, and followed him to the Siege of that City. The Emperour hereupon as he could, raifed other Forces, which committing to the Conduct of Catacelas and Olbianus, he sent to meet the Tyrant, and put a stop to his proceedings, and he neglected not his Sea affairs, putting matters there into as good a posture as his present condition would suffer. But Thomas like a Torrent, with his vast Armies, both by Sea and Land, bore down all before him, eafily routing and diffipating all the Emperour's Forces, whereever they appeared, and struck him with so much Terrour, that he caused a chain to be drawn cross the Haven, from the Caftle to the opposite Village, to stop his Progress into the inward Parts of the

adjovning Sea.

27. At this time there lived in the Island Scirus, one of the Cyclades, a certain Captain called Gregory, whom being a near Kinfman of Leo the late Emperour, Michael had thither banished for boldly upbraiding him with his death. Thomas thought fit to draw him to his Party, and for that purpose, gave him the Command of twelve thouland Men, and fent him to Attacque Constantinople, being affifted by a strong Squadron of Ships, that the Defendants thus set on both by Sea and Land, might have the greater diversion and less ability to defend themselves. He himself intended to follow with the gross of the Army. The chain was without much difficulty broken, and Siege laid to the City on all fides, after which Thomas himself coming up, many furious Assaults were made, but the In-

habitants made fuch vigorous and refolute opposition, that nothing they produced, and Thomas found himself deceived in his expectation, that the Citizens upon his Approach would have opened their Gates and received him in, which caused him to fend Gregory before, as it were to prepare for his entrance, refolving to follow in State with the Body of his Army, and his newly adopted Son Anaftafius, who for this Honour had lately forfaken the Monastical Life. Finding himself treated with opprobrious Language, and threatned with Death instead of a kind Reception, he Incamped himself as strongly as he could, and fent a strong Party to the Euxine Sea, and Hieras to take in all the Fortified Towns, that he might not have an Enemy at his back. As he made preparations to Attacque the City afresh, he was much discouraged by the union and resolution of them all within, and much distracted in his mind what course to take; but at length, trusting to his multitudes, resolved to try his Fortune again by Storm.

28. By break of day commanding the Signal to be given, he draws his Men out of their Trenches. To his Son he commits the Scaling of the Wall by Land: by Water, he orders his Fleet with Fire and all forts of things that would annoy, to attempt the Town on that fide, and he himself resolves to fall upon the Endeavouring Towers of Blachernæ, wherein he conceived the chief strength of the Besieged to formit, is to confift. No fort of Engine for Battery or Ladders wanting, nothing omitted fudden Tem. to strike Terrour into the Defendants, and to force them to yield. But on a fudden arose a violent Tempest which both dissipated the Ships by Sea, and by Land to difordered the Engines and Instruments of Battery, that they were rendred useless and unmanageable, so that he was constrained to give over, and sound to a retreat. This fo incouraged the Citizens, that now they took more refolution, and began to make Sallies, which fo vexed and wearied him, that Winter also being sharp in those Quarters, he resolved to raise the Siege, and leaving Thrace, Quarter his Army in some warmer place, with firm purpose to return in Spring as foon as the Seafon would permit. This he performed, but found Michael now better provided for his Reception, being furnished both with a Fleet and a Land Army. At the same Quarter he gave the Assault as before, and with as much violence, which while it continued, Michael found a convenience to talk with fome of his Souldiers, to whom he promifed not onely pardon for what was past, but good rewards in case they would desert his Service, and abstain from the shedding of Bloud in so bad a quarrel. But they were deaf to all his charming Language, and rather more animated against him, measuring their fidelity to their own Captain by his strength, which in their apprehensions made every way desperate the cause of Michael.

29. Michael perceiving his good Language had no operation upon the Enemy weakened by a resolved, with greater hopes to apply it to his own Men, and that he did with fally from the fuch fuccess, that making a fally upon the Enemy he did great Execution, and killing very many of them obtained a notable Victory. Thomas having received this defeat at Land had no better fuccess at Sea, where his Navy miscarried through the Cowardise of his men, who terrified with the approach of the Emperour's Triremes fled back to Land, and some of them revolted, the rest retired unto their Camp. His fuccess was better against Gregory the Kinsman of Leo, who perceiving his Affairs go down the wind, and believing he would in a short time dwindle to nothing, refolved to make his Peace with Michael, and the rather because the Emperour had gotten his Wife and Children into his Hands. But Thomas had timely notice of his intended flight with that party which he commanded, and as he was marching away, before the Emperour could receive the News of his revolt fell upon him, and eafily maftering his Party took him alive, and presently put him to death, having left a convenient Number of men, all this while to keep the fiege, left the Enemy should take the Advantage, and fall in upon his back. The exploit performed, he returned to the fiege, and fent Letters up and down which falfly proclaimed a mighty Victory, and fent for fuch Ships as lay in Greece, as purposing to pursue his good Fortune by Sea also, and the Fleet came as far as Beridus, confifting of fifty Vessels in all, as well those of burthen as the other for fighting. The Emperour's Fleet had notice of their coming, and fecretly by Night fet upon them. Many were taken with the men, others were burnt; and those that escaped came up to Blachernæ, which they joined with the Land Forces.

30. In the mean time feveral skirmishes happened at the fiege, fometimes Michael himself, otherwhiles Theophilus his Son, or Catacelas and Olbianus issuing out upon the Besiegers, for he durst not adventure upon a set Battel, because Thomas far exceeded him in Numbers. But by this time the Report of the Roman Emperours being blocked up in a Town, had flown far and wide, and was come to the Ears of Mortagon the King of the Bulgarians, who was therewith so affected, as pitying the Dignity rather than the Man he fent privately, to incourage him with a promife, that he would come speedily to his assistence. Michael either for that he suspected what this stranger in conclusion might doe, or was unwilling the Countrey should be wasted by another Army, or rather to fave his Money in getting and keeping, whereof none of his Predecessours had been more fordid, thanked the Bulgarian for his kindness, and excused his not accepting of his Relief. But for all this Mortagon who was accustomed to War and Depredations, and defirous to confirm the League for thirty years, which he And ferced to had made to the Armenians, undertook the expedition against Thomas, and comraise the siege ing into the Roman Territories as far as Cedostus, there incamped himself. Thomas, as he had reason, was very much disturbed, finding himself too weak to con-Bulgarians to tinue the Siege, and fight the Bulgarians too, great Forces being requifite to each of these undertakings. At length he resolved to fight the Bulgarians, which he did at Cedoctus, but was worsted in Battel; great Numbers of his men being slaughtered, the News whereof coming to his Fleet before Conflantinople, it presently revolted to the Emperour. Yet fuch was his Ambition and Hopes of attaining his ends, at last, that incouraged by the retreat of Mortagon into his own Countrey,

he still continued his siege.

31. But finding all his Attempts frustrate, at length he marched to a place called Diabafis, some furlongs distant from the City, und very convenient for Excursions where he incamped himself, and thence wasted all near the Walls, without any formal fiege or drawing out his Forces. The Emperour incouraged by this his Recess raised a considerable Army, which he committed to the Conduct of Catacelas and Olbianus, and thereto joyning his Guards and the ordinary Militia, he led them all against him who received them courageously, and by way of stratageme ordered his men to counterfeit flight, and suddenly again to retreat, and to terrifie the Enemy. But his Defign would not take at this time. His men were quite tired out with expectation. Such of them as had Wives and Families at Home, now began to think of returning to them; how lavishly they had shed civil and innocent Bloud, and to gratify the madness and ambition of one man spent three years in prosecution of that, which now there was no probability of attaining. The fign being therefore given they fled not in jeft, but in good earnest, and dispersing themselves, most of them went over to the Emperour. Thomas himself with a few got to Adrianople, and Anastatius his fictitious Son seized upon the Castle of Birya, Michael resolved to make sure of them e'er they could recruit, and in the first place pursued Thomas, whom besieging, he resolved not to use any Engines or Instruments of Battery in attacking the Town, but to starve him out, partly because he would not desace the Walls and Houses, and that he might not teach the Scythians, bordering upon the place, the manner of taking Cities by storm. A line he drew about the place, and blocked it up every where. Thomas put forth all fuch as were not fit for War, but necessaries at length failing those that remained, most of them made their escapes as they could, at a little Gate, and over the Walls by Ropes, part of them going to the Emperour, and part to Anastasius still lying at Birga. 32. Those that remained with Thomas being reduced to such extremity, that

they were forced to eat rotten Leather and other things which naturally Man Thomas is de- abhors, at last entertained Correspondence with Michael, and having obtained pardon for what was past, delivered him up in Fetters to him. Michael observing the Custome received in those times by the Emperours, upon such occasions, first caused him to lie all along on the ground, and then set he his Feet upon his Neck, after which his Hands and Feet being cut off, he was put upon an Ass and shewed about the Camp, saying onely thus much, Thou who art the true King (or Extens all Emperonr) have mercy noon me. The Emperour went about to examine him if ANSO Bear any of his Courtiers were of the Conspiracy, and he had doubtless accused many had not John Exabilius the Patritian advised Michael to forbear and not to trust an Enemy that accuses his Friends; by which saying he saved many miserable Citizens and the very Friends of the Emperour from great impending milchiefs. Thomas at length spent by lingring Torments, breathed out his last in the

middle of October, a Man who at the beginning enterprized great things, and with great Alacrity and Vigour profecuted his Deligns, but fell less and less as he went on, and his last attempts answered not expectation. Those at Briga underflanding what their Friends at Adrianople had done, treated Anastasius in the same manner; for they delivered him up bound Hand and Foot, and he perished after the fame manner as did his Father, fucceeding him in his punishment, though not in his Imperial Dignity. The two Usurpers were thus dispatched, but some Rem-The Inhabi- nants of the Rebellion remained. Pavium and Heraclea two Maritime Towns of tants of Hera-Thrace, still held out, not so much out of respect to them as hatred to the Empeciea anu cavium reduced rour, because he refused to restore Images. But e'er long Pavium was taken, the to obedience. Walls being overwhelmed by an Earthquake, and Heraclea was stormed on the

Choreas and

And the Ci-

fide lying toward the Sea.

3. There yet remained two Castles, Cabala and Saxiana, whereof the one was held by Choreas, the other by Gazarenus, who thence exercised Robberies and Depredations. The Emperour offered them their pardon, and more than that to make them Masters ( such was the Name of the Dignity ) but they rejected his offer, which he knowing, corrupted some of the garrison Souldiers, so that going out to rob another time, the Gates were thut against them at their return, and flying into Syria, they were there apprehended by fome of the Governours, and nailed to Croffes. By this means the whole Rebellion was now extinguisht. Upon fuch as were taken in the War Michael no otherwise animadverted, than by fetting them first on Asses, and so carrying them about to be seen at the Circensian Games, after which they were banished. But, as Cedrenus writes, all mischiefs ceased not with the War, but as well Europe as Asia, the Head, as the Tail, (so he terms it) were chastized from Heaven, by Slaughters, Fires, Earthquakes, Robberies, Civil Broils, fudden and unexpected defiruction of Cities, figns in the Heaven and Air; and the like mischiefs invaded also the Islands, as well as the Continent; all which he ascribes to this, that they would not worship Images. But (to come to the matter) at fuch time as Thomas began to raise Commotions, when the rumour thereof spread abroad, the Saracens that inhabited Spain, thinking a fit opportunity to be presented them, desired of their Prince, that they might fend out a Colony; for that they were too numerous for the Countrey they inhabited. Their Prince Apochapius by Name (their Amermumnes Cedrenus rather than they themselves called him) very glad of the opportunity, and concealing his delign went with fome long thips furnished with them to waste the Eaftern Islands which belonged to the Empire; both to gratify the People, and to discover whether there was any fruitfull Isle, into which it would be worth his labour to fend a Colony. Sailing away at the beginning of the Spring, and coming to feveral Islands he found no relistence, all Ships and Garrisons being gone to the affiftence of Thomas; great booty he got, and fo returned, bringing home especially Intelligence concerning the fertility and pleasantness of Crete, as a place abounding with Milk and Honey; for fo he term'd it.

They invade

34. When therefore Winter was over, and the feafon permitted, with another Fleet confifting of forty Ships and furnished with Souldiers, he fet fail, and arriving at Crete, there landed his Men. He incamped upon the Promontory Charax, and fent Spies to discover the Countrey, who returned without having met any to oppose them, when in the mean time, he caused all the Ships to be set on fire. The Army being much affrighted at the fight, and returning to the Camp to know the cause of the misfortune, their Captain told them that they themselves were the cause thereof, who had been earnest for planting a Colony in some fruitfull place: but no fruitfuller, nor fitter every way to plant in did he know than this, now he had both fatisfied their defires, and had eafed himself of their Importunities. But they objected to him the want of their Wives and Children, to which he answered that they should speedily have captive Women which they might use as Wives, and on them beget Children: and satisfied with this answer Thereof Pho. they intrenched themselves. Photinus the Protospatharian and Prefect of the East, timus adver- having speedy notice hereof gave Intelligence also to the Emperour, desiring he might have fufficient Forces to withstand so impending a mischief, who accor-They defeat dingly with great supplies dispatched to him Damianus another Protospatharian, and they, joyning their Powers together, prepared for an expedition. But it happened that coming to ingage the Saracens, at the very first onset Damianus was flain, which so affrighted the whole Army that it ran away, and amongst others Photinus to the Emperour as fast as a swift Pinnace could carry him with the News of the Overthrow, who yet rewarded him with the Government of Zzz Sicily

Sicily instead of that of Crete, whereof the unmannerly Agarens had now deprived him. They could not for some time, agree amongst themselves where to plant, being folicitous for a place of fafety, till a certain Monk coming down from the Mountains directed them to Chandace, which finding very convenient for their Designs, they there built a City to command the whole Island, and thence they made Excursions, and took all the Towns within the Island in a short space, one onely excepted. After this manner became the Isle of Crete, subject to the Saracens, who streight began to persecute such as professed the Christian Reli-

35. But, Michael, freed from the civil Wars, ascribed the Issue not to the Goodness of Almighty God, but to his own Prudence and Sagacity. His Wife being dead and having a great defire to be married again, he deals with some of the leading men in the Senate, by their complaints to constrain him as it were to take another; nay to threaten him in case he did it not, using this worthy pretext, that their Wives must by no means want a Sovereign Lady and Mistress. To fatisfie them therefore he will take a Wife, but not without this Caution neither, that in case she overlive him, they will ingage to esteem and honour her as their Michael mar. Empress, and make Emperour one of the Sons he should have by her: After all this stir, he takes out of a Monastery a Virgin called Euphrosyna, one that from her Childhood had ever professed the Monastical life, and was reported to be the Daughter of Constantine, whose Eyes were put out by his Mother Irene. Being married, he began to think of the Isle of Crete, and what a disgrace it was, for him to suffer the Saracens in it to nest themselves; therefore he sent away Craterus the Governour of the Cibyreots with feventy Vessels, to which joining all the Cedrenus. rest that belonged to the Islands, he made up a considerable Fleet, and there-Zonaras. with landed his men, and very fiercely fell upon them, who with as much refolution received him. From break of the day they fought till noon, without any appearance to which fide the Victory inclined, but, towards Evening the Saracens were worsted and put to flight, many of them being slain and many taken, and their new City might have easily run the same fortune had day and light sufficed. But the Conquerours were, neither, willing to take too much pains, and not valuing those that had escaped whom they doubted not, but they could eafily master when they pleased, they gave themselves to Drunkenness all the Night, as if they had been at home, and not in an Enemies Countrey; not fo much as fetting any Watch, or taking the least care of their own Security." The Saracens now, how weary and wounded foever, perceiving the condition they were in, when they were all drowned in drink and fleep fell in upon them, and cut them all off, hardly one escaping with the News from the Island except Cra-Craterus and terus himself, who got away in a Merchants ship, but the Captain of the Sarathe Saracens. cens feeking for him, and mifting him among the dead fent those after him who took him also napping in the Island Cos, and there nailed him to a Cross. This expedition to ill succeeding, one Oriphas, a man confiderable both for Courage and Skill in military Affairs, raifed by the Emperour's order an Army which got the Name of Tessaracontarius or Fortieth, because to every man were assigned so many Aurei. Herewith visiting the Isles partly by Ambushes, and partly by o-

36. At this time it happened that one Euphemius an Officer in the Army, falling in love with a veiled Virgin in a Monastery, and incouraged by what he knew the Emperour to have done in the like case, took her thence by force and lay with her. Her Brothers hereupon make loud complaints to the Emperour, who gives order to the Governour of Sicily, if upon examination he found the matter objected to be true, to cut off his Nose. Euphemius having notice of his doom draws into conspiracy his Fellow Officers, and makes so strong a Party, that when the Governour comes to execute his Orders he easily repells him, and flying over to the Ameras or Governour of Africk, promiles him to betray Sicily into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute if he would declare him Emperour of the Romans. This the Ameras thought was no great matter to doe, and therefore furnishes him with Forces, and fends him away with the glorious, but empty prings the Sd. Title of Emperour. He accordingly brought the Saracens into Sicily, but as he city which went about the Island to perfwade the People to own and receive him for Emthey seize on, perour indeed, and coming to Syracuse went so near the Walls, that he was drawn about a bow shot off from his Company, as he endeavoured to make his way by a flattering Speech, two of the Citizens being Brothers agree together to take the opportunity and kill him. They made him great Reverence, and both

pen Ingagements, he repressed the Insolence of these Cretian Saracens.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Theophilus. CHAP. I.

by words and gestures flattered him into a belief of their kindness and fidelity, infomuch that he to requite their Civility called them to him, and went to falute one of them, who caught him by the Hair of the Head, and so fast held him till the other cut off his Head. But the Saracens fell not short of what they designed and he promised, for introduced by him they got possession of the Island, and not onely that, but upon Calabria and several other pars, by reason of this Vicinity they seized, wasting all where e'er they came with Fire and Sword. But though Cedrenus and others relate this story of Enphemius all together, yet two years seem to have been taken up in transacting the whole Affair, the Death Michael dies. of the Emperour Michael, being related just after the Conclusion. He died after he had reigned nine years of a Dysentery, and was buried in Justinian's great

Dalmatia re- Chapel. Dalmatia also revolted from the Empire in his time, which was very volts from the full of Calamities, which credulous People believed was foretold by an Oracle. They also concluded, that the Empire should at length be devolved upon him, from some Circumstances which fell out at the Promotion of Leo his Prede-

cessour. As Leo being about to pray for happy success put off the Robe he then had on, he gave it to hold to this Michael, being then the Master of his Horse, who without any more to doe put it on. And when the faid Leo invested in another Robe, went into the Chapel belonging to the Palace, this Michael following him negligently trod on his Train, which it's faid Leo accounted an ill Omen, and thence guessed that he would in time raise Commotions. From these passages, and what has been faid of the Monk, we may fee how they were addicted to

Prophecies and Ominous conceits in those days.

Theophilus his

37. Michael Balbus being dead, Theophilus his Son now arrived at Man's Estate succeeded him in the Month of October, and the seventh Indiction in the fixteenth year of Ludovicus Emperour of the West, the second of Gregory the Fourth of that Name Bishop of Rome. A.D. DCCCXXIX. This Theophilus shewed himself a marvellous observer of Justice, and a severe Assertour of the Laws of the Empire, though as his Adversaries, upon account of Religion take Joan Curopa-Laws of the Empire, though as his Advertaries, upon account of rengion take production upon them to centure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal data, execution them to centure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal data, execution to the state of the control merely thereby to fecure himself from Conspiracies, to cut offall Pretences and arenus, ali Advantages, that any who had a mind to usurp, might catch at, and improve against him. To this purpose he put in Execution such a Design, as could not but to the understanding fort evince his Father to have been both a Traitour and a Tyrant, and himself an Usurper if he came to the Dignity by the way of Succeffion, and upon his account. He resolved to put to death all those that had any Hand in the Murther of Leo and his Father's Advancement, and for that end published an Edict whereby he summoned all such as had had any Favours, Dignities or Preferments conferred on them by him, to the House called Magnaura, and from the Five Towers Pentapyrgium. When they were all affembled he mildly told them, that his Father had in his Life-time resolved to reward such highly, as had procured his preferment, and done him eminent fervice, but forafmuch as being prevented by death, he could not effect what he purposed, he had left Put to death him as his Executour to pay that Debt. Therefore he defired them that were the murthe-rers of Leo his Father's Friends to separate themselves from the rest, into a peculiar place, Predecessor. Where they might receive the Reward intended them. Such as had affished in the Murther of Leo, in expectation of some great matter gladly and readily difcovered themselves, whom having incompassed as Fish in a Net, he commanded the Officer thereto appointed to put the Laws in execution, telling him that Seeing both God and he committed the Power to him, he should give these men their full hire, who had not onely defiled their Hands with Man's bloud, but had killed the Anointed of the Lord within his Temple. Having faid this he dismissed the Assembly, and the Officer going to work took the Malefactours, and punished them as those that had committed Murther. This performed, Theophilus sent back his Mother-in-Law, and shut her up in the Monastery, where first she had been professed. And the Ingagement wherewith her Husband had bound the Senate in

her behalf, could not stand her in any stead. 38. Such was *Theophilus* his beginning. He was fo exact a Follower of Juftice, that he was feared by bad, and admired by all good Men, this onely blot our Authours find in his Escocheon, that he was against the worshipping of Images, shipping of and as severely as any of his Predecessours. Every week he rode to our Ladies Church in Blachernæ, and heard all Complaints of oppressed People, without any partiality. Riding also about the Markets, he himself would view what was to be fold, and take notice of the Prices of Commodities, wherein he went

below himself, but he would not trust any to doe it, especially in Meats and Drinks, where the Poor were most concerned. In all other matters relating to Government he was very exact, having an especial regard to Courts of Justice. And although he condescended thus in these things yet was he not of any Mean, Covetous or Sordid Spirit, as appears by this following Passage. Looking on a time over the Wall of the Palace towards the Sea, he beheld coming into the Haven a Ship of burthen goodly to behold under fail, and very well fraught with Merchandife. Being much taken with the fight, and asking to whom the Vessel belonged, and what was her Lading, it was answered, to the Empress, with which an-Not at all gi fiver at prefent he feem'd fatisfied, and replyed nothing. But ftaying till the time ven to Correct came he was to go to the Church in Blachernis, in his way he took the Haven, repulged. where he called to the Mariners, and demanded of them if they wanted any thing, when after often asking, at length they replied, that by the care of the Emperour they had all things that were convenient for them, he demanded if they did not know that God Almighty had made him Emperour, but the Empress his Wife had made him a Merchant or Mariner; and he added with Indignation, was there ever any Empress before that saw her Husband a Merchant? This said, he caufed the Men to come assore, and to bring their own Goods along with them, then fire to be fet to the Ship, which confumed it with all its Merchandize and Tacks ling. He rebuked his Wife with great earnestness, and threatned her with destruction if ever she attempted any such thing again; telling her that Traffick was ordained for private men wherewith to fultain themselves, and that if Princes should besides their publick Incomes apply themselves to Trade, their Subjects should not have whereon to live. Her Name was Theodora, by Birth a Paphlagonian, the Daughter of one Maximus a Man of Noble Parentage, and Theodilla

Floriana his Wife.

39. Another Story is told, which as much shews his Justice, and both of them declare his generous Disposition. There was a certain Souldier in the Army that had an excellent Horfe, of fo good Heels that he had often faved his Mafter's life in Battel. The Officer under whom he served taking notice of him, indeavoured by all means, both by Threats and Promifes to get him from him, and when he could no-ways prevail, accused him to the Emperour for a Coward and Cashier'd him. Not long after it happened that the Emperour wanted an excellent Horfe, which bringing to the mind of this Officer the repulse he had received from the Souldier, he takes away his Horse by mere force, and presents him to Theophilus as of his own free gift. After this there being a necessity of raising more Forces, this man is prest to the service asresh and ingaging in Battel, for want of his Horse is overtaken and slain, leaving a Wife and Children behind him. The Widow left in low condition, and hearing much of the Emperour's Justice, comes to Constantinople, and as he rode to the Church in Blachernis, according to his custome, upon her Husband's Horse, caught him by the Bridle, crying out that he was hers, and that the Emperour had been the cause of her Husband's death. Theophilus amazed defires her to have patience till he returned to Court, and then to come to him, which she did, and having told him all the Story, he sent immediately for the Officer, and caused the Woman to step aside. He being examined would confess nothing, till she being produced, and confronting, he could no more deny the Fact, but first standing mute, acknowledged what she said to be true as to all Circumstances, and then he fell at the Emperour's feet with Tears' imploring his mercy. Theophilus took away all his Estate and gave it to the Widow and her Children, put him out of Command, and fent him into Banish-

40. Belides these good qualities he was very magnificent in building, amongst other things he rebuilt the Walls of the City, pulling down the old and mean ones, and rearing others in their room, so losty that they could not be scaled by the Art of Enemies. To all dissolute living he was so averse, that he turned Whores out of the Stews, and converted the place to the better use of harbouring Strangers, giving it his own Name, and afterward it became a Nunnery or Receptacle of the better fort of fingle Women. He himself is reported never to have been overtaken with Women but once, being then infnared by the extraordinary beauty of one of the Empresses Attendants, but seeing his Wife to be much concerned about it, he confessed his fault, asked her forgiveness, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, vowed that he had never been faulty in that kind before. He much affected Mulick, and composed several Anthems. He had very short Hair, and therefore published an Edict, that no Roman should wear Locks longer than his Neck; but otherwise also by Laws he indeavoured to retain the ancient Roman temperance and moderation. Having five Daughters and never a Son, his best beloved, Mary by Name, he resolved to Marry to some Person of Principal note and merit, and pitched upon one Alexius Moseles, an Armenian by Birth, defeended of the Genita, one beautifull in Person, and in the flower of his Age. He first conserred on him the Dignity of Patritian, then of Pro-consul, afterward of Master, and at last created him Casar, and with a numerous Army, matters then requiring it, sent him into Lombardy. There he managed his matters to the satisfactory faction of his Father-in-Law, but what fatisfied him, diffatisfied his Æmulatours, who accused him as Ambitious, and affecting the Empire, and they urged a Prophecy as if A should justle out Th; which as soon as he understood he desired leave of Theophilus to retire to the Monastical life. The Emperour unwilling to doe so much injury to his Daughter, denied his Request, and compelled him to keep his Rank and Power: but she dying not long after, and Theophilus having a Son born to him by Name Michael, when he again importuned him to difmifs him, he affented, though with much regret, and alligned him fuch places as he thought most commodious for his

41. Besides this Alexius he was otherwise well furnished with eminent Captains, two especially, Manuel and Theophobus. Manuel had formerly been General to Leo, and Master of the Horse to Michael Rangabes. Theophobus was the base Son of a certain Persian Ambassadour, descended of the Royal bloud, who after his birth presently died, and lest him at Constantinople. It happening that all those of the Royal House in Persia being either destroyed or driven away by the Saracens, the Persians hearing of him sent to Theophilus to desire they might have him to be their King; but he refused it, chusing rather to make him a Patritian, and to

give him his own Sister in Marriage, and he made a Law which gave leave to his Subjects to Marry with Perfians. By this means many of that Nation came over to him, and gave their Names to the expedition he was now undertaking against the Saracens, out of whom he raifed a Legion, which was called the Persian, and joyned in the Army with the Roman Legions. The Saracens having invaded the Roman Territories, Theophilus with these two Captains marcheth against them. When they came near the Enemy, and began to confider whether they should give Battel, Manuel was against the Emperour's ingaging in Person, affirming it a thing below him to graple with a Man fo inferiour as the Amermumnes was, and that some of his Captains with part of his Forces was to do it. But Theophobus contended that the Prince himself ought to fight, and advised him by Night to fall on with the Foot, and to leave the Horse for a Reserve. The Emperour ap-

proved not of his Advice as to falling on by Night, but resolving to doe it by day light, Imprael the Amermumna or General of the Saracens, whether out of fear, or to let the Romans see how much he despised them, went away with part of his Army, and left eighty thousand men with Abuzachar one of his Captains to fight them. Battel being joyned many fell on both fides, and at length the Cohorts or Schools, as they called them, with their Captain or Domesticus gave Ingaging with ground and turned their backs. The Emperour with his Guard, two thousand

the Saracens Perfians, and Theophobus got to an Hill, where they were incompassed by the Saracens, who fought to take him Prisoner, and his own men strove as hard to defend him, and in this Contention they fpent all the day; when night was come Theophobus commanded the Souldiers to shout and make a noise with their Trumpets and Instruments of Musick as if they rejoyced for some Relief that was arrived, which Strategeme took fo well that the Saracens concluding they had Succours come indeed, lest they should be surrounded by their Enemies, retreated to feven Miles distance, and by this means the Emperour cicaped to the rest of his Army which had run away. Yet did he onely chide, and in no severer manner animadverted upon them. Theophobus, as reason was, he very much honoured, which made his Countreymen the more fond of him, infomuch that they Petitioned Theophilus, that under his Conduct they might by themselves make War against the Saracens. And he so far gratified them, that he suffered none else to command them.

42. The following year he marched against the Saracens with very good success, which incouraged him to make another attempt the next Spring, but this did not aniwer expectation. For he had far the worft, and was very near being taken in Battel, when Manuel his General confidering what a difgrace it would be to the Roman Name and Empire, propounded it to the Army as an Argument to animate them to fetch him off, and when he had broken through to him and found

## CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Theophilus.

him wearied and in despair, he intreated him to follow him as he made him way Andwith diffi- through the throng of the Enemies. But Theophilus still loitered, pretending he must culty brought not discourage his men by flying, which Manuel perceiving came back when he had off by his General description and description in Superdefined to kill him neral in the already passed to him the third time, and drawing his Sword threatned to kill him except he would follow him, (telling him it much more behoved the State that he should die than be taken) by which means he brought him off. For this service he deferved a reward, and the Emperour was not flow to give it, and the thing being fo evident, to confess he had been his Deliverer. But as Princes do not care too much to be beholden to their Subjects, he envied him for his Reputation, and there wanted not those who gratified him by accusing the General of Designs to Usurp, so that it was resolved he should loose his sight. This was diswho being accused to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupaccused to the covered to the Emperour flies bearer to the Emperour, whereupon he fled to the Saracens, and upon condition that he should not be constrained to change his Religion, revolted to them and was joyfully received. He was speedily advanced to the highest Honour and Command he was capable of, and with an Army the Saracens fent him against their Neighbours called Cermata. But he refused to fight with any other than fuch Romans as there were in Captivity, whom gathering into a Body he therewith did very notable Service, and took a Castle called Chorosan, striking greater terrour into the Besieged, not onely by his valour, but the difference of Language and Habit, and an unexpected change of the manner of fighting. But not onely was he very acceptable to the Saracens, for fighting with Men, but making War also upon Wild Beasts, which did very much at this time insess their Coun-

trey, and afforded him this opportunity of keeping his Souldiers in Ac-

43. These things being made known to Theophilus, vexed him much, as taxing himself with Ingratitude and high Imprudence, in disobliging so serviceable a man, therefore he refolved to get him Back by any means. At that time Monks being wont to travell and wander up and down in all Places, he employed one of that fort whom he knew fit for his purpose, as least liable to suspicion, tending by him But is feat for Letters threngthened by a Seal of Gold and a Cross, which gave Manuel such satisto the Empe- faction, as concealing the Message he studied how to return, and after some time effected it in this manner. He defired leave of Ismael Prince of the Saracens to make an Expedition against the Romans into Cappadocia, to be revenged chiefly on those who had accused him to the Emperour, and easily obtained it, together with the Son of the Prince to accompany him, as having already given sufficient Testimony of his Fidelity. The Governour of Cappadocia he prepared beforehand to receive him, and being arrived at the place he defired, and going out from the Army with the Prince his Son and a few Followers as to Hunt, he bid the Young man get him back to the Saracens, and let them know his Resolution And received of returning into his own Countrey. Getting fafe to Constantinople he was gladly received by the Emperour in the Church of Blachernæ, there had conferred on him the Place of Magister, and was shortly after Godsather to his Son Michael, whom afterwards he adorned with the Imperial Title and Enfigns of Majesty. After this in the Spring Theophilus and the Saracens on each side made preparations for War, but coming near together were struck with such mutual fear, that both Armies returned home without having any thing performed. At his return came Ambassadours from Chagan the petty Prince of Chazaria, desiring leave to build up a Castle called Marcol on the Borders, as very convenient for restraining the Incursions of the Petzinacæ toward the River Tanais, which they obtained, and

fion, which they obeyed. 44. The year following Theophilus made an Incursion into Syria against the Szters Syria wal- racens, which wasting all in his way he took two Cities, and carrying away the ting the Do- Inhabitants made himself Master also of Sozopetra the Native place of the Amermumnes, though he sent to him and earnestly begged of him that he would spare ir. This done the Emperour returned to Constantinople, leaving behind him Theophobus to settle some matters relating to the Army, which patt, he was to follow after. But the Reverence which the Mercenary Persians had for Theophilus, being removed they fell into a Mutiny, and laying hold of Theophobus at Sinope,

one Petronas was fent to fee the thing performed. Petronas when he came back

acquainted the Emperour that he could not continue Master of Cherson, except he

fent thither a Governour of his own, the manner having been to put some of the

Natives into the command. The Emperour being fatisfied with his Reasons sent

him to execute the office, with orders to the Townsmen to put him into posles-

would needs make him Emperour, though he used all the Protestations and Intreaties he could; but when he could not divert them, he fent private notice of it to Theophilus to fignifie his Averseness to the Thing, and as soon as he could made his escape and got to Court, where he was kindly received and enjoyed his former Honours. And for this time no farther trouble happened, the Persians being also pardoned, and received to favour, yet it was thought fit that being thirty thousand in Number they should not continue together, but be dispersed by Is required by two thousands into several Provinces under their diffinct Officers. But the Prince of the Saraceus or Amermumnes, as these Greek Historians call him, was wonderfully inraged for the destruction of his Native City, and breathing nothing but revenge, hired men out of Babylonia, Phanicia, Palestine, Calosyria, and the farther Africk, (that lying next Spain Cedrenus means) giving Orders to every Souldier to ingrave upon his Target the word Amorium which being the Birth-place of Theophilus he was resolved to destroy. At Tarsus all his Forces met; and Theophilus aware of the danger marched to Dorylæum with fuch an Army as he could raile, distant three days journey from Amorium. Now there were several that perswaded to decline rather than withstand the fury of the Saracen Prince whose Numbers far exceeded his, and to remove the Inhabitants of Amorium to some other place. But he thought it would much reflect upon him, and refolving to protect the place, sent thither Aetius a Patritian the Captain of the East with a firong Party, which he also committed to the Conduct of Theodorus Craterus, (whom Zonaras will have to have commanded at Amorium) Theophilus Bubutzicus

and others, men very eminent in their time. 45. The Prince of the Saracens lying at Tarfus, deliberated with those about

him what to doe; for he was of opinion that he should not pass on directly for 'Amorium, but fend his Son with part of the Army to make an Attempt upon the Emperour, whom if he should beat he should share in the Victory, and if it happened otherwise, it would be best for him to be quiet. His Son therefore he sent together with Ameras, who then commanded Metylene; ten thousand Turks, all the Armenian Forces, and his Commander in chief, and they came and incamped themselves at a place called Dazymenum. Theophilus with his Army, consisting especially of Persians both Eastern and Western, marching to a Town called Anzin, refolved before he would ingage to view the Numbers of the Enemy, which finding to exceed his, it was to be confidered with what Strategem and advantage they should fall upon them. Manuel the Domestick of the Schools, as Cedrenus calls him, and Theophilus thought it best to be done by Night; but all the rest were for day light, with whom the Emperour agreed. And by day light a most fierce Battel was fought, wherein first the Romans had the better, the Saracens turning their backs. But the Turks fo exceedingly galled the Pursuers with their Arrows, that they quite turned the course of the fight, and made those to run and for fake their Emperour, who but now feemed to have the Victory. Yet did the Who rout the Captains manfully behave themselves, and so did the Persians, who compassed him about, and earnestly laboured for his Preservation: yet he had been slain had not Night come on and some Rain faln, which wet the Bowstrings of the Turks fo as they could not fo conveniently use them, and the Romans had thereby opportunity to retreat. In the Night Manuel who commanded the Watch, observed the Persians to entertain Discourse with the Saracens in their Language, about betraying the Roman Army and returning into their own Countrey, which revealing with all speed to the Emperour, he advised him by all means, with some choice Followers to provide for his own fafety by flight, now while he had time, and not fall into the hands of the Saracens. He answered, that this he could hardly doe, especially to leave those to perish whom he had brought into the danger, but Manuel replyed, that if God would but preserve him, they would look to themfelves, whereupon Theophilus took his Advice and fled away to a place called Chiliocomum. Hither fuch as we faid ran away from the Battel being fled, it's faid they met him, and confessing themselves unworthy of life, who had so deserted their Emperour, drew their Swords and would have killed themselves, but that he restrained them, by affirming he was preserved by God, and that therefore they should not perish.

46. But the Saracenian Prince understanding how matters had prospered under his Son, refolved without delay to fall on Amorium, which joyning Forces with him, he did, drawing first a deep Trench about it. The Turks plied it with Arrows, and the Saraceas with Batteries, yet the Romans within Valiantly defentled themselves and it, though the storm continued without Intermission. Theo-

philus

philus with much adoe having escaped at Dorylaum expected the event, whence he resolved to try the temper of the Saracen by Messengers sent with rich Presents, and to defire of him to defift. But he being implacably incenfed by the Destruction of his Sozopetra, upbraided him with Cowardize, and scoffing at the Mesfage, commanded those that brought it to be secured till they might see the Issue, Then did he more vigorously than ever attacque the Town, dividing his Forces into many Parties, so as when one was spent or beaten off, another fresh one might succeed, with which pertinacious course he hoped that the Besieged would be tired out and surrender. Yet the Desendants were so resolute, that the Town was not to be taken but by Treachery, to which one Badaties a Townsman was Bribed, who upon some discontent had abjured the Christian Religion. He gave them notice where the Walls might most easily be mounted, and an Assault be And Race the made, which so succeeded as the Saracens by storm took the Place, and made City. American. unspeakable Slaughter of the Garrison and Inhabitants, being inraged at their Resolution, and for the Death of so many eminent Men as on their side had perished in the Siege. And with the Citizens so perished this most Beautifull of Eastern Cities, nothing remaining of it but Rubbish. The Women and Children were led away into Captivity, the Men generally being put to the Sword. But Calliflus, Constantinus, Theodorus Craterus, all Patritians, and others who were eminent for their Employments in the Army or the State were taken, and the Prince now in an Infulting manner caused the Ambassadours to take a view of the estate of Amorium, and then sent them with an Account thereof to their

47. He sent them back again to desire that such eminent Persons as were taken, being his Kinsmen and Allies, and the rest of the Prisoners might be set at liberty for their Ransome, offering sour and twenty Centenaries; but he rejected them and their Message ignominiously, saying he should be unjustly accounted a Fool indeed, if he should accept of but so many Centenaries, when it had cost Which makes him no less than a thousand Centenaries in his Preparations. Theophilus herethe Emperour upon as overwhelmed with insupportable Calamity fell into excessive Melancholy, fo as to abflain from all fustenance, receiving nothing but some Snow-water,

which cast him into a Dysentery. The onely Thought or Discourse he would admit, was how to be revenged for Amorium. To this end he fent away Theodoss a Patritian toward the King of France, to desire his Assistance, and to procure nels # since him to invade those Parts of Africk which belonged to the Amermumnes; but this perplas, fi Design came to nothing, Theodosius Dying upon the way e'er he could deliver his communiter Message. His Melancholy and Disease both encreasing upon this Disappointment, vocant Coderin his Litter he would be carried to Magnaura, where calling together the Se-nus, alii. nate, with the Chief Men of the City, he most fadly lamented the posture of his Affairs, and earnestly moved them, that being mindfull of their kindness to him, they would continue faithfull to his Wife and Son, and fecure them from all Treachery. His lamentable Speech they Answered with as lamentable a Cry, and praying for his Life and Health, promifed him that in case so unacceptable a thing as his Death should happen, they would stand by his Wife their Lady and Mistress with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmost. After this he lived not long, yielding to the Distempers of his Mind and Body when he had Reigned twelve years, three months and twenty days. His care for his

Posterity it seems was so great, that he would not Dye without having Theophobus bear him company, whose Enemies took advantage at the Revolt of the Persians in the Battel we mentioned, and encreased the Jealousie conceived of him by the Emperour, from their giving to him the Title of Emperour, urging that the Revolt was not without his Device and Procurement. Having before caused him to be Imprisoned, when he was at the point of Death he commanded his Head to be cut off and brought to him, which touching with his Hand he breathed out these words, together with his Soul : Henceforth I am neither Theophilus, nor thou Theophobus. But some reported that Oriphas the Drungarius

of Bigla flew him without having received any orders. 48. Theophilus being Dead, Michael his Son succeeded him, the third of that goannes Cu-

Son fucceeds. Name, Sirnamed the Drunken: in the second year of Lotharius, Emperour of repalata. the West; the fifteenth of Gregory the Fourth, Bishop of Rome; the Fifth Indicti-Cedernus. on, A.D. DCCCXLII. His Father by his Will left Manuel the Magister and Great. Domestick of the Schools, and Theostistus the Patritian and Logotheta Dromi his Tutours or Governours, but the Regency was committed to Theodora his Mother, who by their Directions ordered all Affairs of State. Presently after the

Old Emperour's Death, the two Great Ministers lately mentioned went into the Circus, where calling the People together they rehearfed to them his last words and Will, infifted upon his Love and good Inclinations to them, and with many fair and alluring words endeavoured to gain their Affections toward his Young Son and Succeffour, who promifed, if need should so require, to shed their Bloud in his behalf, and their Promise instantly confirmed by Oath. Theodora thus fettled in the Government was drawn wholly to matters relating to the Church, binding all her endeavours for the reftoring of Images, which for a confidera-A Persecution ble time by the late Emperours had been forbidden: and she raised a great Peragainst the Manichees, which became an occasion of unspeakable Calamities in the East. For those she employed in the Inquisition, using no moderation but great cruelty in their Office, Nailed some of those they Comdemned to

Crosses, and others put to Death by many and unheard-of sorts of punishment, Which causes An hundred thousand by this course they made away, and confiscated their Ea Rebellion, states, which drove the rest into Desperation and Rebellion, which was began by one Carbeas of that Sect, who served Theodorus Melissenus, Commander of the East, in quality of Pratomandator. He understanding that his Father was Crucified, inraged by fo ignominious an Affront, fled with five thousand of his Perswasion to the Ameras of Mitylene, and from him to the Amermumnes himself, by whom being gratiously received he prefently after invades the Roman Territories, and therein builds two Cities, which he called Arganum and Amera. And the De- Then great numbers of the Manichees flying to him for shelter, to these two he And the Defined added another for their Reception, by the Name of Tephrica. From the two the East by blaces joyning with fome Saracen Officers, they made Inrodes without intermitthe Invoice packs por ming wan to me can be forced by the function of the Saraton. from into the Emperour's Dominions, with fuch fuccess generally as pleased them, the Saraton of Tarlor making an Invoice into Armenia, was cut onely Alimus the Governour of Tarfus making an Inrode into Armenia, was cut off with his Party, and Amer the Ameras of Melitena for some time was diverted by the Revolt of one of his Felow-officers. But having Conquered his Adverfary, and being a Man impatient of Rest, he joyned himself with Carbeas, and renewed his Hostilities. Against them at length was sent Petronas, Brother to the Empress, and Domestick of the Schools (which Office he executed, though it properly belonged to his Brother Bardas, who otherwise employed in State Affairs could not attend it) who led down an Army of Thracians against them, as we thall fee hereafter.

49. In the mean time Michael the Emperour growing up towards a Man, was

mightily inflamed with a delire to Govern by the procurement of this Burdas his Uncle, who thereby and by all other ways fought to screw up himself into Manuel one of Power. The great obstacles to his Rise were Manuel and Theostisfus, who being the Emperor's the Emperour's Governours, and constantly attending in Court, were by one means or other first to be removed. It luckily happened for him that there fell some misunderstanding betwixt them, which he so encreased that thereupon Munuel quitted the Palace, and retired to his own House. Having thus removed him, he attempted the same upon his Instrument Theoliftus, whom he more hated, because he had taxed him for having incessuously to doe with his Daughter-in-Law. The Engine he used was the Emperour's School-master, a wicked and intractable Man, whom the Scholar (commendable yet in this, that he was his Master) willing to Preser to some considerable Office, Theotistus had opposed it, telling him fuch Preferments were to be bestowed according to Merit, and not upon undeserving Persons. The Scool-master acted by Revenge, and the constant incouragements of Bardas, never left whispering into the Ears of the Youth, that all things went ill through the bad management of Theoltifus, that he had a Design to make a Marriage for the Empress or one of her Daughters, and pur out the Emperour's Eyes; otherwise terrifying him, and telling him he must be

quick, and very crafty in providing for his own fafety. They having often met

red to save himself by flight towards the Court in the Circus, where the Secreta-

ries then had their Office, but was stopt as he ran, and Bardas drawing his

Sword threatned to kill any that should make any opposition or defend him.

He was then committed to Prison till order should be taken about him, which

the order of the procure and deliberated about this matter, refolved to have Theofillus made away, and the procure that after this manner. As he went to Lanfacum for the Recording of some ment of Bar- Transactions, the Emperour following after at some distance should give the sign

was not long in taking nor executing; for left the Empress should in the Inte-Aaa 2

das, Uncle to by these words, Take him away. Theolishus apprehending the sign, endeavou-

Which Mi-

rim attempt any thing, they fent one to dispatch him, with whom he strugled fome time, but Died of a wound received in his Belly.

50. He being dead, Bardas took upon him the Office of Canicleus; but Theodora understanding what was done, ran with her hair all about her shoulders up and down the Court, which she filled with her shrieks and cries, cursing her Son and Brother, and wishing to them the like end. Bardas could not bear her Reproaches, but refolved that she, as the next obstacle to his Designs, was to be removed. She being an understanding Woman, was aware hereof, and refolved not to put all into bloud by making refistence, but to call together the Senate, and give them an Account what Treasure was now in the Palace, both Mother gives an account of to obviate the extravagant expences of her Son, and to make manifelt how the Treasure, carefull and frugal she had been, during her administration of Affairs. She told them, that of Gold there was one thousand and ninety Centenaries, and three thouland of Silver, partly gathered together by her Husband, and partly by her felf; besides very great Wealth in other kinds, of which she thought fit to let them know, left her Son should hereafter make them believe that she had left him an empty Purfe; and she caused the Officers of the Treasury to be present, who bore witness to what she had said. Having thus delivered her self, she refigned her Power and Government, and departed from Court; of which her Son was not at all displeased. For all this Wealth the foolish Young Prince in a small time consumed. Being above all things delighted in Riding, and Driving of Chariots, he refused not the Office of a Driver himself in the Cirque, and fuch as would accompany him and play with him at this or other idle and Raically Sports, he profusely enriched, bestowing upon each an hundred, eighty, or at least fifty Pounds at the Christening of their Children. Having thus made away all his Mother had left him, when the folemn time came that he was to make Presents, having no other means lest him of making Money, he caused to be melted and stamped those famous Trees of Gold, which (as Glicas relates) being made in the late Emperour's time by Leo the Philosopher a Bishop, the greatest Scholar of his time, held in the Boughs a number of Golden Birds, which by virtue of an Engine sung melodiously, together with Golden Lions which roared also by the same Device, besides as many Vultures, and other stuff of the same metal, with other things, for which the Imperial Palace was famous, and gratified the curiofity of Strangers. In the same manner he had dealt with the Imperial Robes, but that Death prevented him, and Bafilius his Successiour recovered them out of the Hands of his Instruments, who found in the House onely three Centenaries of Gold, and nine Bags of Militarifia, which he produced to the Senate, and deploring the Poverty of the Empire, Commanded them

But with ill

to Confult by what means it might best be supplied. 51. But Bardas and his Nephew proceeding in their evil courses, and still jealous of the Empress, caused Petronas her own Brother, when on a time she came to the Church in Blachernis, to lay hands on her and her Daughters that accompanied her, to shave them, and make them all Nunns, which Indignity she not long furvived. Now the whole Power was in Bardas his Hands, whom his Nepliew Honoured with the Dignity of Curopalata, as a Reward for thus dealing An Expediti- with his Mother. After this he raifed an Army, and undertook with him an Exon against the pedition against the Saracens, and the Ameras of Melitena, and laid Siege to a City of theirs, fituate upon the River Euphrates. Herein they contained themsclves, as willing to have it believed that they durst not adventure out, and their Design prospered so well, that the Emperour's Army thereupon grew secure, and took no care how they ordered their matters. The Saracens then took the advantage when they were at Prayer, and going to Communicate on the Lord's Day, and issuing out fell upon them, put them easily to the Rout, the Emperour escaping by the swiftness of his Horse. All the Baggage of the Army was taken, and Charbeas Captain of the Manichees so notably behaved himself, that besides many of the Inferiour fort which fell by his Hands, he took no fewer than an hundred of the most eminent Commanders alive, who were all put to Ransome, onely one Seon died They invade in Restraint. Two years after, Amer with an Army confisting of thirty thousand Men invaded the Roman Territories, whom Michael opposed with no fewer than five and forty thousand Thracians and Macedonians; but Amer making his Paffage through bye-ways, fell upon him unexpectedly, and with as much ease as formerly, put his Army to flight. And he himself had been taken, but that Manuel the Domestick of the Schools in good time came in to his Rescue with a ilrong Party. The rest shifted for themselves, every Man as he could. 52. Two

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Michael. CHAP. I.

52. Two years more having passed after this Ingagement, Amer marches with Another Inva- another Army of forty thousand Men into the Roman Provinces and wastes Armenia, with the Maritime Parts; at which time it's reported that he imitated the mad frolick of Xerxes, in lashing the Sea, because it stopped his farther pleasant progress. The Emperour upon the News, sent Orders to his Uncle Petronas, with

all the force he could make to march against him, who then lying at Ephefus, and much disturbed upon Receit of the Letters, consulted one John a Monk, who had the opinion of a Prophet, and by him was promifed victory against the Sara-Saracens are cens. Incouraged hereby, he haftes toward the Enemy, whom in an advantageous worfted. place he compasses about, and after some vain attempts of getting loose, curs him off, and his whole Army. The Son of Amer being abroad on Foraging, and hearing of the difaster, made with all speed he could toward Melitena, but the Officer that commanded the Charfian Straits, took him and his Party and presented him to Petronas. Now returned Petronas to Constantinople, carrying along with him this Monk, whom he commended as a wonderfull Man to the Emperour and his Brother Bardas, and for his good Service was made Domestick of the Schools, Bardas made Manuel being lately dead. Bardas being now left without a Competitour, ordered all things as he lifted, putting in and out all Officers, and now procured to himself the Dignity of Casar, Michael in the mean time, as he was well pleased he should, by his ridiculous Actions making himself despicable in the eyes of all Men. Bardas hoping one day to be fole Master of all, that he might by something commend himself to the publick, endeavoured to bring into tashion again Philosophy and other Parts of Learning, which by reason of the ignorance of the later Emperours, had for many years lain buried in oblivion, appointing to each Science it's feveral School in the Palace of Magnaura. He was frequently present also in the Courts of Justice at the Cirque, and procured the Laws again

to flourish, which in these times had been also much neglected.

53. In the mean time, all the Coasts lying upon the Euxine Sea, were grievous-The Maritime ly wasted by a fort of Pirates called Rossi, a Scythian People, fierce and cruel, incontrol the habiting fome of the Northern Parts of the Mountain Taurus. They brought the fact by Fig. City of Conflantinople also into great danger. About the Taurus. City of Constantinople also into great danger. About the same time another Fleet of Pirates from Crete infested those Parts, lying about Proconness and the Cyclades, and most horrible Earthquakes happened, whereof the greatest on Ascension day, wherewith Walls, Churches, and other Buildings and Works were overturned. Besides Rivers and Fountains failed of their Waters, and many other Prodigies happened in divers places; of all which when the Émperour had notice, he regarded them not, so intent he was upon his Races. One fortish Act of his must not be past over in silence. His Predecessours, that they might have certain notice of the Incursions of the Saracens, and to give warning to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries, that they might not be surprized, caused to be Built as near Tarfus, in the Border of theirs and the Saracenian Dominions, a strong Fort or Tower called Luluni, on a very high Rock, wherein were placed certain Men, who as foon as ever they perceived these People to be about an Invasion, by fire kindled, were to give notice thereof to others that kept their slation in another Hill called Argens. Those in Argens gave a fign in the same manner to others that watched in £gialus, those to others at Mamas. From Mamas the fign was given to the Cirque, from the Cirque to Mocillum, and from Mocillum to those that watched in the Mount of St. Auxentius, who in the last place gave the fign to the great Palace. By these Beacons were the Emperours, in a moment as it were, certified of the Enemies motion, and the Countreymen had timely warning to secure themselves and goods, in the strong holds adjoyning. Now it happened that on a time, near the Church of St. Mamas, this Michael beginning his Races, the Beacon was fet a fire, which exceedingly afflicted him, left the People should not view well, and consider his Dexterity in Riding. And lest Beacons for by any fuch fight; the attention of the Spectatours should be diverted for the bidden by the time to come, he forbade the fires to be made in the places that were near to

54. Another time as he sate in his Chariot, and the Horses were just ready to Who is whole be let goe, word was brought, that the Ameras of Melitena, did grievously harass Racing and the Province of Asia, and being come already as far as Malagina, threatned the rest with Desolation, which being told him by the first Notary, in a forrowfull manner, who also presented him with the Letters of the Domestick of the Schools, matters of Importance as he imagined, he looked upon him with a grim and angry Countenance, asking him how he durst, Villain as he was, disturb him,

CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Michael III.

bulied in so important an Affair, with such trifling matters, especially now onely intent upon this, to turn off him that should Encounter him, to the lest Hand, which was the wager laid. He would debase himself with all sorts of mean Actions, blaming his Predecessours for insisting upon State. He had ever in his company a crew of most impure and profligate wretches, whom to abuse all things Sacred, he would cause to put on Copes, and other Vestments wherein Churchmen were wont to Officiate, and thus Habited, to imitate the most Sacred Functions and Holy Mysteries. One Gryllus a Rogue, he called Patriarch; others he named Metropolitans, and took to himself the Title of one of the chief Bishops and President of the Colony. With this crew he would meet the Patriarch in Procession, and once sent for his Mother, as to meet Ignatius, who then held that Place, and as the good Woman on her knees begged a Bleffing, the Villain Gryllus appeared, having all the while hid his Beard, and with filthy gestures derided the poor Lady, who with such Anger as upon such an occasion became her, denounced vengeance unto her Son. Such were the manners and company of this diffolute Prince, whom veangeance at last overtook according to his Mother's Prediction, but first all his Governours, and such as should have better principled and advised him, were to receive their Punishment. How Theoctiflus came to his end we have already feen, and Bardas his Tragedy is now to follow, which was ushered in by a terrible Dream, and several other presages,

as our Authours observe. 55. He had perfwaded the Emperour to Arm against the Saracens of Crete, who infested his Subjects upon all occasions, and were now come in their Expedition into Thrace, as far as a place called Chorus. There the Servants of Bardas; whether out of Delign or unadvifedly, for they were in an hurry, pitched their Masters Tent upon an Hill, the Pavilion of the Emperour being placed below in the Plain. This advantage was taken by his Enemies, who cealed not to render Michael jealous of him, and to instigate him against him to procure his sudden Destruction. Yet the Interest of Casar was such at Court, that they had much difficulty to bring about what they defired. For, his Son Antigonus bore the Office of Domestick of the Schools, and had the other Officers of the Army much at his Devotion; and Symbatias the Logotheta Dromi, being his Son-in-Law, was concluded of his Party, although the Emperour himself privately had taken him off, and no Man so much watched an opportunity to destroy him, and to him alone was committed the trust of giving the privy fign when it should be done. Now Symbatius making a Relation of what had happened, figned his Face with the Cross, which was the fign agreed of among the Conspiratours. Yet were they very flow, being awed by the Relations and Dependents of Bardas, there present, though Michael fearfull lest the Plot, if not now executed, might be turned upon himself, by one he could trust, sent and animated them all he could. The Fact had not now been committed, but Bafilius the Emperour's Chamberlain, (who for especial reasons, as we shall see at large, was more concerned than any other to have him made away) flirred up his courage, and exhorting those present to stand to him courageously, resolved upon it. Bardas seeing them come upon him with drawn Swords, fell down at the Emperour's feet, and was cut all in pieces, after which they exposed his Genitals ignominiously fixed upon a Polc. So great a Tumult hereupon enfued, that brought the Emperour into extreme danger; and he might have easily miscarried in it, had not Constantine the Drungarius of Biglæ come in in good time with a strong Party of Men and quieted those concerned, affirming that Bardus was justly put to Death. He being after this fort dispatched, Michael cast off all thoughts of the Expedition to Crete, and returned to Constantinople.

56. Here it's obvious to remark the Custome of Courtiers and great Ministers to raise themselves upon the Ruine of others, and that usually they themselves are served in the like fort; the Interests of times or humours of Princes easily changing, although their hopes so beguile their wits that they do not consider it. Bardas had cast down others, as steps to mount to his great Preferment, and more than probable it is, that the Emperour himself must at length have faln for a greater advantage, had he not been prevented; but now his Removal makes way for another Favourite, who executes at last what he had but designed.

\*\*Ensitium put This was \*\*Bassisms\*\* but lately mentioned, by Birth a \*\*Macedonian\*\*, but as some reinto his \*\*Place\*\* ported, of \*\*Armenian\*\*. Descent, and that from the stock of the \*\*Arsacida\*\*, out of which alone of old time the Kings of the \*\*Parthians\*\*, \*\*Medes and \*\*Armenians\*\* could be chosen, out of respect to \*\*Arsacis\*\* the First, who recovered the Kingdom to

the Parthians from those of Persia. And long did this Race continue, Artabanus and Clienes being the two last of the Kings, who being driven from their Inheritance, came in the time of Leo the Great to Constantinople, and he entertained them honourably, affigning them convenient abode in the City. Afterward the King of Persia invited them to return, about which while they were Consulting, Leo removed them to Nice, a Town in Macedonia, whence in process of time, when the Saracens had Conquered the Persian Kingdom, the Amermumnes also invited their Posterity to return. This being understood by the Emperour Heraelius, who perceived that he recalled them not out of any affection, but that by their means he might the better master the Armenians and Parthians, he removed them first to Philippi a City in Macedonia, and thence to Adrianople, where they multiplied, yet kept their race unmixt with other People. Sometime after when Constantine and his Mother Irene reigned, one of them by Name Maicles came to Constantinople, where lighting upon Leo one of his own stock he contracted such Friendship with him, that coming to Adrianople he gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Of this Conjunction was born the Father of Bafilius, so gracefull a Person, that a certain eminent Matron, said to be descended from Constantine the Great, married to him her Daughter. This is the Pedigree Cedreurs gives us of Bafilius, but by others generally it's accounted but a fiction, who affirm him born of very ignoble and obscure Parents.

57. It's granted on all Hands, that when Crumus the Bulgarian took Adrianople Some account his Parents were led away Captive, and carried him with them being a young Infant hanging on the Breaft. The Successiour of Crumus, being fore distressed by feveral Deleats received from the Romans, made peace with the Emperour, and by virtue of that Agreement restored all Prisoners formerly taken, amongst whom Bafilius returned. Many Prodigies are faid to have portended to him the Empire. An Eagle, when being a Child he was laid in the Field, as his Parents were at work, covered him with her Wings, and being beaten off once or twice still returned to her former Posture. When he was grown up to be a youth, his Father died, and his Mother being left a poor Widow, and not able to maintain him, he went to Constantinople to seek a service, where he got into the Family of one Theophilizes ( fo called from his small stature ) who was of kin to the Emperour and to Bardas, being recommended it's faid by him that kept the Church of St. Diomedes, to whom they will have it that the Martyr revealed it that he should be Emperour, and commanded him to take him in as he lay at the Gate for want of a better Lodging. Theophilizes being much taken with him, for he was tall, beautifull of Body, and wore long curled Hair, being befides very active, and of a very good wit, made him Gentleman of his Horse, which they in those days and places called Protostrator. The Emperour at this time having an unruly Horse, none could tame him, till at length it was effected by Basilius, who when he was got loose rode after, and leaping into the Emperour's fadle made him quiet and tractable, which was accounted another Omen, the Imperial trappings and purple Bridle, Enfigns of Majesty, being considered. For this Service and Contemplation of his Dexterity, he was taken amongst the Officers of the Emperour's Stable, and shortly after Bardas having out of Jealoufie caused the former to be turned out, was made a Protostrator or Master of the Horse a place both very honourable, and which gave him occasion often to be near and converse with him. So much he grew into favour, that Bardas began to cast a jealous Eye upon him; as also the Empress Theodora her self, by reason of I wot not what secret marks she espied in his Face, which had been formerly described to her by her Husband, as appropriate to him that should put a Period to his Family.

58. But neither her swooning at the fight of these marks, nor all the Caution she could give her Son could in the least diminish his Reputation with him, who after some time preferred him to be Chamberlain, which so inraged Bardas, and augmented his jealousse that he sought his destruction; and this being known to the other, impossible it was that both of them could long subsist. But the expedition towards Crete gave Bashius the Advantage, who as Cæsar stood and talked with the Emperour, lift up his Hand in a threatning manner at his back, which the other by chance looking behind him having espied, sell down at the Feet of Michael, where the rest of the Conspiratours cut him in pieces, but not till the first stroke was given by Bashius. Returning then back with the Emperour to Constantinople, he received from him in Marriage Endacia the Daughter of Juceres, a Lady much extolled for her Chassity aswell as Beauty, and other Qualifications

by

by Cedrenus, but Zonaras writes, that she was Concubine to Michael, and that the was then believ'd with Child by him of Leo, who afterward succeeded Ba-Buffirm made filins as his Son. After this the Emperour made him his Collegue, or Emperour Emperour caufing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of St. Sanhie causing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of St. Sophia. For after the Death of Bardas, the Administration of Affairs having fall upon Michael alone, his Weakness and Debauchery came to be made more publick than ever, no business being dispatched, but all things going to Ruine, which constrained him as stupid as he was to think, of some one who should bear the Burthen. Being eased something in his mind by this he returned to his Drunkennefs, his driving of Chariots and other loofe Courses rather more than ever, and on a time when he had won the prize entertained Bafilius and Eudocia at Supper, being grievoully incented against him for rebuking and admonishing him; for in his mad and drunken fits he would command the Ears of some, the Hands others, and fometimes the Heads to be cut off. But there one Bastlinus, of late Master of his Barge, but whom for his comely Person he had made fomething familiar with him, flanding by the Table fell into a great Harangue, wherein he wonderfully extolled him for his skill, and his management of his late exercise in the Cirque. Michael being even drunk and much elevated with Commendation, delivers him his Purple shooes, bids him put them on, and salutes him Emperour; at which when he was abaihed and looked upon Bafilius, the Emperour growing angry, Bafilius beckoned to him to doe as he was bidden. The shooes being on, Michael inraged at Bafilius told him, that these Ensigns of Empire did much more become Bafilinus than him, and asked him whether as he made him Emperour, by the fame Authority he might not create another. To this relation of Zonaras Cedrenus and Glycas add, that as Emperour and more fit than the other he recommended Basilinus to the Senate. However, Basilius saw plainly there was no way but one, he must either strike or be stricken, and therefore making a Party, as Michael Configures with was drunk another time in the Palace of St. Mamas, being led into his Chamber, when he was fast asleep he made fure the Doors, and then came with his Conspiratours who being refifted by those that waited without, a noise was made, and the Emmurther Miperour therewith awaked. One going in to him with a drawn Sword, cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and therewith returned to his Companions. Not able to go he stumbled, lay roaring on the ground, till another of them thrust his Sword through his Breast, and so opened his Body that his Entrails came out. To fuch an end came Michael firnamed the Drunken, after he had reigned twenty five years and three Months, whereof fourteen years together with his Mo-59. Michael being dead, Bafilius became fole Emperour by confent of Nobility

Bafilius fole Emperour.

and People, in the twelfth year of Ludovicus the fecond Emperour of the Welf, the tenth of Nicholas Bishop of Rome, the fifteenth Indiction. A. D. 867. The first thing he did was to call together the Senatours and Magistrates, and to open the Treasury wherein were onely found as we said before three Centenaries. But to know how these vast Summs of Money had been spent, he procured the Accounts of an old Eunuch belonging to the Revenue, and shewed them to the Magillrates and Senate, by whom it was unanimously resolved, that those who had Furnishes his received them for fuch dishonest or frivolous services should refund to the Treasury, which fentence he fo far mitigated as to make them pay half, by which means three Hundred Centenaries of Gold were recovered. By this and other Courses very acceptable and honest he fo furnished himself, that he made great largesses Takes care to the People. Hereby he got great Reputation and Love, which he augmented that junice be by bestowing Offices upon hit Persons alone, by taking great care for equal and indifferent distribution of Justice, to which end he appointed upright Judges to whom he assigned convenient Salaries, and dividing them into three Courts which he appointed to fit dayly in Magnaura, the Cirque and Chalce or the Brasen Gate, which for this purpose he repaired. To such as were poor and unable to be at the expence, he allowed Money for their fuits. As his publick Affairs permitted, he himself would attend these matters, and going down to Genicum where his Custome-House was, took care that no Man should be oppressed. It's reported that once being at the Place he was wont to hear Causes, and finding none that exhibited any complaint, he suspected that some of his Officers hindred such as had recourse to Justice, and therefore he sent certain Officers about the City to ning with this answer that they could find none, he wept for joy, and gave God Prevents chea Thanks. Taking notice that the weights and Measures of the City were stamped

make inquiry, if there were any that defired to prefer their Petitions, who retur-

onely with Figures, which wearing out, or ignorant Perfons not understanding them, gave opportunity to many Tradesmen to cheat, he caused instead of Figures the quantity to be exprest in words at length, that any Countreyman might reade them, and this at his own charge. To these commendations is added by some, that he altered and new modelled the Civil Laws themselves, of which we shall inquire in another place.

A Conspiracy

He fettles his

60. But though he gave content to the generality, all were not fatisfied; for in his first year one George and Symbatius, both Patritians, made a Conspiracy against him, which being revealed by one of the Party, their Eyes were put out, and the rest being shewn up and down in disgrace were sent into Banishment, The better to obviate all Defigns, to gain Diadems to his two Eldest Sons Constantine and Leo, and in his third year to his third Son Alexander. His fourth, Stephen by Name, he caused to take orders with intention to prefer him to be Patriarch, as some have written, and his four Daughters he made Nunns in the Monastery of Euphemia the Martyr. Having settled his Domestick assairs as to him seemed most prudential, he then resolved upon War, and finding the usual Number of Souldiers much diminished, by reason that Michael had otherwise fpent their Pay, he took care for making up the feveral Companies by new Levies. Then went he against Tophrica, the Governour of which was one Chryfochir a Man of approved Valour and Skill, who had done much mischief by his Inrodes made into the Roman Territories. Upon notice of the Emperour's approach he shut himself up within the Walls, to which Basilius purposed to lav Siege, but understanding that the Place was strong and well surnished, he wasted He wastes the Countrey adjacent, and taking three Neighbouring Castles Abara, Copius and Castles Abara Copius and Castles and Spatha, he departed thence with much booty. This expedition so terrified Taurus, a City not far distant from Tephrica, that it made peace with the Emperour, and Curterius an Armenian, who held a City called Locana, and had done great harm in the Roman borders, gave it up into his Hands. In the mean time, a felect Party took in Zapetra and Samofata, where a great Number of Christian Captives were set at liberty, and then passing over Euphrates wasted the Countrey, and with many Captives and rich Spoils returned to the Emperour, then lying upon the River Artzanucus. He incouraged by this Success marched to Euphrates, and laying a Bridge over it besides other Acts of Hostility, took a Caftle called Rapfacium, as a Party he sent to harass the Countrey, lying betwixt Enters the Territories of Arfines and Euphrates, destroyed five other Forts. Entring the Territories of Melitena, he killed and took many of those that made opposition, and at first thought of attacking the City, but finding it very strong, and so surnished with Thence to the Manichees, where destroying all things as he passed with Fire and Sword he took four Castles, and then returned to Constantinople, which entring at the Golthings in his den Gate from the Hebdomus, he went in triumph accompanied with the Acclareturn of Con-faminople. mations of the People to the Church of St. Sophia, where having given thanks, the Patriarch, according to the Cuftome, fet a Crown upon his Head. This done having diverted himself a little with his Wife and Children in the Palace, he returned to the Cares of the Commonwealth.

Enters the

The Mani-

61. The year that followed, the Manichees, under Command of Chrysochir, again made an Inrode and wasted the Emperour's Dominions, against whom, according to the Custome, he sent the Domestick of the Schools. He with all the Forces that could be made restrained their Incursions as he could, but not daring to hazard all in a Battel, as the Enemy retired, fent two Commanders with Orders to tollow him at some convenient distance to watch his motions; if he returned to let him know, but if he went directly home then to return back to the Camp. It happened that those two Officers being upon their Duty, and watching the Enemy as he had fate down at the Foot of a certain Hill, their two feveral Parties they commanded, fell into a sharp Contention about their Valour, and which had most deserved for their Service in the Field. The Contention continuing, a cunning Fellow amongst them, told then; it was vain to contend in words, feeing that so notable an opportunity presented it felf by their Actions, as to declare their Superiority in Courage. The thing took so well, that their Officers refolved to make use of this their present Heat, which would receive much advantage from the convenience of the lace, they being upon the higher Ground. The half of their Men fix Hundred and no more, they led down against the Manichees, and the other ordered to stand upon the Hill, and by making a great Noise to amuse them with apprehension of greater Numbers. By ВЫ

And taken by Night they made their Oniet with such Clamour, as put the Enemies into a great the Romans. Fright, which hindred him from looking about or consulting, and he fairly betook himself to his Heels. Then was notice fent to the Domestick of the Schools, and pursuit was made for thirty Miles with great Execution. Chrysochir himself was slain, and his Head sent to the Emperour, and with him fell the whole Vigour and Strength of the Manichees, who from Tephrica had done fo great mifchief, and Cameia their Metropolis our Greek Historians call it, or chief City, was presently after destroyed. About which time also Basilius recovered Lulum a Cafile from the Saracens; and Melvus another Fort yielded it felf.

foiracy, dit-

62. This good success of Bafilius abroad was envied at home, another Conspiracy being at this time hatched against him, by one Curcuas a Patritian, but one Another Con- of the Number revealed it; Curcuas had his Eyes put out, and the rest being ignominiously beaten and shaven were banished their Countrey. Having escaped this danger, in the beginning of the Spring with his eldest Son Constantine he made an Invalion into Syria, and took Casfarea the chief City of Cappadocia, where he staid some time and trained his men. But thence by several Parties sent abroad, he took in feveral Places, and either caused the Governours of the Saracens to run away or to submit; after which he passed over the Rivers Onopnictes and Sardus, and came to Cucusus, and thence through the Straits of the Mountain Taurus to the City Germanicia, the Inhabitants whereof, as of other Towns, shutting up themselves he wasted the Countrey about, and having taken a Fort called Geron, with all his might fell upon the City Adapa. The Inhabitants most valiantly defending themselves, he asked how they could be so consident, seeing such certain destruction to hang over their Heads, to which an Old Man amongst them anfwered, that their City was not to be taken by him at this time, but by one defcended from him named Constantine, therefore they were nothing terrified by this Attempt he made. He replyed, that he had a Son there whose Name was Constantine, but the Old Man again assirmed, that he was not the Person, but another of that Name and of his Posterity long after should destroy the Place, which inraged Bafilius so as he indeavoured by all means possible to prove the Prediction false, but his indeavours would not succeed, and the Frost coming on he was forced to rife up and be gone homewards. In his return he caused many of the Prisoners to be killed because they were too numerous, and by several Hostile Acts struck such terrour into Abdelomeleres a Saracen Governour, that he submitted himself to him and became his Associate against his own Nation. Coming to Cafarea out of Mesopotamia, and from elsewhere he received news of good tuccess of his Forces and Multitudes of Captives, whom he commanded to be put to death as Cumbersome and Dangerous. At Medaus he rewarded such as had Returns with done worthily in this Expedition, and fending the Army into its Winter Quarters vast spoils to returned to Constantinople, where he received a Crown from the Patriarch, as the manner was, and was Carefled after the usual fort by the Inhabitants.

63. By this fuccess of his Arms he quite broke the Power of the Manichees, or those of Tephrica; but the Saracens from Tarsus began to renew their Hostilities, and rather more than ever to practife their Robberies and Depredations. Against The Saracens them one Andreas a Scythian made very strong opposition, and did so eminent beaten by the fervice therein, that the Emperour honoured him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and at length made him Domeltick of the Schools. Furnished now with great Strength and Authority, he fought feveral Battels with the Ameras of Tarfus, wherein he had ever the better, and in one of them slew him who had by a Blafphemous Letter challenged him to an Ingagement. Yet, as Envy is never wanting to great Atchievements, there were some at Court who maligned and accused him to the Emperour, as having had Tarfus it felf in his power, which he might easily have taken had he not wanted either Courage or Conduct, or both. They perswaded Basilius to take away his Command, which was given to one Stipeiotas one of his Acculers, one who made great Brags, and undertook speedily to put the Emperour into policifion of Tarfus. And thither indeed he led an Army, but managed his matters without any discretion or forecast, and suffered his men to lie in such disorder, that the Saracens issuing out frighted them by certain Noises they made, and easily routing put most of them to the Sword, for by the many Overthrows received from Andreas they were reduced to fo small a Number, that they durst not venturea Battel bet were forc't to use their Wits. Such was the State of Affairs in the East, how they stood in the Western parts we must now discover ac-

cording to the measure of our Intelligence.

64. All business, especially Foreign, being neglected by Michael, such Parts of Italy as had belonged to the Empire, with the Roman Pale in Sicily, were fain into the hands of the Saraceus of Africk, and made Tributary to those Barbari-Pannonia and ans. Farther, the Scythians (so our Authours call them) inhabiting Pannonia, Dalmatia, walted by the Dalmatia, and the other adjoyning Countries, as the Chrobatæ, Servi, Zachlubi, Ferbuniotæ, Canalitæ, Diocletiani and Rentani, having been formerly subject to the Empire, had cast off the Yoke and declared themselves free People, against whom the Saracens of Carthage watching an opportunity, made War, and creating Goldan, Saba, and Calphufus their Generals, with a Fleet of fix and thirty Ships took feveral Cities of Dalmatia, as Butama, Rosa, and the lower Decatara, and thus prospering they fell upon Ragustum the principal City of the Province. The Inhabitants being almost spent with a long Siege sent to Constantinople for Relief. begging they might not be necessitated to fall into the hands of the professed Enemies of Christian Religion, and it well happened for them that by this time Michael was dead, and Bastlius in possession of the Government. He commiserating their condition fent away with all expedition possible a Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail under command of Nicetas Oryphas a Patritian and the Drungarius of But somewhat Naval Affairs, or Admiral of the Empire, a prudent and skilfull Person, whose relieved by the coming the Saracens apprehending, railed their Siege, and failing to Lombardy fei-Emperour's zed on a Caftle called Baris, whence they grapled by degrees all the Country about, and extended their power well nigh as far as Rome it felf. But the Chrobatæ, Servi, and the rest of the Scythian Nations perceiving how well their Neighbours in Dalmatia had succeeded in sending to the Emperour for aid, by their Mes-

fengers craved that they might return into their former Obedience and Protec-

tion of the Empire, to which their Petition Bafilius willingly affented, their Recovery bringing no little accession to the good Fortune and Glory of his

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65. But the Saracens that from Ragusium had invaded Italy, making great Devaltations in that Countrey, Bafilius confidered that his Fleet under Command of Nicetas was not fufficient for the Enterprize, and therefore he fent to Dolick King of France (Lodovick the Emperour of the West these Greek Authours mean) and to the Pope of Rome, so they word it, to defire their Assistance; moreover, those his Subjects that were lately returned to obedience, he defired not to be wanting to fo good a work. Hereby a very great Army was got together, wherewith Baris was taken with Soldan, and fuch as fought under his Command, whom the King of France led away Prisoner unto Capua. Here being kept two years, at length he beguiled the King and got his Liberty (as is more proper to be related in another place) and returning into Africk, thence brought a great Force against Capua (the Inhabitants of which had set him free) and Beneventum. Being thus distresfed they fent to the King for aid, but by the cunning of Soldan, having been brought to revolt from him, he refused to give them any, wishing them destruction, and thereupon they fent to Bafilius, who on the contrary returned them a very comfortable answer. But it happened that the Messenger at his return, was taken by fome of Soldan's Army, to whom being brought, he told him, That except going to the Walls, he would deliver to his Friends a quite contrar answer, and put them out of all hope of Relief, he should die, which yet he refused, so great was his love to his Countrey, and telling them truly what he had in charge from the Emperour, was accordingly cut in pieces; after which, the Soldan not daring Siege laid to to abide the coming of the Succours, raifed his fiege and departed. About this Euripus, but time Eliman the Amera of Tarfus, puffed up with his late Victory, fends an Article of the great of the great my aboard thirty great Ships (by the Saracers called Comparia) against the City states.

Euripus. But Bafilius being aware of such an attempt, had ordered Orneistes the Governour of Greece, to have it very well manned, and furnished with all manner of necessaries; which rendred E/man's attempts ineffectual, so as instead of taking the Town, he lost many Men, and had several of his Ships burned. Inraged hereat; and knowing that Gold was wont to operate much, he caused a great quantity thereof to be fet before the Wall, together with an hundred most beautifull Captive Virgins, proposing these as a reward to him that should first mount the works and enter. This being taken notice of by the Defendants, they incouraged one another, and fetting open all their Gates, made an universal sally, wherein they killed the Ameras and many of his followers, and drove away the rest to their Ships, who few in number, with sufficient ignominy, returned

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66. But this being over, another florm came from Crete, the Lord whereof, Another Inva- Sael the Son of Apochapse, sent one Photius a stout and skilfull Souldier, with Memicanity Sael the Son of Apochapie, sent one routing a too and an amount of the Son of Apochapie, self-original fever and twenty Camparia, called also Gallies, against the Romans. Such Islands deep factoring in the Age of the Son connessus and the Hellespont. But Nicetas the Admiral, met with them at Cardia, was entirely and contents. in the mouth of the Agean Sea, and in a sharp Ingagement burnt twenty of their Ships, the rest shifting for themselves by flight. Notwithstanding this great defeat, yet they of Crete under command of Photius, again Rigged out a Navy, and therewith much distressed the Western parts of Peloponnesus. Nicetas going against them, found he should loose much time, and perhaps the expedition if he should Coast round about that Peninsula, and therefore with admirable industry and expedition, conveyed his Ships over the Isthmus or Neck of Land of Corinth, and fell upon the Pirates e'er they heard of his coming, of which he killed and took great Numbers, flew their Commander, funk, burnt, or took many of their Vessels, and forced the rest to run, and hide themselves amongst the Islands where he hunted them out, and fuch as he could come by, put them to death, by va-Which caused rious and exquisite torments. This course had such effect upon the Saracens of the Saracens these Parts, that it made them more backward afterward to invade the Roman to desire from invading the Countries, but could not so much operate upon those of Africk, who with hopes Roman Terri- of better success set forth a Fleet consisting of sixty Ships, of unusual bigness, wherewith they did very much mischief, roving as far as the Island Cephalenia and Zacynthus. Against them was sent Nasar, or (as Zonaras calls him Nar-Those of A-fan) the successour of Nicetas, who hasted with a very strong Fleet to Metho-

na, but thence so many of his men ran away, that he durst not venture to Ingage, his Ships were so unmanned. This he fignified to the Emperour, who presently thought of this device. Thirty Saracens then Prisoners at Constantinople, having their Faces besmeared so as they could not be known, he caused to be led into the Cirque, and there whipped, thence to be sent into Peloponnesus, as if they had been the Authours of the Defection, and there to be nailed to Crosses, in the place whence it must be imagined that they fled. This struck such fear into all the Seamen and Souldiers, that it did the work, and they earneftly defired to be led against the Enemy, to which he readily affented, as soon as he had from Peloponne as sufficiently furnished himself, and given order to the Governour to meet and affift him.

to Constantinople in tri-

67. The Saracens were much elevated at this delay of the Romans, and as fully secure left their Ships, and were intent upon Risling and Pillage at Land, when But are beaten Nafar by night, and unexpectedly fell upon their Fleet, and funk, burnt or took by Nasar, Ge- all their Vessels; such as remained he offered to God at the Church of Methona. The Emperour much commending his Conduct, ordered him to proceed in the hunting of these Pirates; whereupon he Sailed to Sicily, where he destroyed such Ships as the Saracens had hired, and took many Vessels full fraught with Merchandize, especially with Oil, of which by this means he caused such plenty, that a pound thereof was fold for no more than an obolus. From Sicily he proceeded to the Coasts of Italy, where joyning with the Emperour's Land Forces, commanded by Procopius his Protovestiarius or Gentleman of his Wardrobe, and Leo a Patritian, the Governour of Thrace and Macedonia, did very commendable Service. For another African Fleet was defeated at the Island Stele, and most of the Forts in Calabria and Lumbardy, were taken from the Saracens, which done, Nafar returned Victoriously to Constantinople. After his departure, things went not so well in Italy, where the two Commanders, Proceptus and Lee falling out, and an Ingagement happening with the Enemy, Leo was fo far transported with Anger and Revenge, as to fuffer the other to perish in the Battel for want of help, when he might easily have relieved him, having the better of the Suratens in that Wing where he fought. He endeavoured to make amends by his good Service in taking the Castle of Farentum, and sending the Plunder to Basilius, but he understanding the manner of Procopius his Death, would not so let it pass, but Banished Lee, some of whose Servants presently accused him of Treason, and for that were killed by Bardas, and David his Sons. Fearing punishment, they fled with their Father towards Syria, but were overtaken in Cappadecia by some the Emperour fent to purfue them. Refusing to yield, the two Sons were flain in the place. The Father was brought back to Constantinople, and Sentenced by the Judges to loofe one Eye and one Hand, which being executed, he was Banished to MeJembria, and there spent his days.

68. While the Emperour's Officers were thus employed in the West, the Saracens of Africk thinking him careless, and unprovided at home, from Egypt, Phænicia, and Syria, got Ships together, and made up a confiderable Navy, yet refolving to espie out the condition of Bafilius, before they would attempt any thing, but the Spye returning, acquainted them how he kept many Men in readiness for any occasion, and employed them in Building of Churches and other Works to keep them in Action, which understood they defisted from their Enterprize. They of Carthage, had prepared a Fleet to defend themselves, imagining Bafilius would make War upon them, but when they found no such thing, con-Spracufe Be- cluding that he was diverted by some other Enemies, they Sailed over to Sicily, figed and tar and Besieged Spracuse, to affishence whereof, one Adrian a Patritian was sent, such that Se but he either wanted Wind, or loitered so by the way, that at Polopounesus he through the heard that the City was taken (the story went as first told by Spirits) which through one neart that the City was taken the holy went as first tool by Spirits) which reglect of A the Infidels destroyed, together with all the Churches. Adrian having certain man General. Intelligence by some that had escaped, how he should come too late, and was prevented, returned with the Fleet to Constantinople, and took Sanctuary in the Great Church, but was thence taken and fent into Banishment. Much after the same manner miscarried one Stephen a Cappadocian, who with a select number of

Bafilius his

Suppen, and Thracians, Macedonians and Cappadocians, was fent into Lombardy, but minding basished for nothing but his ease and luxury, he was turned out of Command, and one Nibasilined for nothing but no case and many, no was unned out of Command, and one Nithe like faut. cephorus Phocas fent in his Room, (a valiant and worthy Person) with a new
supply, and a Party of Manichees, formerly belonging to Chryschis. Joyning
these with the Forces of Stephen, he obtained many Victories over the Saracens,
taking several Towns, as Amantia, Tropa and St. Severina. These were the Wars
managed by Basilius, in the several Quarters of the World.

69. Otherwise he most employed himself in the Building or Repairing of Churches, of which Cedrenus reckons up a great number, besides other expenses upon the Imperial Palaces, much admiring him for his Prudence and Goodness, whereas Zonaras rather taxeth him for his toiling of his Subjects in fuch works, and infifts most upon the Churches, built to St. Michael, as provoked to so much expense upon them by the stings of his Conscience, to expiate as it were the Murther of the Emperour Michael, his Master and Benefactour. Two things besides that there are upon Record against him, which cannot be excused, whereof the one was his being in a manner bewitched by the cheating tricks of a certain Monk called Theodorus Sandabarenus, who after he had loft one Son, had almost procured him to make away the other. His Eldest Son Constantine being dead, his thoughts and hopes were fixed upon Leo the fecond Brother, yet so he could not cease from mourning for Constantine, and was so fond as to desire he might have his shape, as alive, represented to him. This it's said, this Sandabarenus being a Conjurer, undertook, caufing a Spellrum in his shape to meet him on Horseback, which he imbraced and killed. However it was, this Monk got very much into his favour, and often deluded him by his cheating tricks, which Leo his Son could not but take notice of, often exclaiming against him as a Mountebank and Impostour; The Monk for this bore him a Mortal grudge, resolving to be revenged of him, but concealed his Malice, and carried it fair towards him, the better to bring about his Defign. He perswaded him when he went abroad with his Father, to carry a knife along with him, therewith to serve his Father in hunting, if need were, or if any Treason should be committed against him. that he might be in a capacity the better to affift him.

70. The young man not knowing his drift, and thinking it no imprudent advice, the next time he went abroad put a knife into his Boot, which the Monk understanding, and how his device took, then betook himself to the Father, telling him that his Son Leo had resolved to kill him, and for that purpose that he might not doubt thereof, came prepared with a knife into the Field. The old man's jealousie is easily kindled, the young man is searched and the knife found, whereupon he is committed to close Prison, in an apartment of the Palace, where his Eyes had been put out at the Instigation of the Monk, had not the Patriarch and the Senatours made vigorous opposition. But for a long time in Prison he continued, notwithstanding all intercession used in his behalf, so powerfull was the suspicion of Basilius, till on a solemn day, entertaining some of the Nobility at dinner, there was a Parrat hung up in a Cage, which, in imitation of some one he had heard, lamented the young Prince his condition, faying often, Alas, my Lord Leo? This occasion the Senatours took to renew their iolicitation to the Emperour in behalf of his Son, for whom they undertook to answer, as if the

68. While

Bird it felf did reprehend them for their neglect, and the good nature of Balilins was now so much wrought upon, that he set him at liberty, and restored him to his former place and favour. Bafilius not long after died, when he had Reigned eighteen years ten months and seven days, by himself, and about one year with Michael. About the cause of his death there is some difference; Cedrenus writes, that he died of a Diarrhea, but Zonaras tells us another story of his going to hunt, and how a certain Deer, more stout than ordinary, making refistence, thrust his horn under his girdle, and lift him up from the ground, bringing him into date of his Life, which was faved by one of his Followers, who drew his Sword and cut the girdle. He adds, that instead of rewarding the man, he caused his Head to be cut off, as having drawn his Sword against the Emperour. Of this, Cedrenus is filent, and so John Curopalates, who mentions also the Flux he died of, though Zonaras attributes his death to an hurt received from the Deer. Leaft of all is that flory to be believed of him that he should distinct and an arrangement of the desired to the state of the state from the Deer. Least or all is that itory to be beneved or him that he inould guitante, make a vow, that if he could conquer and reduce the Bulgarians, he would turn apud Pitheum Monk, and having conquered them in effect, performed it, abfaining from all fragmentum. fleth (both of Woman and Beast) ever after, though he still used the Imperial Enligns. Take it all together, his Government was successfull and easie to his People, which we may believe, though we gave no credit to what Cedrenus farther hath in his commendation, that when the Senatours advised him to send some Officers down into the Provinces, who should be severe in exacting the publick Revenue, he would not permit any fuch strict inquisition to be made. 71. Bafilius being dead, Leo the Sixth of that Name, succeeded him in the

fixth year of Charles the third Emperour of the West, the second of Stephen the Sixth Bilhop of Rome, the fourth Indiction. A.D. DCCCLXXXVI. He fucceeded him as his Son, though as to his Birth, Glycas bids us observe that the Writers of Annals differed amongst themselves. For Scylitzes wrote, that the Emperour Michael left no Natural Issue, such as are much given to Drink seldom being able to get Children, as he tells us that Men skilfull in those matters affirm. But others delivered it for a truth, that Leo was the Son of Michael, particularly Zonaras, that he was indeed the Son of Michael, and in the opinion of the world the Son of Bafilius. His feverity to him so long in restraint, may a little increase the suspicion that he thought him not his own, and yet scarcely would he have left him the Empire, having other Sons, except he did it to make amends for the death of Michael. However, as to his Son, he left him very good Instructions, whereof fome had Relation to his Faith and to the Church, and others to his univerfal good behaviour. And as a great means for his Information and Direcuniverfal good behaviour. And as a great means for his information and Direct Evolver in tion of his Life, he charged him to be conflant in reading ancient Hifferies, where wingsom ceffer in the charge of him to be conflant in reading ancient Hifferies, where wingsom ceffer in the charge of him to be conflant in reading ancient Hifferies, where wingsom ceffer in the charge of him to be conflant in reading ancient Hifferies, where we will be a support of the charge of the ch in with little labour he should find what others with great pains had laid together. Historican There he should have a view of the vertues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with rum, bit min There he should have a view of the vertues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with rum, bit min the several changes incident to humane Life, the vicilitude of Affairs, and Instabi labor, Sc. lity of all worldly things, as also bow prone Empire and Sovereignty it self is to ApaBaron. decay and perish. In short, he should therein reade the rewards of good Assistant, and an asset the punishment of Wickedness, to learn to obtain the one and avoid the other. 13. Leo, so far observed these Precepts, as by his Study, at least to obtain so much Theory, that for his extraordinary knowledge he got the Sirname of Philosopher. How he observed them as to practice the History of his Actions, will best declare, though by Curopalates, and the rest of the Writers, who have taken in a manner all from him, though it be most obscurely and consusedly delivered.

72. The first thing that Lee did, was to be revenged of Sandabarenus, in order Animadverts to which he removed Photius from the Patriarchal See, as one that bore him good upon Sanda will, and had confulted with him for the promotion of a Kinfman of his own to the Empire; Sandabarenus he caused after Judgment to be ignominiously and grievously Whipped, though a Bishop, and thence Banished to Athens, where having his Eyes put out, he was sent into the East, though long after he recalled him, and ordered him maintenance from the New Church ; he outlived Leo, Dying in the Reign of Constantine his Son. While he was intent upon this course of Revenge, he fought to get Reputation, and make amends for his Father's fault by taking Removes the up the Body of Michael the Emperour out of the Monastery at Chrysopolis, Body of M. and conveying it to Conflantinople, attended by a number of Priefls, Torches and charling the Em. Conflantinople, attended by a number of Priefls, Torches and charling the Em. Conflantinople with funer Ordning placed in a Coffin of Cyprefs wood, and pension of Canalles, perturned with fiveet Odours, placed in a Coffin of Cypres wood, and frantings. graced with all Rites and Ceremonies furious to Discourse the Discourse wood, and bore. Being at the City received by the Emperour's Brothers, viz. Alexander and Stephen (whom he had made Patriarch in the room of Photius) with Singing and

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other Solemnities it was intombed in the Church of the Apostles in a Marble The Saracens Monument. While he thus employed himself, the Saracens the Enemies of the Empire were not idle, but took the uppermost City, lying upon the River Charfianus, making Prisoners all the Inhabitants. And at the same time happened a Fire in the Southern Part of Constantinople, which with other Buildings, consumed the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, repaired afterward by the Emperour with very great charge.

73. In the fecond year of Leo, the Greek Historians to whom those of Italy

herein bear no Testimony, tell us, that Angaus Son-in-Law of the King of France, Angalow and Captain or Governour of Lombardy, having notice of the Death of Balilius, Asymptotic iell off from the Romans, and subjected all the Countrey to the obedience of him. fell of from the *Romans*, and indirected an the Country to the obscincte of finite felf. Against him was fent *Constantine*, a Patritian and Overseer of the Emperour's 3 to proper felf. Table, with the Western Forces, but he received a total Defeat, losing all his Ar- Cedrenus. my, and escaping himself with much difficulty. About the same time the Sun fuffered fo great an Eclipse, that the Stars were seen at Noon, and terrible Thunder and Lightning followed, with the force of which seven Men were killed in the Forum upon the Stairs of Constantine. Then was Saxius Besieged by the Saracens, and the Emperour being exceedingly enamoured of a certain Lady called Zoe, gave a new and unheard-of Title to her Father Zantzas, of Father to the Emperour, having formerly made him Magister, and Logotheta Dromi. This Zoe was esteemed the most Beautifull Woman of her time, and had been Married to a Patritian called Theodorus Guniazitzas, but he being removed it's faid by Poison, Leo used her as his Concubine in the lifetime of his Wife Theophania. A War with The year that followed happened a Quarrel and War with the Bulgarians upon this occasion. There was an Eunuch, Musicus by Name, belonging to Zantzas, who being very intimate with the Chief Merchants of the City, by his Interest with his Master procured the Mart of the Bulgarians to be removed from Constantinople to Thessalonica on a sudden, and these Merchants by whom the Design was contrived to be made Officers and Receivers of the Customs, who imposed grievous and unufual burthens upon those of that Nation, and quite tired them out of their Traffick. Simeon their Prince, who fought all ways possible of picking a Quarrel with the Romans, made complaint hereof to the Emperour, who by the suggesttions of Zantzas, having his ears stopped to all that could be urged, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, and took Arms against him. 74. Leo having Intelligence hereof, prepared also for War, and sent an Army

against him, under Command of Procopius Crenites, with whom he joyned one The Romans Curticius an Armenian. In Macedonia the Armies met, but the Romans were overthrown, and their Generals flain; fuch Prisoners as Simeon took he cut off their Noses, and so fent them in scorn to Constantinople. Leo most grievously netled with this Affront, fent one Nicetas a Patritian to the Turks or Ungri (Hungarians) to perswade them to pass the River, and invade the Bulgarians, invade Bul- which they readily undertaking, he refolved also to fall upon them on the other side. His Fleet he committed to the care and Conduct of Eustathius, a Patritian and Drungarius; and his Land Army to Nicephorus Phocas a Patritian, whom after the Death of Andreas he had made Domestick of the Schools; yet having a mind still more desirous of Peace, he sent to Simeon one Constantinacius about that Affair, whom he imagining to be fent onely to put a trick upon him, for Nicephorus was now at hand, committed to Prison Simeon, preparing himself to meet and ingage Nicephorus: the Turks (fo they call them) pass the River, and waste all Bulgaria; which he understanding, omits his Design of meeting him, Who Defeat and marches directly against them. They readily ingaging with him, defeat the Bulgaria his Army, he with much adoe escaping to Dorostolum, otherwise called Drista. ans, and force The Turks being Conquerours, defired of the Emperour that he would buy of fire Peace of them their Bulgarian Prisoners, which he did, sending some on purpose to drive the Emperour, the Bargain. Simeon his matters going fo ill, defired Peace of the Emperour, to which he being sufficiently inclined, sent one Leo Choirosphades with sufficient Xalesacdures Instructions for concluding of it, and ordered Phocas, with Eustathius the Drunga-Occiforempor rius to return Home with the Forces. But now the cunning Bulgarian feeing ci significanhimself freed from great Danger, cast the Ambassadour into Prison, and with a great Army suddenly fell upon the Turks or Ungarians and defeated them, which

done, he wasted their Countrey, the Emperour not being in a capacity to send them Relief, by reason of the shortness of the warning. Now pussed up at his

fuccels, he writes to the Emperour, that he would not in any case admit of Peace.

except first the Bulgarian Captives were set at liberty, to which he yielded, re-

ceiving back his Ambaffadour, with whom came one Theodorus to receive the Prisoners. 75. The Prisoners returned, and yet Simeon would not accept of Peace, which inraged Leo to that height, that he was resolved with all the Power he could

make to chastize, and if possible, utterly to destroy him. This Army he com-

mitted to Catacalon (a man lately preferred to be Domestick of the Schools, in

the room of Nicephorus Phocas, whom Zantzas, because out of sear of the Em-

perour, he refused to become his Son-in-law, had procured to be discharged of

that Office ) and Theodofius a Patritian, and the Potovestiarius, who giving Battel

to Simeon, were defeated by him, with great flaughter of their men, with whom

fell also Theodosius. This Disaster abroad was followed by an imminent Danger

and awaking the Emperour, caused him to shift for himself, which he did by re-

turning to his Palace by water. John the Drungarius of Biglæ, who then Com-

manded the Guards, he put out of his Place, for having Watched no better;

and it seems he had Zantzas himself suspected, for he was forely displeased with

him, we are told, and was at length brought to a Reconciliation by the means

and solicitation of Leo Theodotaces the Magister, and an intimate Friend to them

both. Yet that excellent Lady Theophano his Empress being Dead, he Married

Zoe his Daughter, who was formerly his Concubine, and fet the Diademe on

his first Wife Theophano he now Built and Dedicated a Church, in which and other

76. To Leo it ordinarily happened that one mischief did not come alone; for

Sunday to make a folemn Procession to the Church of St. Mocius. He being pre-

fent thereat, just as he entred the Church, a certain Fellow assaulted him with a

Candlestick hanging in the way kept off part of the Blow; but as it was it fetched

bloud in abundance. Alexander his Brother being not at the Solemnity, was

suspected by many as guilty of the Contrivance; but the Man, though grie-

voully tortured, accused no Man, and therefore no farther inquisition was made,

he having his Hands and Feet chopped off, and so burnt alive in the Cirque. The

Emperour no fooner recovered, but being now a Widower, and having himfelf

much dabled in Aftrology, aswell as hunted after the Opinions of others, who

affirmed he should have a Son to succeed him, applied his mind to new loves, and

shortly after Married another Zoe, called Carbonopfina, from the place of her Na-

tivity or abode, who lived with him a good space before he set the Diademe on her

Head, not till she had brought him a Son, which he called Constantine. But his

Nuptial Joys were presently allayed by ill News he received from Sea, where

now the Saracens having taken Encouragement from the Hostility which the Bul-

Which afterwards he flights.

Provoking

A Conspiracy at home from a Conspiracy, while he used the company of Zoe the Daughter of is Discovered, Zantzas in the Countrey. She happened to overhear the Conspiratours Discourse,

her Head, in which she joyed not long, dying after a year and eight months. She being Dead, another Conspiracy was hatched by a Kinsman of her, by Name Bafilius, the Pettes, as \* Zonaras calls him, or Epeittes of the Emperour, as \* O minus # Cedrenus hath it, who communicated his Defign to Samonas the Chamberlain, # Badhate under an Oath of fecrecy. But he, though a Saracen by Birth, revealed the mat- 3 & indumes ter; whereupon Basilius was sent into Macedonia, as there to celebrate the obsequies of Zoe, and at his return subjected to Examination and Tryal, together with his Complices, by which being found Guilty, he was led ignominiously through the City, and Banished to Athens. The good service of Samonas was so far applauded by the Senate, that they gave him thanks, and judged him fit for the greatest preferment: and the Emperour who had made a Relation of it to the Fathers, fo far approved their judgment, that he made him prefently Protofpatharius, and began to use him very familiarly. Now about this time did Leo Marry a third Wife, a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by Name Eudocia; but she died not very long after in Childbed, together with her Infant. To the memory of

The Saracens Buildings while he employed his Seamen, a Fleet of Saracens took Taurominium make an Inva- in Sicily, with great flaughter of the Romans, and made themselves Masters of Lemnus, whence they led away a great multitude of Captives.

at the same time that his Subjects suffered these things in other Parts, he himself escaped narrowly with his Life at Constantinople. It was the Custome on Whit-

Leo like to be great Club, and striking him on the Head had killed him outright, but that a

garians exercised, tyrannized exceedingly, and under Conduct of one Leo Atta-Another In- leus a Renegado of Tripolis did great mischief upon the Coasts, who threatned valion by the Constantinople it self with speedy Destruction; the Emperour upon the News dispatched away Eustathius his Drungarius of the Fleet, who finding himself too weak for Leo, returned, but with him at his back, for he followed him into the mouth of the Helespont, and proceeded on as far as Parium.

77. This

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. I. Leo the Phi-

77. This much disturbed the Emperour, he sent away Himerius his Principel Secretary with the Fleet, who found out the Renegado, but finding him fuperiour to him in Numbers and his Men more courageous, he durst not venture upon an Ingagement, but fuffered the Saracens quietly to return and lay Siege to Theffalonica which they took, shed much bloud and made many Prisoners. A little before it fell out, that one Rhodophyllus one of the Bedchamber, travelling upon publick business for Sicily, with an Hundred Pounds of Gold fell sick by the way, and for his ease and recovery was forced to take in at Thessalonica, where Lee the Renegado finding him tortured him to death, to force him to betray this Treasure into his Hands. But indeed the Money he had left by the way, which was taken up by Simeon one of the Secretaries, who had other occasion to travell on that Rode. He perceiving Leo resolved to destroy that City, perswaded him to accept of the Money as a Ransome of it, which the Emperour took fo well from him, that he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and of Principal Secretary. The Saracens having left The Jalonica, Himerius prepared to purfue them, but they failed to the Isle of Crete, and there having left part of their booty, departed home unmolested leaving him idle at Lemnos. The Emperour not able to graple with them at Sea, sent two of the greatest Cap-Land army into the East, Eustrathius Argyrus, and Andronicus Ducas who perform who fo managed their Affairs, that they got many Victories. In the mean time Gamonas, who, as we said, had discovered the Treason intended against the Emperour's Person, and for that was with him in great esteem, veiled a Saracen's mind under the habit and shew of a Christian and a Roman, and pretending a Journey to his Monastery (of his own founding it seems) endeavoured with much Money and Horse to escape into his own Countrey, and lest he should be pursu'd, hamstring'd, the publick Post-Horses in the way. Leo sent several after, but at the River Halys he was taken and stopt by Nicephorus Caminas the Drungarius, though he used many Intreaties, and offered a great reward to be let pass. When he saw he could not escape, he then pretended that he was on his way towards the Cross of Siracha, there to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, but for all that Constantinus Ducas brought him to Constantinople. There Leo ordered him to be kept in the House of Bardas Cæsar, and caused Constantine to tell another Tale in the Senate, how indeed he was going to the aforefaid Cross to pay his Vow. The next day calling the Senate together, he caused Constantine to swear by God and the Emperour's Life, and then asked him the question whether Samonas was going into Syria. He resolving not to forswear himself, openly protested that he fled toward Melitena his own Countrey. Hereat the Emperour was angry, and having kept Samonas for some space in custody, fet him afterwards at Liberty, and restored him to his former Dignity and Place. Zonaras adds, that he made him a Patritian, and defigned him to the Office of Chamberlain.

78. Not long after, at the Birth of his Son Conflantine a Comet appeared, caffting its Tail toward the East for forty Days. Zoe his Wife he now declared Empress, for which the Patriarch excommunicated him, or forbade him as they term it entrance into the Church, so as he was forced to go on the right side to the Mitatorium. Hereat grievously offended, he yet earnestly begged of him that he might be restored to Christian Communion, and when all this was to no purpole, resolved to exercise his Authority over the Priest, so as to correct him for his Arrogance, and fent him as a banished Man into a Monastery. In his Room he made Patriarch one Euthimius Syncellus, who it feems took off the Ecclefiastical Censure, but whenas by the Advice of his Nobility, he was about to publish an Edict, to make it lawfull to marry three or four Wives, he vehemently withflood, and prevented it, so nice and severe was this Age in the Point of Marriage. For, Reader, neither the Practice nor Defign of Leo, was to have or allow more than one Wife at a time, but fuccessively after the death of the former. Yet must not this be allowed to him, though some of his Wives lived not long with him after Marriage. But the truth is, he led afide by the Humour of the Ecclesiasticks, who all along by a great Fatality had been from the time of Conflantine the Great, inclined to the Commendation of Celibate and Aversion to (a) Leoniscon-Marriage, he made formerly an Edict (a) against the Multiplicity of Marriage, sin. 9, que sie

subjecting such as were thrice married to the Penalties (b) imposed by the Ca-maritie operations (b) Temput aliqued pentiendi Bigamit & Trigamis imponebatur, influper ostabanur Presbjert i interesse muniti benedictione secundas nubits, privabant enim nonnalli benedictione secundas nupits. Vide Aug. sem. 243. Ambros. in Cap. 7. 1. ad Corintb. & in 3. Cap. 1. ad Corintb. Cowil. Lateramens sub Alexandro 3. Tit. de sécund. nupriis. c. 1. Gerbofred. in secun.

Upon which

the other re-

volt to the

The Saracens nons, of which now he late enough repented. This same year the Saracens, set out a Fleet against the Emperour's Subjects, against whom he sent Himerius the Logotheta Dromi, and with him joined Andronicus Ducas, the Father of Constanbeaten by one tine formerly mentioned. Samonas bearing implacable hatred to this Family, of the Generals for his being intercepted by Conflantine on his way homeward, bribed a familiar Friend of Adronicus to write to him, that he should by no means adventure to join in the Enterprize with Himerius, who had order from the Emperour to put out his Eyes, assoon as he could have an Advantage to doe it, Andronicus believing this story, refused to accompany Himerius in the Expedition, who ingaged without any Collegue with the Enemy, and gave him a very no-

79. Andronicus awakened with this his Success, and sensible of his Errour, out of desperation, seized upon a Castle situate about Iconium called Cabala, and confidered how to revolt. His Enemy now inceffantly plied the Emperour with complaints against him, urging his Treachery and Designed rebellion, upbraided him for not having secured him before he escaped his Hands, and importuning him at least to obviate, and lessen this growing Mischief. Overcome with his Suggestions, he sent against Andronicus, Iberitzas Gregoras, the Domestick of the Schools, and one allied to him, with a strong Army, which he understanding, and how Nicholas the Patriarch, his principal Friend was cast out of the Church, he fled with all he had to the Saracens, and was kindly received by the Amermumnes. This much disturbed Leo, when he considered both what a Subject he had lost, and an Enemy he had created to himself, and if possible he resolved to get him back. He wrote Letters to him, wherein he promifed both oblivion of what was past, restitution to his former Dignity and Estate, and much more Incouragement, and more kindness than he had ever yet received. But the Messenger, a Captive Saracen, was perswaded by Samonas not to deliver the Letters to Andronicus, but discover the Contents of them to the Amermumnes, who thereupon Where he dies cast Andronicus and his Followers into Prison, where they endured much and long misery; and of them some abjured their Religion to be rid of their Chains, he himself perished without Redemption. But his Son Constantine, with diversof the other Prisoners made his escape, and though pursued sometimes by fighting, and otherwhiles by casting Gold in the way, and thereby diverting the greedy Souldiers, got fafe to Constantinople, where the Emperour conferred great Gifts

upon him, and feasted him in the Golden Room. It's faid, that as he was depar-

ting out at the Gate, Leo called him back again, and advised him, that by reason

of his Name he should never take the Considence to aim at the Sovereignty, for

he was very well assured by such as could foretell things of this Nature, that

Constantine his young Son was destined of God to the Empire. But if not con-

tent with his former Condition, he should make any Attempt that way, his Head for certain should be cut off, and brought thorough that Gate in its

Gore, which the Event confirmed. 80. Much about this time, out of some jealousie he had conceived Leo put Eustathius the Magister, and Drungarius Bigle out of his Place, whereupon he retired and died by poison, being much regretted by the Souldiers, both by Sea and Land. For he was an extraordinary Man, who brought the sirname of Argyrus or Silverd to his Family, either by reason of the Purity of his Life, the beauty of his Body, or the luftre of his valiant Actions, wherein he fo far exceeded all others of his time, and during the Reign of Michael, that with Slaves and Dependants alone, he kept in awe the Manichees of Tephrica, and the Saracens of Melitena. Leo was not so severe to him, as indulgent in the other extreme to Samonas the Saracen, whose Father together with one Abelbaces, fent from Melitena and Tarfus, he entertained in the Palace of Magnaura, with all Magnificence imaginable. And what was thought not fuitable to Men of their Religion, shewed them all the Treasure and Furniture of the great Church. The old Manwas so much taken with the splendid condition of his Son, that he would have staid at Constantinople, and been partaker of his good Fortune; but Samonas would not permit it, desiring him to go into his own Countrey, and persevere in his own Religion, affuring him that he would follow him with the first opportunity. Now on Whitfunday, Leo caused his Son Constantine to be Crowned by the Hands of Euthymius the Patriarch. And the Confidence of Samonas was by his immoderate Favour grown to that height, as being jealous of a new Favourite named Constantine a Paphlagonian by birth, which he himself had given to the Empress, he both accused her as being too familiar with him, and made a scurrilous Libel

CHAP. I.

against the Emperour, who upon Inquisition finding him to be Authour of it. caused him to be shaven for a Monk, and made Constantine whom at his Suggestions being shaven, he had retaken out of the Monastery, Chamberlain in his flead. About this time the Saracens fent out three Hundred Ships under conduct of one Damianus a Tyrian, and Leo of Tripolis, which committing the usual best the Em- Hostilities, Himerius the Admiral was sent against them, and ingaged with them at Samus, but was beaten, put to flight, and hardly escaped to Metilena. The Emperour not long after was feized with the Colick, and brought fo low with it. that he could not make his usual Speech in the time of Lent, but calling together the Senate recommended to their gratitude and care his Wife and Son, telling them he should hardly hold out so long as Easter. Yet he lived till the Eleventh of May, and then dying left the Empire to his Brother Alexander, whom with all Earnestness, he desired carefully to educate his Son Constantine, to use him

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Leo dies.

twenty Years, three Months and four Days. 81. We have brought Leo to his end, yet have not done with him, as neither with Basilius his Father, and that upon account of a remarkable Alteration made by them in the Laws of the Empire, of which we must necessarily give the Reader an Account. He is then to know, that the Civil Law with fo great

as became his Quality, and to leave him his Successour. He reigned two and

Care and Industry modelled a-new by Justinian was in great danger, not long to furvive the Authour. For besides that came not into Italy, and the Western European Nations for the space of five Hundred years after his death; being suppressed or kept out by the particular Laws and Customs

Vide Fabrot. in Edit. Basilic. Raldnin. in proleg. ad Instit. Duckium de usu & authorit. Juris Civilis. Lib. 1. cap. 5.

of the Barbarous Nations which had lately possessed these Parts, as the Goths. Lombards, Vandals, Franks, and others, in the City and Empire of Constantinople it felf, either through the neglect or envy of the Emperours, scarcely for forty years did it continue in any considerable Authority. Indeed through the Reigns of Juliu, Tiberius and Mauricius, his Books were received both in the Schools and Courts of Justice, and in Latin as they were written, and in the same Language was Justice administred, the Decrees of Magistrates and the Resolutions of Judges published, such honour and respect being as yet given to the Tongue of the Romans, to the Valour and Conduct of whom to great Dominion was to be ascribed. But Mauricius being murthered, Phocas and his Successours had little care either for Prefervation of the Language or the Laws, and though the Empire was still called the Roman Empire, and their Writers are very carefull to give the Name of Romans all along to the Emperour's Subjects, even so far that if they and the Italians be mentioned together, yet by Romans they ever mean fuch as were subject to the Constantinopolitan Empire whereever they lived, yet however, Latin grew out of use, the Greek Tongue being native to the Place (though exceedingly mixed with Latin words ) drove the practice of it out by Degrees; Generally in other Countries the Emperours were known by the Name of Greek Emperours; and some of them vaunted themselves, as the Successours of Alexander the

82. By these means the Books of Justinian, written first in Latin, because little regarded, yet of some use they were for two hundred years, till the time of Basilius Macedo, the Father of Leo. For they had been either in the lifetime of Justinian himself, or shortly after translated into Greek, as the Code and the Pandects by Thalelaus an Antecessour, and the Institutions by Theophilus, and befides these, many other Books of the Ancient Lawyers, out of which the Pandects had been Composed. Out of these Translations then and the Constitutions of fuch Emperours as succeeded Justinian, was Justice administred, so as it was, till the time of Bafilius, though the knowledge and practice of the Law were both very small, for the Reasons now mentioned, and the continual Irruptions and Desolations made by the Saracens, during which like disturbances, Laws are

wont to make but little noise. But Basilius being a Man of Spirit far above his Birth and Breeding, and having good fuccess against the Infidels, as our Hittorians write, Basilius and fet upon the work of making and reforming Laws. He Les new mo- was moved by this reason, as they tell us, because he perceived the Civil Laws to be very confused and obscure;

Αλλά हो गरेंड πολιτικός νόμες, πολλην ασάφειαν , εξ σύγχυσιν έχοντας ίδαν , εξ τέτες κατά το αφοτήκου αφοσ-φόφεις επακασώσαδαι έστευσε, Β.C. Cedrenus in Basilio.

therefore he refolved to purge them by abrogating the unprofitable ones, by making shorter such as were tedious, and otherwise, of which Design Death Ciron obserpreventing the accomplishment, it was perfected by Leo his Son. Later writers vat. Jur. Ca-ascribe vonic. C. c. 2.

ascribe to his envy at the glory of Justinian, what the other attribute to a kind of necessity, and they impute it to his desire, that his Name with his Books should be obliterated and quite forgotten. Out of what principle soever it was,

he with his Sons, Constantine and Leo, first published an Epitome of Justinian's Code, which he called Procheiron, and afterward fixty Books called Basilica, composed out of the Books of the faid Emperour, his thirteen Edicts after the publication of his Novels, with the Novel Consti-

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tutions of Justin and the following Emperours. These alone had the Force of Laws so long as the Eastern Empire it self lasted, and Justinian his Books were quite laid afide, both in the Schools and the Courts of Justice.

83. Now these Books of the Basilia, (a) some attribute to Leo, and others (b) to Basilius himself, to whom Leo also ascribes them, and indeed this controversie may easily be decided by what we have lately faid from the Greek Historians, that Bafilius began, and Leo perfected the work; fo that both Father and Son had an hand in them, and twenty years after their publication, the Grandchild, not another Son, as one of our Lawyers mistakes, \* Constantine Porphyrogenitus purged and amended them. But Leo after the Bafilia, published an hundred and thirteen Novel Constitutions which still are extant, and at present since the Recovery of Justinian's Law, in the West are made use of onely in matters wherein Justinian's Books are filent. Nay, in the Age of Leo himself, they feem to have had no greater Authority, and that from the testimony of Greek Lawyers themselves, who cited them onely when nothing had formerly been Constituted

concerning fuch or fuch a Point, or for explication of the Old Law. Of these several works the Greeks seem most to have esteemed the Epitome or Synopsis; and chiesly to have been delighted

Baronius his Annals.

with Breviaries. For from that of Bafilius first published, and the Constitutions of Emperours as far as Emanuel Comnenus did Constantinus Harmenopulus, a Judge of Thessalonica, frame an Epitome of universal Law: And before him Michael Attaliates by command of Michael Ducas, the last Emperour mentioned in this work published a shorter Synopsis, which he called the Compendium of a Compendium. Michael Pfellus, at the fame time Composed another Synopsis; and long after John Leunclavius published an Epitome of the Basilica, out of the Library of Sambucus, afterward Chancellour of Poland, who found it at Tarentum in Calabria, which part of Italy, as we see, was longest subject to the Emperours of the East. The Basilica themselves lay hid a long time, till Gentiacius Hervetus first published seven Books of the fixty; afterwards Cujacius three more, though he had the whole Number by him, as appears in his admirable works, especially his observations, and at length they were all set forth out of the French Kings Library, together with the Scholia and Glosses of the Greek Commentatours, by the care and industry of Fabrottus, that excellent Lawyer, who by this means has procured much affilence for explication of fuch matters as are obscure in Justinian's Laws. Yet are not the Glosses of these Greek Lawyers comparable for Number to those made by the Western Europeans, upon the Books of Justinian. Those now extant are onely those of Stephanus, Nicaus, Thaddaus, Eudoxus, Ifdorus, Bastins, and some others, which as the Glosses of Accursus, are set in the Margent of the Bafilica. But thus much concerning these new Models of Bafilius and Leo, which with small alteration contained the onely Law in use and practice till the diffolution of the Empire. Hereby we may perceive that in the Reigns of these two last Princes, Learning and Ingenuity were much revived, by the convenience whereof, and his own Industry, Leo arrived to fo high a Pitch as to obtain the Sirname of Philosophus and Sapiens. For his meriting these Titles, there is more produced than his indeavours about the Law. In the Vatican Library are still extant, many Orations of his, as well about facred as other matters, some precepts of Morality, with a Treatise concerning the Military Art; and a Catalogue of many of them, the Reader if he think it fit may fee in Ad An. 911.

Πεόχειεον των νόμων Βασιλικά, quie Principum leges continebant, idem opis Ennovraßißhov quia ex 60. libris con-

(a) Harmenopul. Lib. 1. Tit. 1. Cujac. observat. l. 17. alii. (b) Gothofred. ad Novel. Leonis. alii.

\* Conflantinus hie fuit Conflantinus Leonis filius cognomento Perphyrigenta qui libres Bankukav reportevus fuits, Auther aleage-devens sid Bafistion repetite pralettionis. Non Bafilis filius qui anne parem diem fuum obseras use Hisforia nofira conflat use, Gesbafredus ad Leonis Novellas motas; lafius itag; cfi in base parte Duckius nofira.

Cujac. 17. Observ. 31. Gothofred. ubi

## CHAP. II.

From the Death of Leo the Philosopher, to the Death of Constantine Ducas, the twelfth of that Name. A. D. MCXVII.

The space of One Hundred and Fifty Six Years.

Alexander

EO being dead, his Brother Alexander succeeded him in the second year of Anastasius the Second Bishop of Rome, the fourteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCCXI. About his Age when he came to the Empire, our Greek

Ex Curopalata Cedrenus ofcitans erroem hauste inquiens,

Anstands of the Asoptes adentis,

Anstands veavias dv, v) of europe visit historias

advis sagauessav tros, &c. Historians are strangely overseen, writing that he was now a young man, about twenty years old, whereas they

themselves had formerly told us, that in the third year of his Reign, Bafilius made his third Son Alexander Cafar, so that by this time he must have past above forty years, from his very promotion to this Title; and if Leo Reigned above twenty five, how could Alexander be but twenty at his Death, and be his Brother, the Father being dead above five and twenty years before? He had Conflantine his Brother's Son his Partner in the Empire, yet within a little time purposed to deprive him of all hopes of Succession, by gelding him, and leave the Dignity to one Bafilitzas, an obscure fellow, but his Companion in his His Character. libidinous and extravagant courses. For to such alone he addicted himself; neither thinking nor acting any thing becoming the place he bore, and as hitherto

he had lived, so still did he onely intend, a voluptuous life and matters of intemperance, putting small value upon any but such as could accompany and assist him in such like practices. From putting in practice what he intended against his Nephew, he was diverted merely by fuch as bore good will to the Child for his Father's fake, who still alledged he was young and fickly, and so perswaded him, not thinking of his own Death, that he had time enough farther to confider and refolve. Defirous to be afcertained of his long life, he confulted with such cheaters as pretended skill in those matters, who answered that his Reign should be long, if to a Boar of Brass which stood in the Cirque, he would add Genitals and Teeth which were wanting to it; for that Boar was his Element, as the Greeks phrased it, that is, by it he himself was magically signi-

field in opposition to his Brother Leo. He giving heed to them, who for his man Zonarai sit. ners compared him to that creature, added those Members to the Boar, as secu-en & his position his his thereby for a long season. Now elevated by this and other hopes, for the banishes Himerius the Logosphera, as one who had practiced something against support him in the datase of his Boates. The Anthol States of the Datase The Anthol States of the Datase Theorem is the Logosphera and the support his position and the support his basis and th The Bulgari- him in the days of his Brother. The Ambassadours of Simeon Prince of the Bul- 17 70 00 d. an make War garians, who were come about the renewing of the League and Friendship formeryou the Re ly made with his Predecessours, he uncivily treated and dismissed, whereupon society that Prince to be beforehand with him, and prevent the effects of his Threats, and respectively.

broke the Peace, and made War upon the Romans. But following on his course of the following himself at Tennis, he broke some Veilels, and died of Bleeding the day in the following on the following himself at Tennis, he broke some Veilels, and died of Bleeding the day in the following on the following on the following on the following on his course of his course of the following on his course of the following on his course of his course of the following on his course of h ercifing himself at Tennis, he broke some Veilels, and died of Bleeding the day on advance. following, having so much time and conscience ( now in extremity ) as to declare Hic sorxing. Constantine his Successour, after a Reign of one year and about a month.

rom artium vi aliçujut homini; fortunam guberuer. Qualis (verbi gratia) in Romano Lacapono, Simoni Bulgaro štatua in Revioleho fiuit, qua truncata is periis; vide alia exempla apud Khandrom in Amnat, ad hunc locum Cederat. Hine autem magi çaxyenapum ditili, qui ni res certis notis Elincantaionibus vim quandam ad aliquid praftamdum putabansur conciliare, O vergenèbus perhum magicis artibus gliquid moliri.

Constantine's Youth, fuccreds.

A Conspiracy

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2. To Constantine who was scarcely seven years old, he assigned for Governours, To nud, reci 2. 10 Constantine with was realizery levell years only Magistry, John a Rector and Stephen and John Eladas being Magistry, John a Rector and Ludining two others whom from the Dunghill, in a manner, he had raifed to Senatorian fairness. and Patritian Dignity, being his Companions in his lewd Courses, viz. Basilitzas we e'er now mentioned, and one Gabrielopolus. At this time Constantinus Ducas, Son of Andronicus, the General or Master of the Schools was absent from the City, who notwithstanding the warning formerly said to be given him by the Emperour Leo, nourished hopes of arriving one day at that Dignity, and his Power was fo great, and his Dependents and Fewds fo numerous and Potent, that therein his hopes feemed not at all to flatter him. His Friends were carefull to give him timely notice of Alexander's decease, telling him, that the Empire now wanted an Head, and was in extreme danger of being ruined, if he, the onely man alive that was fit to govern it, would not take care of it in its necessity, which to doe he would not want incouragement, both the Senate and People being at his Devotion; and it was reported, that the Patriarch himself was in the Conspiracy; not knowing that he was designed one of the Governours, the Testament of A-lexander not being yet opened. Constantine having received the Letters, hastes to the City with a select Company of Men, and late at Night getting in at the Gate next the Castle, went and staid that Night with Gregoras Iberitzas his Father-in-Law, whither, upon notice of his Arrival, came to him Nicetas the Secretary Nicetas & ther-in-Law, whittier, upon notice of instances of the state of the st Torches and a great Multitude, came to the Gate of the Cirque, and there with Vide quomodo lucky Acclamations faluted him Emperour. But here they found front refifence Latine voces from within, and as an ill Omen the Protoftrator of Confantine, as he earneftly inforcumfer-laboured to get open the Gate, was through fome hole in it killed with a Lance, ferum. Lating Here then repulsed, they went into the Cirque, and by the Brazen Gate passed as a Secreti & Secreti & Secreti & Gate passed as a Secreti & Fact as the Court of Guard, or the place where ordinarily the Watch was kept. In the mean time John Eladas one of the Governours had got together some Sea- Epagen men and others as he could, and fent them to meet and oppose Ducas, with whom ass mitten-

they fought, and many falling on both fides, Gregoras the Son of Ducas was flain But punished, together with one Michael his Kinsman, and Curticius an Armenian. He much difordered at their death, put Spurs to his Horseand galloped toward the foremost of his men to incourage them; but his Horse fell upon the Pavement, and it happening that his own men either running away, or not taking notice of it, one of the other Party fell upon him as he lay at that disadvantage from off his Horse, and cutting off his Head carried it to the Emperour. By this his end was the Conspiracy and Tumult quashed, after which Gregoras his Father-in-Law and Leo Chærosphacta a Patritian took Sanctuary in the Church of St. Sophia, but were thence by the Governours taken, shaven, and thrust into a Monastery. In the like fort was served Constantinus Eladicus, but not till after he was soundly beaten and led as in Triumph through the City. Some were banished, having their Eyes put out, and others were beheaded in the Cirque by Philotheus the Prefect of the City; some were fastened to Posts: But Nicetas and Constantinus Africus. though much fought for could not be found. The Governours had proceeded and destroyed many other persons of Senatorian Rank though Innocent, if one of the Judges had not taken courage and asked them how they durft doe things of fo

of Ducas to be shaven and sent home into Paphlagonia. And his Son Stephen to be deprived of his Genitals.

3. While these Disorders were within the City, no less a danger threatned the Government from without. Simeon the Bulgarian disobliged, as we said, by Alexander, had with a great Army invaded the Roman Territories, and was comeeven as far as Constantinople it self, before which he incamped himself from Blacherne, Simeon the Bulgarian in as far as the Golden Gate, with no small hope of becoming Master of it in a short camps near time. But fuch was the good fortune of the Inhabitants, that though thus furprized,by their flout oppolition and the strength of the Walls, by degrees they defeated his hopes, and he retired to Hebdomus, where he fignified he would accept of a Treaty. This Overture was most gladly entertained by the Governours, and But accepting Hostages being given and received, Simeon was admitted to dine with the Emperour in the Palace of Blacherna, and received the Patriarch's Bleffing, after which he departed home richly presented, though as Zonaras writes, without any Peace concluded, the Conditions whereof he would not accept, which yet Cedrenus fignifies to have been accorded. But, the Governours giving no content, by reason of their extravagant Actions and Disagreement, were soon after suffered to

high a nature in the Minority of their Prince. Yet they farther caused the Wife

Zae the Em-perour's Mo-

CHAP. 1.

take their ease. The young Emperour making great lamentation for the miss of his Mother, whom Alexander had put from Court, they were forced, though against their wills, to recall her, and she being returned, quickly got the power into her hands. By the advice and affistence of Constantine one of the Bedchamber. Anastasius, and Constantine Gongglii Brothers, and John Eladan, she put out of the Court the Favourites of Alexander, viz. John the Rector, Gabrielopolus, Bafilitzes, and others; and at the motion of Dominicus, whom she preferred to the Command of the Associates, she also removed the Patriarch from the Palace. As for the Magister John Eladus he departed of his own accord out of the Palace by reason of fickness, whereof he died. All the Governours of the young Emperour being thus put out of Office, Constantine the Bedchamber man, that he might govern alone accused Dominicus, lately mentioned, to the Empress, as indeavouring to compass the Empire for his Brother, which she believing, created him a Patritian; and when, according to the Custome, he went down to pray, commanded him to stay at home, and put into his place one John Garidas. And she made one Damianus an Eunuch the Drungarius Biglæ. Such chopping and changing there was, outing and being outed, as is usual to those, whose narrow Souls (how big foever they look) are taken up with the Vanities and Uncertainties of 4. But Simeon now again haraffed Thrace without any mention made of break-

ing the Peace; fo that he must rather believe Zonaras, who writes, that at his late

Entertainment at Constantinople nothing had been concluded. Zoe considering

with her Council how to restrain his Depredations, one John Bogas ingaged that if the would promote him to the Dignity of a Patritian, he would procure the Patzinacæ, a neighbouring People to fall into his Territories and divert him, and accordingly he went and obtained a Promife from them, confirmed by the delivery of Hostages. But for the present Simeon belieged Adrianople, which after some time was betrayed to him by one Pancratucas an Armenian whom he had corrup-

lays fiege to

ted with Gold, by which Metal the Empress again shortly after recovered it, sending Basilius a Patritian, the Commander of the Canicleus, and Nicetas Eladicus fufficiently furnished for that purpose. Much about the same time did Damianus the Ameras of Tyre, with a Fleet exceedingly well manned, infelt the Maritime Parts, and made a violent Attempt upon Strofelus, which he had carried, but that he was finatched away by death to the good fortune of the Town, from which his Forces prefently arose and departed. Zee being thus attacked on several Quar-A Peace conters, by advice of the Senate, with which she consulted, resolved to make Peace with the Saracens, and employ the whole force of the Empire against the Bulgarians, for restraining the Incursions of Simeon, and if possible, the absolute destruction or Conquest of that Nation. To this purpose John Radenus a Patritian, and Michael Toxaras were fent into the East, and compounded all matters with the Tuning the Saracens, from whom now being diffinangled the gave order to Leo Phocas the Mathe Empire against the Bulgarians, hagainst the Bul- ving first made amongst the Souldiers the usual distribution of Money called Rogee. A general Muster was made at Diabasis, a place so called from the Passage, being a spacious Plain fit for such a purpose, and thither came the chief Priest or Chaplain of the Palace, whom they termed Protopapa, and with the usual Ceremonies made them all kneel down and fwear they would fight it out to the last, which Oath taken they were led against the Enemy.

5. The Army was good, and as well commanded. The Cohort of the Watchers or Excubitores, as they were called, was led by John Grapson,a Man whose Va-The Officers lour and Conduct had appeared in many Battels. The Regiment of those, called Hicanati, was commanded by Olbianus Marula, a very eminent Man also; the rest by Romanus and Leo, the Sons of Argyrus and Bardas Phocas. Besides these, was present at the Expedition Melias the Magister with his Armenians, and many of the other Provincial Officers: And Constantinus Africanus the Patritian was joyned as Councellour with Leo the General or Domestick of the Schools. On the fixth day of August was a fierce Battel fought at the Castle Achelous with the Bulgarians, who were beaten, and after great loss put to flight. But the General of the Romans in a great Sweat and fainting by the extraordinary pains he had taken, lighting at a Fountain to refresh himself so neglected his Horse, that sen-Ingaging with fible he had no Rider he broke loofe and ran amongst the Army, where being them are over- known by the Souldiers, they concluded that Leo was kill'd, and thereupon all left the Pursuit; and some betook them to their Heels. This was quickly perceived by Simeon, who did not make his Retreat in a loofe or confused manner, but

fo as he could eafily face about and purfue the Purfuers, which he did with fuch execution, the Romans hindering one another, that not onely a great Slaughter was made of the ordinary Souldiers, but very many of the Officers themselves were lost, amongst whom Constantinus Africus and John Grapson, e'er now mentioned. All this while Romanus Lacapenus the Drungarius of Naval Affairs, according to order hovered about the Sea Coasts with the Fleet to relieve Leo if need were, and give passage to the Patzinacæ, whom Bogas had brought to the assistence of the Empire. But he and Bogas fell into a difference and thereupon they departed home. As for Leo he hardly escaped to Mesembria.

6. These are the ordinary Reasons given for this overthrow, though another Report was very current, as that when Leo was hot in the Pursuit of the Enemy, News was brought him that Romanus the Admiral was returned back to Constantinople with a delign to make himself Emperour while all the great Ones were absent, which so affected him, who had himself the same ambitious purpose, that he retired into the Camp to know the truth, at which his men were discouraged, as imagining it was out of fear, and so changed the course of the Battel. However it happened, a great loss was received, and after the return of the remainders of the Army to Constantinople, the business betwixt Romanus and Bogas was scanned, the issue of which was, that the former was sentenc'd by the Judges to loose his Eyes, for not having according to his duty passed over the Patzinacæ, and received such as fled from the Battel, which some attributed to carelesness, but others to Malice and Defign; and the Sentence had been executed but that Stephen the Magister, one of the Emperours Tutours, and Constantinus Gongyles a Patritian, men very powerfull with the Empress had not prevailed for the remission of it. Now was Simeon the Bulgarian so pussed up with his late success, that again he resolved to atceeds towards tack Conflantinople, and was on his way, when Leo the Domestick, John the Commander of the Affociates, and Nicholas the Son of Constantinus Ducas were sent out against him. In a place called Catasyrtes they light upon a Party that was fo-But two of his raging, and defeated it with little trouble. Then a fresh one came on which put Parties are met the men now wearied and wounded much to it, but they were fo resolved and courageous that after a sharp Conflict they had the same success, though not without lois of feveral worthy men, amongst whom none more eminent than Nicholas now mentioned, to whose Valour especially the success of the day was ascri-

7. So went matters in the Field, and against the Enemy, at home they carried a fadder Aspect, whilst in the Minority of the Emperour several of the Nobility wanted but opportunity and power to divest him of his Dignity, and to reign Leo deligns to themselves. Of all others Leo Phocas with most considence hatched and carried on his design, trusting much to the power and interest of Constantine the Chamberlain, his Wives Brother, for his private Reputation at Court was very great, befides that Eunuchs in general at this time were much respected. He made himfelf so sure of his projected greatness, that he would not stick openly to own it, and affirm that the Severeignty of right belonged to him by descent. This Theadius the Emperour's School-master taking strict notice of it lest any mischief thould thence happen to his Scholar, perswaded him to take Romanus Lacapenus, the Drungarius of the Fleet to be his Keeper, and if need were his Protectour, who had been a dutifull Servant to his Father, an no less taithfull to him. But Romanus often, and with some pertinacy refused to accept of the Charge, till at length seeing the Emperour's Letters written with his own hand and signed, as the manner was, with Purple Letters, he consented, and promised to frustrate as much as in him lay the Deligns of the Chamberlain and his Allies. This could not be so much concealed but that it took air, and began to be talked of openly in the Streets, and all places of Refort, but yer Constantine was therewith little moved, contemning all Reports out of a vain confidence, that no man durst attempt any thing against him, till going to the Fleet to distribute the Roga, or pay the Seaupon the Em- men, he was by Romanus, who at their first meeting disguised his Purpose, till he got him into the Snare, seized and secured. Great noise hereof being made in the City, and no less than a Revolt expected, Zoe called together the Patriarch and some Senatours, and by their Advice sent to Romanus to know his meaning, and to require that the Chamberlain should be dismissed; but the Messengers were hindered from delivering their Message by a number of Mariners, who threw Stones and denied them Access. Early in the Morning the went and inquired of her Son and those about him, what their Intentions were, to which, when none else would answer, Theodore affirmed this change to have happened by reason of

Who feizes perour.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. II. Constantine Por-

his ill management of the Army, and Constantine's ill administration of matters relating to the Court.

8. Now did the Emperour take the power from his Mother upon himself, and presently sent for to Court the Patriarch and Stephen the Master, and thence com-Zoe the Em manded the day following his Mother to be removed; but she weeping and wailpreferenced in and clinging close to him, wrought so upon his good nature as to permit vernment. her to stay. Then scaring Leo Phocas, he removed him from his Office, and made John the Magifler Domestick of the Schools. Yet did Phocas prevail, as a way of recompence, to have his Son Simeon and Theodorus his Wives Brother made Commanders of the Aflociates, and then taking an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperour retired to his House. But shortly after hearing that his Kindred were again difinified from Court, he resolved to see how he could work upon Roman:s, to whom posting, he laid open his condition, and bewailed the straits to

Leo and Ro- Which he was reduced. Romanus fearing, it feems, his great Interest and Allimanus com- ance, was so wrought upon, as secretly to contract Friendship and an Union with bine together. him, which was confirmed by Oath, and the defigned Inter-Marriage of their Children. After this Romanus went to Court to purge himself to the Councillours of any Conspiracy against the Government, affirming his Design, merely to protect the Emperour from any ambitious attempts of Phocas, for which purpose his Resolution was to come to Court, with a sufficient Guard. This the Patriarch would not believe, nor accept his Purgation, whereupon Theodore the Schoolmafter importuned him to come up with his Fleet into the Dock of Bucoleon near to the Palace, which he earneftly refused to doe, till vehemently urged by those privy to the Design, who prevailed with him in an Hostile manner to fail up to the place, which happened upon the Feast of the Annunciation. Prefently hereupon Stephen the Magister departed from Court, and Nicetas the Patritian, a great Intimate of Romanus went in and thence removed the Patriarch, which done, after an Oath taken from Romanus, with most bitter and heavy Curses that he would never entertain any thought against the Emperour's Dignity or Person, he received him into the Palace, and going along with him to Prayers to the Church in Pharus, after Faith given and received on both fides, made him Great Commander of the Associates. Shortly after to sweeten and take off Phocas, Letters were written to him, to bid him be of good courage, and continue in his Allegiance, for he should speedily be considered. To this purpose also Constantine the Chamberlain was commanded to write to him. And upon receipt of these Letters he kept himself quiet for some time at his own home in Cappadocia. 9. But in the fifth Week of Lent the Emperour Married Helena the Daughter of

Romanus Lacapenus, and caused her to be Crowned together with himself by Nicholas the Patriarch. To Romanus himself he gave the Title and Dignity of his Father, with which no Man ever had been honoured before, as Glycas observes, and con-Father of the ferred his former Office upon his Son Christopher. These things quite turned the Stomach of Leo Phocas, who had almost digested former Misfortunes in dayly upon which expectation of what was promised him. Now by the advice of his Friends, as his own Inclinations, he referred him. Now by the advice of his Friends, as his own Inclinations, he referred him. as his own Inclinations, he resolved to rise, and for that purpose got to him Conflantine the Chamberlain, the two Brothers, Gongylii, and others, endeavouring to perswade all that he took Arms in behalf of the Emperour Constantine. But Romanus so bestirred himself, that by Letters conveyed to the Camp signed by the Emperour and fealed with his Seal, he convinced many of his Souldiers of their mistake, of whom several great Officers presently revolted from him. And herewith incorraged, he fent Simeon the Overfeer of the Canicleus, to the Army, who by reading to them another Declaration, whereby he owned Romanus for his Father, and declared Lee to be a Traytour to him and his Family, wholly brought them all off, and Leo shifted for himself by flight to a certain Cassle Atcas, whence he removed to another, which bore the Name of Goleon, as much as to fay the Lamentation of Leo, which was esteemed an ill Omen; for here he was taken. Up-But is taken on notice thereof were sent to setch him up to the City John Tubaces and Leo Pagand punished. telas, who in the pallage pulled out his Eyes by private order from Ramanus, or of their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take Myaha keefof their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take Myaha keefthe matter much to heart. Thus was supprefied the Indurrection made by Leo, wellbut all danger not thereby removed from the Head of Romanus, against whom
Maryawar.
Conspired one Constantinus Crematenus, David Cumulianus, and Michael the Curator forms Maynam defi-

Manganorum, (that is, Overseer of the Engines) who armed certain young men balisharum & to kill him as he went out to hunt. But the Plot was timely discovered, and the alierum id ge-Conspiratours having their Eyes put out were in an ignominious manner led about rum,

having with his few made opposition a considerable time, and killed many, put

spurs to his Horse and sled, but being laid fast in passing of a Ditch, was woun-

Constantine Por-

phyrogenitus.

Zoe the Em- the Forum, and among them Leo Phocas upon a Mule. Zoe also the Empress atcused of a design against his life was shaven and thrust into a Monastery. Moreover for attempting something against him were banished the City Theophylad, the Patritian, and even he who had been the Authour of his preferment Theodore the Schoolmaster, with his Brother Simeon, he perceiving, it seems, and repenting that he had gone too far. They were confined to a place called Opficium, and thither conveyed by the diligence of Curcuas the Drungarius Biglæ, who seizing fuddenly on them conveyed them by Boats into the opposite Continent. 10. Now the way being fully cleared by removal of all Competition, on the

Christopher

four and twentieth day of September, and the eighth year of the Emperour's Reign, the Title of Cafar was conferred on Romanus; and in December following Reign, the Title of Cæfar was conferred on nominals; and the Hands of Nicholas Crowned Emperour by the Hands of Nicholas percur by the Hands of Nicholas percur by the Wash by allowance of Conflantine Crowned Emperour by the Hands day following percour oy the allowance of the Patriarch. Thus possessed of the Imperial Dignity on Candlemas day following Constantine. he caused to be Crowned his Wife Theodora, and in May on Whitsunday his Son Christopher, Constantine openly yielding his consent and approving, but inwardly repining and deploring the condition into which he was brought. Romanus for the fecurity of his Estate banished several Persons upon suspicion; but could not thereby hinder the effects of envy which his high and fudden Advancement had pro-Punishes seve-cured. For another Conspiracy was hatched against him by Arsenius a Patritian, and one Paulus Manglabyra, which yet was discovered, and they lost both their Estates and Eyes. To obviate these Practices and strengthen himself by Alliance he Married his Daughter Agatha to Leo the Son of Argyrus, a man very Noble and of excellent Qualifications both of Body and Mind. But by this time several began to commilerate the condition of Constantine, who was thus overpowered by the Upstart, and one Anastasius, called Sacellarius, framed new Designs to take him off. But this Plot was also discovered, and Anastasius for his pains was shaven and made a Monk. Now did Romanus publickly command, that he himfelf having the first, Constantine should be onely called and esteemed Emperour in the fecond place, and under this pretence that this was the onely means to prevent Confpiracies; thus for uncertain things and a fading Empire, making himfelf perjured and an Enemy to Almighty God, as our Writers observe. About this time it happening that Adralestus the Domestick of the Schools dying, he conferred his place, as a farther means to strengthen his Alliance on Pothus Argyrus.

Constantine.

far as Catalyrtes; and Pothus, as his place required, led out an Army against them, with little effect on either fide, fave that Michael one of his Officers being out to fcout, did some little hurt to a Party of the Enemy, and received a wound of The Bulgari which he died inortly after. But Simeon fent more Forces commanded by Chagatheir Incursi- nus one of his Noblemen, and Minicius the Master of his Horse, with Orders to ons against the march to Constantinople it self without any stop. Romanus hearing of it lest they should burn and waste the Suburbs and adjoyning Palaces, dispatched away the two Argyri, Leo and Pothus, John Rector, and others to meet and oppose them, who accordingly gave them Battel in the Plain of Pege, but John the Redor affrighted at their noise and sudden Onset ran away and gave occasion to a Deseat, wherein many were flain. He hardly escaping got to a Pinnace, which Alexius the Drungarius of the Navy endeavouring to doe, fell down from the fide of the Vessel, and was drowned, together with his Protomandator. Leo and Pothus recovered a Castle in their flight; the rest of the Multitude was either drowned as they indeavoured to escape, were slain by the Enemies hand, or taken Prisoners: And the Bulgarians without any opposition burnt the Palace of Pegæ, and wasted all the Countrey. The year following being the eleventh of Constantine, in the Tenth Indiction, died on the twentieth of February, Theodora the Wife of Romanus, and after her decease Sophia the Wife of Christopher bore the Title of Augusta or Empress. Now made the Bulgarians another Inrode as far as the Palace of Theodora, which they burnt without any refistence. Romanus standing now in need of his Officers, made them a great Feast, and by good words, aswell as the Entertainment, made them ingage to doe their utmost indeavour in defence of their Countrey, so much disgraced as well as harassed by the so frequent Invasions of that

it. Now were the Bulgarians again very troublesome, making their Inrodes as

12. The day following, Sastitius the Leader of the Excubitores to make good his word, as foon as it was light fet upon the Enemy's Camp, and killed all he found therein, the rest being employed abroad in pillaging the Countrey. But understanding by some that had escaped of his Enterprize, they returned thither, and overpowered the Romans already wearied by the former Fight; Satistius

Simeon lays

ded mortally by those that pursued him; and though by the Assistance of his Attendants he was got out of the Ditch, and came to Blachernæ, yet he died there the night following in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the great af-A Rebellion fliction of the Emperour, the Army, and all the People. At this time a Rebelin Chaldia, but supperfied, lion happened in Chaldia (a Region of Syria, near to Iberia) against the Emperour, which was happily suppressed by the diligence of Curcuas, Domestick of the Schools, then lying at Cæsarea, who on a sudden and unexpectedly fell upon the Conspiratours. In the mean while Simeon the Bulgarian laid Siege to Adrianople, about which he drew a line, and with violence attacqued it. The Governour at this time was Leo a Patritian, whom for his too unadvised haste and vehemence against the Enemy, they called Moroleon, or Leo the Fool. But he defended the City very Gallantly, both by opposition made from the Walls, and several successfull Sallies, till the Inhabitants, pinched with Famine, gave up themselves, Governour and Town into Simeon's Hands, who remembring of how many Bulgarians Leo had been the Destruction, basely caused him to be tortured to Death. Then left he a Garrison in Adrianople, which upon its being seized by some Roman Forces, delivered it up again into their Hands. At The Saracens the same time, Leo of Tripolis with a great Fleet of Saracens invaded the Sea invade the Sea Coasts and Islands. Him John Radenus the Patritian and Drungarius of the Navy, as he lay at Lemnus, fuddenly Attacqued with fuch Execution, that scarcely any but himself escaped alive from the place.

13. In the Month of September, and the second Indiction, being the seven-Simeon un- teenth year from the beginning of the Reign of Constantine, Simeon the Bulgadetakes ano- rian Prince, with all the Force he could make, undertook another Expedition ther Expedi-tion, pitchig against Conflantinople; having with Fire and Sword wasted Macedonia and Thrace, his Ten near he pitcht his Camp near to Blacherne. Hence he sent to require that the Patriarch and some of the Nobility might be brought to him to Treat, who accordingly, upon the Reception of Hostages, were dispatched to him; but when they were about to Treat, he dismissed them, signifying his desire to come to an Interview with the Emperour himself, whom he knew both to be a Man of Prudence and Veracity. Romanus was well enough pleased with the offer, and commanded a place to be prepared not far from the Walls, upon the Sea

shore, whither he might conveniently come with his Gally; when in the mean time, Simeon not able or willing to restrain his Hostility, sent a Party to burn the Church of our Lady of the Fountain, built by Justinian, and all things thereabout, giving thereby vehement occasion to suspect that he was no-way inclining to Peace. But on the ninth day of December, all things being prepared, they met on the place; first came the Emperour, and expected the other, who made all the shew of Bravery he could by his several Ranks, distinguished by their Gilded and Brazen Targets and Spurs. Romanus expostulated with him, that "Being a Christian, he should be so Bloudy, and rejoyce in the " slaughter of those that Professed the same Religion; and putting him in mind " that he must dye, and according to that Faith, give an Account of all his Cruelties to an Higher Judge; offered him what Wealth he would ask, if it

was that he fought after, by which and other motives he fo wrought upon him. " that he promifed to conclude the Peace, and so departed richly presented by " the Emperour.

Constantine,

14. On Christmas Day following, Romanus caused his two Sons, Stephen and Constantine to be Crowned in the Great Church, reserving the other, Theophylast nus Crowned by Name, for the Patriarchal Dignity. John Mysticus his prime Minister he honoured with Patritian and Proconfular Dignity, who shortly after was convicted of aiming at the Imperial Power, and for that was shaven a Monk; his fellow Conspiratour, C. Smas the Patritian and Logotheta Dromi being soundly beaten, and turned out of his Place, who had had a Design of Marrying his Daughter to Mysticus. About the same time most horrible Earthquakes happened in Thrace, by which many Churches, Houses and Men were swallowed up: Simeon the Bulof which many charters, records and the Chrobati, was in the firaits of the days of the start of Mountains overthrown by them in Battel, and loft all his Army. Now the suppliable Story goes, that one John an Astronomer came to the Emperour, and defired The Triangle him to fend fome to cut off the Head of a Pillar which flood over the Arch of Thu sealur. Xerolophus, toward the West; for by that means Simeon should perish instantly, elementant, ejementant, that Pillar being fatal to \* him, or Magically fignifying Him; which being done, or quadam, b) dd 2. they magically fignifying Him;

they talem.

they give out, that in the same instant Romanus found that he Died in Bulgaria. of a Difease which seized upon his † Heart, or Stomach. His Successour was Peter his Son by his second Wife, the Sister of George Susurbulus (whom dying, † Cedren, No. he left Guardian to his Children) for Michael his Son, by a former Wife, he had dia donor. thaven and made a Monk. Now, together with the Death of their Prince, feve nather us. ral calamities fell upon the Bulgarians. For the Neighbouring Nations, and the Chrobati, Servi, Turks and others hearing of Simeon's Death, prepared to make War against them, and they laboured under a great Famine, their Corn being confumed by Locusts. But they feared especially the Romans, and therefore to divert them from their own doors, resolved to begin first, and fright them · from any fuch Resolutions by an Invasion. 15. Peter then makes an Inrode into Macedonia, but understanding that the

Emperour was coming against him, by advice of George his Uncle, sent a Monk with Letters to him, wherein he offered to make a Peace, and a League also with the Romans, for farther strengthening whereof, if he thought fit by a Marriage,

he would enter into a stricter Alliance with them. Romanus was no whit difpleased with the Message, but sent speedily away one Theodosius a Monk, and Constantinus Rhodius a Clerk of the Court to Treat with them in Mesembria. The Bankingia Treaty so well succeeded, that there returned with the Commissioners to Constant tinople one Stephen, a Man of great esteem in Bulgaria, and after them followed George Susurbulus, with others the most eminent of that Countrey. Coming to Court, they liked exceedingly a Daughter of Christopher the Emperour's Son, called Mary, a very Beautifull Lady; and ratifying the Treaty of Peace, fent away for Peter himself, whom Nicetas a Magister and Father-in-Law to Christopher met on the way, and Conducted him to Blachernæ, where Romanus himself received him very honourably. The Peace and Articles of Marriage were quickly confirmed, and on the fifth day of October the Nuptials folemnized in the Church of our Lady, at the Fountain, by Stephen the Patriarch. It happened, that at the third Feast after the Wedding, that Romanus entertained Peter the Bridegroom, Constantine Porphyrogenitus the Emperour, and once his Master, of whom we have heard nothing a long time, and his Son Christopher. Now by the Arts of Romanus, the Bulgarians there present being wrought upon, as is probable, made a Disturbance, and exclaimed against it, that Constantine should take Place and be preferred before Christopher the Father-in-Law of their Prince. To gratifie christopher be preterred between them you must know, the Emperour caused his Son to precede Constantine; and them you must know, the Emperour caused his Son to precede Constantine; and the sound constant into Rules. tore Constanting Perphyre all the Ceremony being now over, the new Married Couple departed into Bulgaria, being brought on their way as far as Hebdomus by the Parents of the Bride, and Theophanes the Protovestiarius, which Theophanes had managed the whole 16. In the mean time, the Master John Curcuas, Domestick of the Schools, did

fuch Execution on the Saracens of Syria, and took so many of their Towns and

place, and Aposblathus who Commanded the Souldiers of the Garrison came out

to him to Treat, and were fent on that Errand to the Emperour. They gave fuch fatisfaction, that they were received as Friends and Allies of the Romans, and

ingaged to Fight in their aid against their own Countreymen. But not long after they both died, and with them the Peace ceased to be any longer, where-

genitus.

ten by the Ro- strong Holds, laying Siege to Melitena it self, that Apochapsus the Ameras of this

upon the Domestick, assisted by Melias a Magister who Commanded the Arme-Melitena and nians, besieged Melitena; after some time took it, and brought all the Countrey the Countrey adjoining into the Obedience of the Emperour, who reduced it into the form adioyning re- of a Province or Curatourship, as they term it, and by that means much increa- Thu all in

aucedinto the fed the publick Revenue. Much about this time, Niceta Father-in-Law to Manushim Form of a Christopher was accused to have moved him to depose his Father for which to regarding Christopher was accused to have moved him to depose his Father, for which he returned was was Banished the City, and made a Monk. The Winter following, happened to Bankistin A great Froft great a Froft in December, as continued for an hundred and twenty days, and this and Plague. was followed by fo great a Plague, as if we should believe our Authours, no fuch ever happened before, the Living scarcely sufficing to Bury the Dead. However, herein they may Hyperbolize, yet this we have found in our Age, that the greatest Plague which hath happened in this City, was ushered in by an hard Winter, whereby the Pores of Mens Bodies were shut, and Perspiration hindred, the greatest means of Health, by reason of the avoydance of those vapours, and ipending those humours, which shut in, must needs cause great disturbance and fermentations in the Bodies of those that are accustomed to a milder air: for as for fuch as constantly live in extremity of cold, nature some other way

may discharge her self. About this time, John the Brother of Peter the Bul-Rebellions in garian Prince, with others Conspired against him, and being discovered, his Complices were put to Death, and he beaten and cast into Prison. Romanus the Emperour understanding hereof, sent one who, under colour of renewing the League igot him out of Prison, and brought him to Constantinople. After this, Michael the other Brother of Peter Rebelled, and endeavouring to fet up for himself. feized on a Castle, and got many to joyn with him. But he presently after died, and then they out of desperation invaded the Roman Territories and wasting all before them, proceeded as far as Macedonia, Strymone and Greece, as far as Nicopolis, on which they feized, and were not removed out of the Countrey but by much labour and endeavour in after-times. 'Now fell down a great stone from an Arch in the Forum, called the Arch of the World, and killed fixty Men. A terrible Fire also happened near the Forum of the Blessed Virgin.

Christopher And Christopher the Emperour Died on the fourteenth day of August. 17. Some time after this, one Basilius a Macedonian feigned himself to be Constantine Dacas, and perswading many to believe him, had done much mischief. but that he was apprehended by a Captain in the Army, and brought to the A Rebellion, Emperour, who caused one of his Hands to be cut off, and so let him goe. but luppreffed But as these Cheats if neglected have ever made greater Disturbances, he got a and punished. brazen Hand instead of that cut off, and began to tell his tale over again, by which he got together a multitude of credulous People, and feizing on a Castle, thence made Depredations into all the adjoyning Countrey; but a Party was fent which eafily maftered him, and being taken again, when upon Examination it could not be found that any of the Nobility had been Accessory to his Crime, he was Burnt alive. Romanus rid of this Danger, Married his Son Stephen to Ann the Daughter of Gabalas, and upon her Marriage bestowed on her an Imperial Dia-The Turks in- deme. In April following, the Turks made an Invasion, and wasted all Westward as far as the City; to whom Theophanes the Patritian and Protovestiarius was fent and bought them off, Romanus sparing no cost to redeem the Captives; as to give him his due, he omitted nothing during the great Frost and Plague to relieve the Poor, and lessen the publick Calamity. But thinking to

establish his Family in the succession to perpetuity, he married his third Son Constantine to one Helena the Daughter of Adrian a Patritian, an Armenian originally, and, she dying not long after, to Theophano, who derived her Pedigree The Relli, a from Mamas. Not long after, on the fourteenth of June, a Fleet of the Relli (a People of Pe-landinteft the People by others called Roxolani, and by Tacitus Bastarnæ, of the European Sar-Coasts of the matia; their Countrey being now Ruthenia and Russen, in the Kingdom of Poland, West of Podolia, their chief City Leopolis or Leunpurg.) consisting of ten thousand, or as some say, of sisteen thousand Vessels came against the City. Against them was fent with the Navy Theophanes, the Protovestiarius, the great Man now in Command and Favour, who watching his opportunity, put them to flight, and burnt many of their Ships with that which Cedrenus calls Artificial Fire. They that escaped went toward the East, but in their passage Bardas the Enwase mel, Son of Phocas killed a number of them which landed for Provisions, and Cur- Ta byta met caas the Domestick of the Schools coming suddenly upon many more, made great Anna. Wild slaughter of them. This Barbarous People, called Rossi or Russi, coming out of Fire Angl. that Countrey, which still bears their Name, had before their Defeat done things which (to use the Expression of Greek Writers) exceeded a Tragedy. For of those Christians they took, some they nailed to Crosses, some they fattned to the Ground, and others they placed as Marks to Shoot at. But fuch Priests as they found, they drove nails into their Heads; and they burnt many Churches. Being thus worsted, they kept themselves in their ships, and because the Roman Fleet attended their motions, thought to flip away; but *Theophanes* was so vigilant, that he fell upon them, and taking or sinking most of their Vessels, very sew returned home with the News. Of this Russian Fleet Luitprandus makes men-Lib. 5. tion, besides the Greek Historians, and says, that the Name of their King or Captain was Inger. He calls them Northmans ; and fo it feems were called all forts

18. Theophanes for his good fervice was made Chamberlain; but Curcuas upon jealousie was hurried out of his Place, which he had held two and twenty years, and feven months; a Man exceeding Valiant and Wife, who in a manner had Conquered all Syria; and for a complete knowledge of whose Actions, Cedrenus refers us to one Manuel, a Protospatharian, and a Judge, who had described them in a Volume confifting of Eight Books. And no less prosperous was Theo-

of People Inhabiting the Neighbouring Parts of this Frozen Zone.

Conftantine Por-

deavours to

obilus his Brother, Grandfather to that John who afterward was Emperour, the Governour of Mesopotamia, overpowering the Saracens whereever he came. The Turks after this made another Invasion, but were the second time bought off by Theophanes. To complete these Felicities by a more honourable Alliance, Romanus iends Paschalius, a Protospatharian and Governour of Lombardy, to Hugh the ! King of France (of Italy our Greek Writers mean ) to defire his Daughter in Marriage, for Romanus his Nephew the Son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which was granted, and the Lady Berta by Name, his Daughter by a Concubine, being ient with great Pomp lived with Romanus five years, and then died. But these ierene and prosperous Days were succeeded by tempestuous weather, both in the natural and civil Sense. A Violent wind in December did much mischief, and Comanus ca- the State and Dignity of Romanus was shortly after not shaken onely, but quite overturned. Confcious, as our Authours believe, of his Wickedness and Perjury, in that he fwore to be a Protectour onely to Constantine, and never to affect the Sovereignty ( though he not onely did this, but placed himself and Sons before Dealings with the Right owner) he endeavoured to expiate this Guilt by certain good Actions, Popplyregenia and to appeale Almighty God. Besides other charitable Deeds, he paid the Debts of fuch as owed money, to the Value of nineteen Centenaries, and caused the Bonds to be burnt in the middle of the Forum: Moreover he paid the Rents of fuch as hired Houses in the City. "And truly, faith Zonaras, herein he gratified "fuch as were in Debt, but thereby he himself received little or no benefit. For "what he gave was not his own, it being publick money, and belonging to the "Sovereign Power, of which he had feized by force, and defrauded the Right "owner. Injoying all the Imperial wealth and substance, out of it he spared a "fmall Pittance, just as if a man having killed his Neighbour's Ox, gives the Fect "onely to the Poor, and he himself devours the whole Body; or as if one that "lies with another Man's Wife, gives fome of her Husband's money to those that "are in want, to purchase excuse for his Crime. 19. But as Providence ( so he farther observes ) is usually slow in Revenge to

give time and space for Repentance, so is it sure at last to take vengeance of those that will not amend their ways. Romanus was now passing the twenty fixth year of his Usurpation, wherein he had made no reckoning of Constantine the true Heir of the Empire, who all this while had concealed his Indignation aswell as he could, but notwithstanding was so carefull as to watch a fit opportunity to cast off the Usurper, and recover his former Place and Dignity, having so much Spirit as to be fensible, that nothing was left him but the Name and Habit. He found at length, that the onely means to doe his work was to fet the Father and Who fets the Sons at variance. Christopher was already dead, Constantine was a Man too solid Sons at variand wife for him to deal withall; but Stephen being of the quite contrary disposition was most fit for his purpose, and he got one Basilius Volucer, a very crafty man to inveigle him, and bring about his Defign. Bafilius having wound himself into his Acquaintance by Degrees instilled into him such thoughts as these: that he was imprudent, a Man of his Age, Strength and Understanding, to fuffer all to hang by a rotten Thread, as he termed the old Man's Life, and not rather take the Government upon himself being so admirably qualified for it, for which he might be assured of the assistence of Constantine his Sisters Husband. who could not take it well to be so lessened, and eclipsed as he was by Romanus. With these and the like Flatteries he was so tickled, that he resolved to depose his Father, and having felt a little the Pulse of his Brother Constantine, and found him averse to any such Attempt, to go through it, with the Help of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Marianus the Monk, the Son of Leo Argyrus, who gladly joined in the Enterprize, though he was very much beloved by Romanus.

Thereby de. Taking then his opportunity he seized on his Father, on the fixteenth of Decempoling Roma- ber, and conveying him into the Island Prota, forced him to be shaven and made a Monk; which done, he with his Brother and Brother-in-Law managed all things. But long could they not live without suspicions and jealousies, and especially Stephen feared the Interest and claim of Porphyrogenitus, and therefore resolved to depose him. This Constantine was aware of, and having the same Design upon him was more quick, and that through the instigation of his Wife especially. Having communicated his purpose to Basilius, we now mentioned, Marianus and

others whom he made his own, as the two Brothers dined with him; on the

twenty feventh of January he caused them to be secured and conveyed away, viz.

Stephen into the Island Panormus, and Constantine into Terebinthus, where they

were shaven and made Clerks, Stephen was afterwards removed into Proconnesus,

Father and

Stephen and Conftantine. fecond year after his depoling killed one of his Keepers, at which the rest were fo inraged, that they flew him. As for Romanus their Father he outlived the difgrace some three years. 20. Thus Constantine Porphyrogenitus, having in his thirty third year recovered his former Estate, in his Government answered not the expectation and hope,

thence to Rhodes, and at last to Mitylene; and Constantine into Samothracia, Ste-

phen bore his Fortune courageously, and lived many years in Lesbus; but Con-

ftantine grew fullen and impatient, and having often endeavoured to escape, in the

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Recomes fole

Emperour.

that had been conceived of him. For he gave himself up to Wine and Sloth, leaving the management of affairs to others, and yet took no care whom he intrufted, promiscuously and without any consideration conferring Offices both military and Civil. He would punish Offenders without any Mercy, though he looked not at home where Helena his Wife, and Bafilius made merchandize of all Preferments, by which means base and unworthy Persons got into the greatest Places of Trust and Revenue. Yet is he much commended for restoring the Sciences and Advancement of Learning, which now had lain much neglected. He incouraged also Artificers, and very much increased Trade. Moreover he was very gratefull to fuch as had affifted him in the Recovery of his Power. On Bardas Phocas he conferred the Dignity of Magister, and the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East; and his Sons he preferred to good Commands in the East, Cappadocia and Seleucia. To Basilius Volucer he gave the Command of the Affociates, made Marianus Argyrus his Comes Stabuli, and one Manuel Curtices the Drungarius Biglæ. But to eltablish his Power which he had now recovered, in the first Place on Easter-Day he gave a Diademe to his Son Romanus: then caused he to be gelded Romanus the Son of Stephen, as also Basilius begotten by Romanus the Elder on a Slave, and Michael the Son of Christopher to enter into Orders. Now he feemed to himfelf fo fixed as nothing could shake him, all Dangers being removed and prevented, when more ways than one he was in peril to loofe A Conspiracy all again. For Theophanes the Chamberlain, was plotting how to reduce Romanus against him, and against him, but discovered out of the Island Prota, and to restore him, many joyning with him in the Design: and punished, and at the same time several others of great Quality and Interest consulted how they might fetch back Stephen, and re-establish him in the Government. The Plots were timely discovered by some of the Parties, and Theophanes with his Companions were banished. Those that were for Stephen were ignominiously beaten, and loofing both their Estates and Noses were then driven into exile.

21. The Daughter of Hugh dying as we faid after five years, having some time confulted to whom he should marry his Son Romanus, at length he bestowed on He marries his him a Maid of very fordid Parentage, her Parents it's faid keeping a Victualling-Son Romanus. House, but of admirable beauty and a miracle of Nature, and her Name being Anastasia, he changed it into Theophano. As for matters of War, Bardas Phocas was as we faid made Domestick of the Schools, but did nothing worthy of his Title himself, but managed all by his Deputies, incurring such harred of the Souldiers by his extreme covetouineis, that in an Ingagement he was deferted by them, and had been taken or killed but for the pertinacious Valour of his own Attendants, who brought him off alive, but with a great and deep wound he received in his Forehead. But his two Sons Nicephorus and Leo behaved themselves to Admiration, both in respect of their Valour and Conduct against the Enemy, and the Kindness and Providence for those that were under their Charge. Leo took in Battel one Apolasaems a very eminent Man, and Kinsman of Chabdanus the Ameras of Chalepus, who with a great multitude had invaded the Roman Pale, and after a great flaughter of his Men ient him up Prisoner to Constantinople, where the Emperour led him in Triumph, and trode upon his Neck. But Constantine, the third Son of Phocas, Chabdanus took, and carried him away to Chalepe, where he essayed by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when all would not doe poisoned him, which so inraged his Father, that all the Kinsmen he took of Chabdanus he put to death. This io irritated Chabdanus on the other side, that Paul a Magister sirnamed Monomachus, being sent to treat of Peace could doe no good with him; and he The Saracens with a great Force invaded the Empire, leading with him Nicetas Chalentzas a make an In-Patritian, and feveral other Persons he had taken Prisoners. But Nicetas betrayed all his Councils to Phocas, who laid an Ambush for him in a very strait place he was to pass, and cut off most of his Men, he himself with a very few escaping. Before his flight, he killed those Prisoners he had in Custody. But Ni-

cetas had corrupted his Keepers, and was got away with all fuch as belonged

to him.

Places Adapa that Noble City as they term it. The Emperour's Success was

no way fuitable to his undertaking, who, as became him, did conftantly regret

the great Losses his Subjects ever and anon fustained from those Agarens that inhabited Crete, to strike therefore a Terrour into them, he prepared a The Territories of the Sar- throng Army, and rigged a very confiderable Fleet to transport it. And had his ricens invaded choice of a Person to conduct them been as good as his Design was laudable, but with ill it could not have miscarried. But General of this whole expedition he made one Constantine Gongylas a Patritian one of his Bedchamber, a mere Courtier, an effeminate Man not fit at all for a Camp, of which he never had any Experience. He passed over into Crete, but there did nothing worthy of the Place he bore; neither took care for fortifying himself by any Works, nor fending out any Scouts to give him notice of the motion of the Enemy. The Saracens then perceiving what a careless and filly Enemy they had to deal with, took their opportunity, and falling upon the Romans eafily defeated them; fome they took, others they killed, and made themselves Masters of the Camp, and the worthy General himself had ran the same Fortune as he deserved, had not his Domesticks notably defended him, and conveyed him into the Admiral Gally. Yet was it not out of disdain for this miscarriage or for his misgovernment, that Romanus the Son of the Emperour now plotted against his Father's Life. But so it was, that impatient to dominiere himself he could not stay his time, but conspiring with his Wife the Victualler's Daughter, they perswaded Nicetas, one of the Attendants at his Table, to give him Poifon, instead of a purging Potion he was to take. It either happened by chance or was defigned, that as he was about to drink it he flumbled, and spilt the greater part of it, so that what remained did not work the effect they wished, though he fell very fick and hardly escaped. In the Month of September, he would needs travell to the Mountain Olympus, as was pretended to beg the Prayers of the Monks, for a fuccesfull expedition he purposed to undertake into Syria, but as was thought to confer with Theodorus Bithop of Cyzicus, how he might out Polyeuclus of the Office of Patriarch, which he had obtained after the Death of Theophylast Son of Romanus the late Empe-10ur. There, either by the farther practice of his Son upon his Body, or otherwife he fell fick, and being brought back to Constantinople in his Litter, died on the ninth of November, having lived fifty four years and two Months, whereof thirteen he reigned with his Father, Uncle and Mother, and twenty five more ( he should have reigned ) with Romanus Lacapenus, and fifteen after that by himself. Zonaras gives him Commendation for his Piety to God, and his Love to Learning which he shewed by many good Deeds, his Writings and Epistles, compoied though not according to exact Rules of Oratory, yet fo as they wanted not ilrains of Khetorick. And there in Baronius, \* a Fragment still remaining of an \* Ad An. 96. Advice to his Son not to marry with any of the Barbarous Northern Nations, a great Reason of which is fetcht from a Precept left by Constantine the Great. He adds that he was much addicted to all forts of Verses as was to be seen in these Writings, wherein he deplored the Death of his Wife, and he subjoins what's

Constantine like to be

Poifoned.

23. Constantine Porphyrogenitus being dead, Romanus the Boy (so he was called. By sucreeds. not that he was a Boy as to years, but to distinguish him from the Elder Romanus his Grandfather) fucceeds him in the third Indiction, A. D. DCCCLX. And as to his manners and carriage he might well enough be termed a Boy. For neglecting wholly matters of Government, which he left to the Management of one Joseph Bring, as the chief of his Chamber, he himself attended no other weighty Affairs but those of Mirth and Filthiness, his chief Companions being either Whores, or those of the other Sex that could pimp for him and gratifie him in such nafty Delights, or tickle his Ears with Ribaldry. One John a Clerk, and an Eunuch, whom for his many Villanies Constantine had thrust into a Monastery, now he received amongst those of his Bedchamber, the monastical Habit being thrown off, and notwithstanding the earnest Complaints of Polyeuclus the Patriarch, yet he excused the matter, and kept him with him as long as he lived; indeed after the Emperour's Death he returned to his Monastery, and changed again his Habit though not his Mind. Yet that it should not be faid, but that Romanus was carefull to keep the Succession in his own Family, on Easter Day he caused an

fuitable to what we faid before concerning his reviving of Philosophy, and the

Liberal Arts. But the most memorable thing of these things is, the Collection

which he caused to be made out of all Historians.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. {Romanus CHAP. II.

He crown his Imperial Crown to be set on the Head of his young Son Basilius, and shortly after he had another Son born whom he called Constantine after his Grandfather, by which Issue he seemed now so confirmed in what at present he enjoyed, that he needed to take no farther care, especially having so good a Commander as Nicephorus Phocas to manage his Wars, whom the late Emperour for his great fervices, had preferred to be Domestick of the Schools of the East. This Nicephorus indeed had done things very extraordinary against the Saracens, having at several times ingaged and beaten the feveral Ameras of Tarfus, Chalepus and Tripolis, by which having so much testified his Abilities, Romanus now made choice of him to go against those of Crete. Arriving at the Island with the Fleet, he put such of them to flight as would have hindred his Landing, and then having strongly incamped himself, and his Ships riding safely in Harbour he sell upon the several The manua of Crete subdued. Towns, and in the space of seven Months took many of them. On the seventh of March, he took Chandace the most fortified of all others, after which Curupes the Ameras of the Isle, and Arcemas who was his Lieutenant, or next to him in Power fell into his Hands. He had now in a manner brought all Crete into obedience, for the fettlement whereof when some time required, he was suddenly recalled at the Suggestions of Foseph because of an old saying, That he that conquered that Island, should become Master of the whole Roman Empire. While he yet staid in Crete, his Brother Leo Phocas was fent into the East to restrain the Saracens, from making Inrodes, which at this time they might be prone to doe, on purpose to divert the Romans from Crete. He ingaged with Chabdanus at a The Saracens Place called Andrassus, and gave him such an Overthrow, that an innumerable

Multitude of the Agarens being flain, the rest were brought away Prisoners to

Constantinople in such Droves, that all the Houses both in City and Countrey were

filled with Slaves. Chabdanus with a very few hardly escaped. Leo was graced

with a Triumph, and otherwise honoured and rewarded as were all the rest, that

had well deserved in the Expedition. 24. But Romanus had not passed the second year of his Reign, when a grievous against him, Conspiracy was hatched against him by the Principal of the Nobility. The out uncovered Head of them was Bafilius Volucer, with whom joyned Paschalius and Bardas the Son of Libis both Patritians, and Nicholas Chalcutzas, who resolved to kill the Emperour on the Day appointed to the Horse-races, as he should come down to see the Sport, and proclaim Bafilius his Successour. E'er the Day came, one Joanicius a Saracen and Conspiratour discovered the Plot, and they were apprehended by Joseph, who put them all to Torture except Basilius, and on the Day of the Solemnity were led up and down in Derifion, then banished and shaven for Monks, yet the Emperour was fo mercifull, that after some small time he recalled them, but Bafilius fell distracted and died in Proconnesus, so paying for his several Treafons. Romanus Saronita, who was Son-in-Law of Romanus the Elder, was fo frighted with what had happened to him, and the rest, that lest his Eminent Condition should bring him into danger, he distributed his Estate to his Children, and giving largely to the Poor went into a Monastery, where he lived a Monk many years in great esteem with the succeeding Emperours. At this time ra- o Kyella 12-

Agreat Mur- ged a great Murrain of Cattel, which having begun in the Days of Romanus Se- woodel nior, continued a long time after. The Emperour at the Infligation of his Wife Qu'Craba now refolved to remove his Mother and Sifer from Court as the Plate of A miniatur. now refolved to remove his Mother and Sifter from Court, to the Palace of Antiochus. The Mother understanding of it, so wrought upon her Son with her Complaints and Curfes, that she was permitted to continue; but the Sisters were taken away and made Nunns, though afterwards when there was none left to awe them, they threw off the Habit and fell to Flesh again. But she took their removal so ill, that she shortly after sickned and died on the twentieth of September, and was royally interred by her Father.

25. We faid e'er while, that Nicephorus Phocas was called out of Crete, to which we must now add, that it was without any Permission to return to Constantinople; for he received Orders to pass with all his Forces into the East, where \* Chabdanus \* Gloca Apoafter his defeat had recruited himself, and having now got together a conside-chanda. rable Army was expected every day by the Subjects of the Empire, to renew his wonted Hostilities. Nicephorus e'er he could doe any harm, got up to him as he came into Syria, overthrew him in Battel, and drove him farther up into the Coun-Berrhaat taken trey, which done he took Berrhaa all but the Castle, therein much Wealth, many

Prisoners, and set at Liberty many Christian Captives. This was good News demanus the to those of Constantinople, though Romanus the Emperour scarcely lived to receive Emperour

it, dying on the fifteenth Day of March, after he had lived twenty four years,

S Nicephorus Phocas, &c.

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and thereof Reigned thirteen years four Months and five days, as writes Curopalates and from him Cedrenus, (that is with his Father and by himself, for he Reigned about three alone) some thought he died of Poison, and others through his intemperance as to Wine and Women. He was large of stature though less than his Father, very good natur'd and eafily reconciled; and is thought to have been able and fit enough for Government, had not those about him intangled him in pleasures and lascivious courses, that they managing his affairs, might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves. The Empire by his death was devolved upon his two young Sons Basilius and Constantine, and their Mother Theophano, who two days before washrought to Bed of a Daughter they called Anne. By the command of the Empress now Regent, though forely against the mind of Joseph, Nicephorus Phocas came to Constantinople in April, and there Triumphed in the Cirque, shewing the Rich spoils taken both in Crete and Berrhwa, Joseph very jealous that he affected the imperial Dignity, of which he being aware and knowing how much it concerned him to avoid the suspicion of him, who at present was chief Minister, came to his House privately, and desiring to speak with him alone, professed he had had for a long time a defire and purpose to retire out of the vanities of the World, to a Monastical Life, but had been hindred from his purpose by the kindness of his Princes, who had forced employment upon him: and he shewed him a Shirt of hair he had next his Skin. Joseph surprized at his carriage, and at the fight of the Shirt, fell down at his Feet, and begged his pardon, professing he would give no Credit to such as accused him for the time to come. And so he was permitted

to depart to his own House.

garians re-

Nice phorus

faluted

Bafilius Con-

ftantine and their Mother

Theophano

Nicephorus

Phocas Tri-

umphed at

Constantino-

fucceed.

26. They were also jealous of Stephen the Son of Romanus the Elder, who still lived in confinement, and after much endeavour by stricter Custody, he was made fure of by Poison, at the procurement of Theophano. At the same time, with the Bul. Peter Prince of the Bulgarians, his Wife being dead, renewed the League with the Empire, and giving up his two Sons Borices and Romanus, shortly after died. Lipon report hereof they were fent home to possess themselves of their Father's power, after which the four Sons of a potent Count of that Countrey, gaped and made a great faction amongst the People. But in the mean time Joseph forely repented that he had let Nicephorus Phocas escape out of his Hands, and resolved to recover the prey if possible. He wrote Letters to Tzimisches, and Curcuas Commanders in the East, and Men of great interest and abilities, promising to procure to the one the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East, and the other that of the West, if they would either get him shaven and made a Monk, or by any other means remove him out of the way. They when they had received the Letters out of their good will to Phocas gave him notice of it, and advised him to take good Courage, and put those at Constantinople out of all doubt by a sudden taking upon him the Dignity of Emperour, and when he excused himself, and either heartily or cunningly shewed himself averse, they drew their Swords and threatened him with death upon refusal. To save then his Life, as some gave out, he consented, and on the second day of July, by procurement of Tzimisches, the Towns of the East saluted him Emperour. Others more probably reported that he had for a good Emperour by while been ambitious this way, but not fo much out of love to the Empire as to the Empress Theophano, with whom he was exceedingly in love, having fent his trusty Servant several times to her on Messages, had private conference with her himself, and, as some gave out, Communication of closer importance. This Foleph Bringas i'ts thought had fmelt out, and thereupon increased his jealousie

27. And when the report of his Defigument came to Constantinople, he was then at his Wits end, the Citizens bearing him no good will, he had born himfelf fo highly, and been difficult for Access. But when he understood that with the Shouts and Acclamations of the Army, he was brought to Chrysopolis, he then considered what other he might set up for Emperour, and avoid the Indignation of the Souldiers. Upon the report of Phocas his promotion, his Father Bardas had taken Sanctuary in the great Church, but his Brother Leo, though narrowly watched yet escaped, and got to him safe. This farther perplexed Foseph, who was not of an humour to ingratiate himself with the People, but if he went about it was wont the more to displease and provoke them. And now he could not restrain his Inclination, but as he saw them all flock to the Church, and to be tickled with the Change they apprehended, with haughty and severe words he rebuked them, and threatened to ratie Corn to an high rate, than which he could not doe nor fay any thing more to inrage the multitude. This was on Sunday the ninth of August, when A Tumalt at when on the Evening of the fame Day, Bafilius the Favourite of Constantine the Empeconfiantine- rour bearing mortal hate to him, got a Company of his Acquaintance and Servants together, and fet them on Work to pull down the Houses of those of his party in several quarters of the City. They levell'd Joseph's House with the Ground, and not onely his, and divers others of the Nobility, but under this pretence, if any of the Company bore a grudge to another Man, down went his House as well as the rest, and not a sew were killed in the Tumult. In the mean time all the Streets rebounded with the Noise of Nicephorus Callinicus or the brave Conquerour. and Bardas was now so incouraged as to leave the Shelter he had taken up in the Church, and Joseph very prudently took his place. Basilius took with him the Emperours Pinnace, and with the rest of the Fleet, sailed down to Chrysupelis whence he brought up Nicephorus to the Hebdomus. Hence all the People of the City accompanying him in a folemn Pomp, with Shouts and Musick, he entred the City at the Golden Gate, and going to the great Church was there Crowned on a Scaffold by Polieuclus the Patriarch, it being the Lord's day, and

Nicephorus Crowned

the fixteenth of August. 28. Nicephorus Phocas thus became Emperour in the fixth Indiction, A. D. 963. The first thing he did, was to remove the Empress Theophano from Court into another Palace. Then did he banish Joseph into Paphlagonia, who after two years ended his Life in a Monastery. He gave to his Father Bardis the Title of Cæsar, and on the twentieth of September throwing off the Vizard, he married Theophano, and now fell to Flesh again, of which he had not eaten since the death of his Son, who was killed by his Coulin German Pelus., as they were riding and sporting together. The Marriage being folemnized in the new Chapel of the Palace, as they were to pass into the Chancel, Policuctus having him by the Hand, and being entred himself stopt him at the Door, and refused to admit him, till he had made fatisfaction for Marrying the fecond time. At the fame time a report flew about the Church, and made no little disturbance, which was, you must know, that Nicephorus had been Godfather to one of Theophano's Children, by which spiritual Alliance being her Brother could not Marry her, and therefore the Patriarch required him either to quit his Wife,or he must stand Excommunicated, Nicephorus choice the latter of the two, and propounded the matter to be debated by fuch Bishops of the Countrey as were in Town, and certain select Senatours, who gave fentence that the constitution which pressed him, was made by Copronymus, that it did not bind him, and they all subscribed an Instrument of his Abfolution. But the Patriarch for all this perfifted in his former opinion, and refused to communicate with him, though Casar affirmed that the Emperour was not Godfather, as was alledged: and Stilianus chief of the Court Chaplains, whom they termed Protopapa, who was reported first to have raised the Story, before the Council and Senate, swore that he never either saw or said any such thing. Hereupon though Polieullus knew he forfwore himself, yet he relinquished the objection of Compaternity, and quiting also his obstinacy as to the Crime of second Marriage, after all this stir recovered to Communion Nicephorus. But he was fensible of, and never pardoned the affront as long as he lived.

29. In the first year of his Reign, Nicephorus undertook a War against the Saracens of Sicily, because he judged it an Ignominous thing to pay Tribute to the Wa: upon the People, which how it came first to be granted, we must discover by setching matters a little higher. That People having in the Reign of Bafilius Macedo Conquered Sicily, all but Panormus, and thence Invaded Italy, and all the Islands of the Mediterranean as far, as Peloponnesus, were then repelled and beaten into quiet by Nicephorus Phocas, then Domestick of the Schools, and Grandfather to this Emperour, who thereby got exceeding much Honour. From that time Italy continued in repose till the Reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his Mother, when these Barbarians taking advantage, fell upon the Countrey, and the Governours finding themselves unable to grapple with both the Western and Eastern Infidels, especially now that the Bulgarians had violated the League, thought fit to conclude a Peace with them of Sicily, and the accord was made by Eustathius, then Governour of Calabria, one of the Emperour's Chamber, that a yearly Pension or Tribute, of two and twenty Thouland Aurei should be paid to the Saracens. The Peace concluded, John Muzalo a Patrician was preferred to the Government of Celabria, a Man so imperious that he was killed by the People, who gave up themselves to Dandulphus King of Lombardy, (here probably is meant Radulphus King of Burgundi and Italy against Berengarius) much about the time that Romanus the Elder seized on the Government. Romanus resolved if need were, to send a Fleet

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to recover if possible, these Western Provinces of the Empire, but yet thought fit to fend before Cosmas of Thessalonica, a Patritian well known to Dandulphus, who by many Arguments at length perfwaded him to quit the Countrey, and embrace amity with the Emperour, and our Authours add that besides him, he perfwaded those that commanded other revolted Provinces, to return to obedience and acknowledge their fubjection to the Empire. In the mean time Simeon the Bulgarian, elevated by his many victories and gaping after the Empire it felf, fends to Phatlumus the Prince of the Saracens in Africk, propounding Terms of an Alliance with him, and for fharing the Booty of the Conquered Romans. But the Messengers in their return with others from Phatlumus, fell into the hands of some Calabrians, who sent them to Romanus. Heapprehending well the danger that liung over his Head, committed the Bulgarians to Custody, but the Saracens he nobly treated, and fent them well prefented loaden with gifts to their Prince, with this message, that Thus the Roman Emperours were wont to requite their

30. This was so kindly taken by Phatlumus, that heremitted half of the Tribute, and the rest was paid till this promotion of Nicephorus. When the Governours proved good, all things went well, and the Saracens were well enough content: but when otherwise, the Subjects would be Tumultuous, and then happened ruptures. Under Porphyrogenitus, one Crenites who commanded in Calabria, when the Saracens of Sicily and Africk had War made upon them by those of Cirene, and thereupon were much straitned for provisions, fold them corn at very dear rates, which he had forced the Subjects to let him have at Robin Hood's penyworths, and thereby much inriched himself, the Saracens being forc'd to condescend to what price he pleased to set. For this he was put out of command by Constantine, his Money was taken from him, and he lived afterward and died in difgrace. During the fameWar, the Romans received and protected the Fugitives of the Carthaginians, who all this while durft neither complain of that, nor make any demands of the Tribute, left they thould give them distaste from whence they received their sustenance how dearly foever they paid for it. But when the War was over, they both demanded, the one and the other, and when they received a denial fet out a Fleet and Invaded Calabria. Now Constantine resolved to take another course than Romanus had done, not by palliating the matter but by force of Arms, to clear the reckoning, and for that purpose raifed a strong Army which he committed to the Conduct of Malaconus, a Patritian, with orders to joyn himself with Paschalius Governour of Calabria, and with him joyntly to manage the War, and one Maeroroannes, he appointed to command the Fleet. These Men coming into the Province made it their business to Pill and Harass the People, no otherwise than if it had been an Enemies Countrey, which being known to Abulchares, Ameras of the Saracens (for Phatlumus e'er this was dead) he toldhis Men there was no fear to be had of fuch Enemies, that handled their own Friends in fo rough a manner : taking his Advantage, he fell upon them, gave them a notable defeat, and missed narrowly of taking the Commanders themselves. After this Constantine sent one John Pilate his Secretary to treat with them, who were no whit difficult to conclude a Truce for a certaintime. But this time expir'd they again passed the Sea, and insested Calabria, as formerly, to divert them from which he sent another Fleet and Army, the one commanded by Crambeas and Moroleon, the other by Romanus Argyrus a Patritian. They had scarcely put to Sea for Sicily, when the Saracens having News of vast Preparations (as fame is wont to make all greater than they are) in a Panick fear quitted their Camp and hasted away from Harnes No. Rhegium into Sicily, but coming near to Panormus, were by an horrid tempest all mancast away, upon this a Peace was again concluded and continued till the time of Nicephorus whereof we spake.

31. He accounting it a great diffrace to pay them any Tribute fent away a considerable Fleet, and as strong an Army under command of Manuel a Patritian, the base Son of his Uncle Leo, who having the Title of Domestick of the Schools Buthis Army was deprived of his fight by the Emperour Romanus. This Manuel was young is defeated by and fitter to make a Souldier than a General, was very vitious and so conceited that he would not hearken to good advice, and so cast both himself and his Army neis of his that he would not mean the Congrammers away, being flut up in the Craggy and unpaffable parts of Sicily: and befides this Nicetas the Eunuch a Patritian and Drungarius of the Fleet was taken and carried away Prisoner into Africk. Much about the same time John Tximifces being created Domestick of the Schools of the East, was sent into Cilicia, where he defeated a great number of Agarens got together. About five Thousand of them quitted their Horfes and betaking thensfelves to a Craggy hill near at hand by

the Advantage of the place stoutly defended themselves. Tzimisces seeing their resolution, resolved to attack them in their own way, and dismounting, led his Foot on himself, and sell upon them, of whom not a man turned his Back, but fighting out to the last were all slain, and from their Bodies issued such Streams of Bloud into the Plain, that the Hill got the Name of the Bloudy Hill upon this occasion. The year following, and the second of his Reign, in the Month of July, Nicephorus himself taking his Wife and Children along with him led a strong Army, confisting partly of his own Subjects, and partly of the Affociates, Iberians, and Armenians, into Cilicia. Having left Theophano behind in a Castle called Drizium, he entred the Countrey, and took three Cities, Anabarza, Rossus and Adana, besides several Castles; but not daring to venture upon Tarsus or Mopsuestia, the Season of the Year being almost spent, he left a strong Guard and went into Cappadocia to Winter. In Spring he returned and dividing his Forces into two parts, the one he committed to Leo, with orders to fall upon Tarfus, and he himself led the other against Mopfuestia, which attacking with much violence he was therein affifted by the Famine which raged among the Inhabitants, so that the River Sarus dividing the Town into two parts, of one of them he got possesfion, though fired by the Saracens, and not long after the other with all that had made resistence, sell into his hands. Those of Tarsus, affrighted with this success, fent to him and furrendred their City, to the affiftence of which, after three days, a Fleet came from Agypt, but finding no incouragement to land, it was most of it lost in its return, either by Tempetts or taken by Roman Ships. Thus prosperous was Nicephorus wherefoever he bore his Arms. Besides this, he recovered Cyprus to the Dominion of the Empire from the Saracens. He invaded Syria, made Tripolis, a City of Phænicia, and Damascus Tributaries, and having Conquered all the rest, both situate near the Mountain Libanus and upon the Sea, he removed to Antioch, which the Inhabitants stoutly defending, his Provisions failing, and the Inlarging the place being very moift, he raifed his Siege and returned to Constantinople. This

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Sicephorus (Phocas, &c.

Dominions of we must say of him that he was the most victorious Warriour that of long time had worn the Purple, and inlarged the Dominions of the Empire far and

32. But he was not so much admired and seared abroad as hated by his Sub-He is hated at jects at home, who rejoyced not in Conquests acquired by great expence of their home by his blond, and especially their Treasure, delighting not at all in such grinning honour. The Story went that he could easily have taken Antioch, but forbore upon a Saying there was, That the Emperour that should conquer that City should not live very long after, and upon this account he gave charge to Peter and Burtzas whom he left in the Countrey to secure what he had already got, to make no Attempts upon it. But Burtzas lying near to the City could not forbear, but having corrupted one of the Townsmen to a Discovery, seized upon two Turrets of the Wall, and then fending for Peter eafily overpowered the Garrison, and took the City, for which the Emperour instead of other reward, difgraced him and turn'd him out of his Place. This procured him much ill will, but here lay not the hundred part of the burthen. At his very first Promotion when his Souldiers were very Infolent and committed many outrageous Acts, he would give no ear to any complaint; nay, though they rifled the Houses of Senatours and such as had affisted him in obtaining what he had, alledging, that in such a Multitude it could not be but that some would carry themselves uncivily. Then under pretence of his Wars he raised Taxes, and laid unsufferable burthens upon the People, not abstaining from Rapine and violence. Part of what was usually given to Senatours he stopped in the Treasury, as also such Pensions as by his Predecessours had been granted to Monasteries, Churches, and other Pious uses: And by a Law he forbade any more Lands to be given to the Church, a Crime more heinous than the totacte any more Lands to be given to the Anthri, a similar than the charge, all others in the opinion of the Ecclefiafticks. They farther laid to his Charge, that taking advantage of a difference betwixt the chief \* Pafter (fo Zonaras calls \* Elima & the Patriarch) and the chief Priefts concerning Jurisdiction (he denying that they is the appropriate of the chief of the chie could approve or Elect without him) he challenged to himfelf all the right of the following mominating Bilhops, by an Edict commanding that none should be admitted to the shaper may be shaped to the shaped to the shaper may be shaped to the any Church without his leave. Accordingly when any Bishop died he sent an whose Sto-Officer sparingly to defray Charges, and the rest of the Revenue he took to him-natain Nite-felf. Nay, during his Government all Countries swarmed with Collectours and phono Phoca. Informers, who squeezed, even out of the poorest of the People, all that ever they had; such as had been in publick Service before, were railed to more chargeable Employment. As if formerly in the Navy, now they were confirmed to

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33. War was his onely Element, neither could he think or fay any thing but what had relation to it. Therein he placed the Measures of good and evil, insomuch, that he laboured to introduce a Law which should give to them that lost their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Veneration with the Martyrs, and but for the vigorous opposition of the Patriarch and Bishops he had published the Edict, they contending, that on the other hand the Canon of Bafil the Great did bar fuch of the Communion as had killed, though but an Enemy in Battel, for three years. But what did more provoke the Multitude he debased the Coin, causing fome of less intrinsick value to be made, which done, all Payments to himself he exacted in that of the greater, and caused all Issues out of the Treasury to be made of the leffer fort. And whereas all Money stamped with the Images of Emperours, if of the same weight and goodness went at the same Rates, he inhanced the value of his own Coins above those of his Predecessours. This caufed extraordinary difficulty and damage in Commerce, which added to the dearness of all Commodities, made very great disturbance. But that which inraged most, was the fortifying of the Court or Palace, because it was told him, that in it he should die. He pulled down very fair Houses of private Persons adjoyning to it, and close to it erected a Cittadell, wherein were built Granaries, Store-houses, Ovens, and Bakehouses, filled with all forts of Provisions. To these publick Grievances there were other particular Accidents, which being ill taken, however defigned, farther increased the general hate against him. A great Tumult happening betwixt the Seamen and Armenians, wherein many were killed, and Sifinnius the Presect of the City hardly escaped, he to be revenged on the Citizens, whom he concluded to have been Authours of the diforder, was thought to have drawn them into a Snare in this manner. He appointed fome Exercises on Horseback, and either to let the People see the manner of fighting or to terrifie them, caused the Riders to draw their Swords and skirmish together, which cast the Multitude into fuch a fright, that all ran headlong down from the Theatre, over the Precipices and Ditches, and treading one upon another many were pressed to Death, many more hurt, and greater had been the mischief but that they observed him to fit on his feat not at all concerned, which made them change their Opinion of him, and to stop their Flight. But the Relations of such as were killed, not long after, as he returned into the City, reviled him, and cast at him Dirt and Stones, and had not some of the more sober fort become his Guard, he had easily 34. In the fourth year of his Reign, the tenth Indiction, in June going to visit

the Cities of Thrace, when he came to Great Suda, he wrote to Peter Prince of Bulgaria, not to suffer the Turks, as they called them, to pass the River Ister. This he objected for several Reasons that he could not doe, but especially he infifted on this, that when that People had invaded his Dominions, then the Emperour had refused to give him any affiftence: That therefore he was forced by necessity to make a Peace with them, which his Interest would not permit him now to break. To be revenged of him, for this repulse he procured Sphendosthlabus King of the Heingages the Ruffians the following year to invade Bulgaria, where committing all forts of Ho-Ruffiant to in-fillity, they defiroyed many Towns, and returned with much Booty, acting the fame part over again the next year after. In the mean time happened a terrible Earthquake in Paphlagonia, and elsewhere. And in May following the Corn was so blasted by fcorching Winds, that a great Famine followed, at which Nicephorus took advantage to fill his own Coffers, and made a Jest of the Calamity of his People, boasting that he had fold his Wheat at a double Rate. Both he and his Brother Rejoiced in the Mileries of the Poor, or their Actions were fuch, as they could not afford a better Interpretation, and drew some Expressions from the Oppressed, which ora, which " whom when he demanded why he that was now old and feeble, would defire to

taxed him with mil-government to his Face. "On a time as he was Mustering his ites the price " Souldiers, an ancient man with a gray head defired to be lifted amongst them, of to his haand op. "go to the Wars, he told him that he found he was much stronger than when he and op "go to the wars, he told him that he folial he was Emperour, he could carry Corn of that " value on his own Back, with which then he was wont to load two Affes. So much was he hated abroad, and at home, and in his own House he was as little beloved. Theophano his Wife did now loath him, either because he was no good Womans man, or the was jealous that he defigned to geld her Sons, and leave the Empire to his Brother. Glycas writes exprelly that it was because he lived chastly, abstained from her Bed, and was wont to sleep on the ground, being much delighted in taking his rest in that manner. Following her intemperate humour the had cast her affections upon Zimisces, whom as a suspected Person, the Entperour had confined to his own House.

35. She procured him to be discharged of his Confinement, and when Nicephorus refused to let him come presently to Constantinople, she not onely got him secretly conveyed thither, but by Night to be drawn up into the Palace in a Basket, with five of his Friends, viz. Michael, Burtzas, the Patritian, whom Nicephorus had disobliged, Leo Abalantius, an Officer in the Army, and one Atzypotheodorus (so named from the swarthiness of his Complexion) more intimate with him than all others. Being got in, they went directly to feek the Eriperour, and not finding him in his Chamber in the Bed wherein he ordinarily flept, they were going down the way they came, concluding that their Defign A Conspiracy was discovered. But by a Fellow that belonged to the Womens Apartment, they against him were brought where he lay asleep on the ground in a Bears skin, as his Custome effect to his was, which Skin he much valued because given him by his Uncle Michael a Monk. Destruction. Zimisces first gave him a kick with his Foot and awakened him, then as he leaned on his Elbow indeavouring to rife, Leo Abalantius with his drawn Sword mortally wounded him in the Head, the Skull being pierced. Then they dragged him before Zimisces, who had placed himself in the Emperour's Seat, and used him with all forts of Indignities, while he onely faid, Lord have mercy upon me, and the Mother of God help me. By this time the Alarm was given to those of the Guard that then watched, and they were hasting to his Relief, which the Confpiratours perceiving, dispatched him, and cutting off his Head shewed it to them out of the Window, which fight quieted them; the Tragedy being already over and not to be prevented. Some reported that ten days before his death, by a Writing left in his Chamber, warning was given him to beware of Zimisces : Nay, that by a certain Clerk that very Night the Conspiracy was revealed the same way. But some reported, that he imagining the Paper to contain onely some Petition, never open'd it; others said he did open and reade it, but made no reckoning of it, his Fate so vehemently pressing upon him: And there wanted not who affirmed, that he both took notice of the thing, and committed the Inquiry thereof, and the Defence of his own Person to the Protovestiarius, and also wrote to his Brother Leo, then at his own House, to come to him sufficiently armed and accompanied with all speed; but he being busie at Chess, with which Game he was wonderfully delighted, neglected to open the Letter till it was too late, which perceiving, with his Son Nicephorus he took Sanctuary in the Great Church. However to fuch an end came this Emperour, who by his Example abundantly shewed the truth of that old Saying, That Magistracy, especially in Sovereign Power, discovers the Disposition of a man. Formerly he had taxed that Vice in his own Father, to which he himself, when he had most ample opportunity of getting Wealth, was inflaved. In how fad and uncertain a condition those that wore the Diadem in those days perpetually were, and how much of that liberty which the old Roman Legions took of disposing of the Empire according to their own Lust and Ambition, was still usurped, the Reader from more than this one Instance cannot but take notice. Nicephorus lived fifty seven years, and thereof Reigned fix, with as many Months.

36. The Murther committed, John Zimisces seized on the Empire in the twelfth zes on the Empire, ma. Indiction, A. D. DCCCCLXIX. Bafilius and Constantine, the Sons of Romanus, he Empire, ma-king Baffilium made his Collegues, he being in the feventh and this in the fifth year of his and Confident Age, as Cedrenus writes, which could not be, confidering how long it was fince the death of their Father; fo that herein greater credit is to be given to Panvinius, who reckons Bafilius to have been fourteen, and Constantine about twelve, at this Alteration. For his prime Minister he made choice of Basilius of the Bedchamber, to whom Nicephorus, having been advanced in a great measure by his indeavours, had given a new Title of Prefident, being a man of great experience, which he gained under Romanus his Father, and his Brother-in-Law Constantine Porphyrogenitus, by his Wars against the Saracens, and other Negotiations of greatest Concernment. He as soon as intrusted, to discharge his Duty, first removed all fuch as he knew to have been addicted to Nicephorus, from all Commands both Military and Civil, and substituted others in their Rooms, whom he knew to be faithfull to him in present power. Such as Nicephorus had banished, he recalled, and especially the Ecclesiasticks, whom for opposing him in Matters relating to the Church, he had driven from their places. These things premised

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for the establishing of his Power, Zimisces thought he might take the Ensigns of the Dignity, and to the great Church he went to receive the Diadem from the hands of the Patriarch. But here he was stopped at the Door, Polyeuclus affirming that it was not lawfull for him to enter that Place, whose hands still smoaked with the Bloud they had so lately shed, for which he must make satisfaction before he could be admitted. He received the Reprehension in good part, promising to perform all things that could be reasonably injoyned him; but alledged he had laid no violent hands on the late Emperour, who was flain by Abalantius and Atzypotheodrus by Command of the Empress. The Patriarch then required that she should be banished from Court into some Island, as also the Murtherers of Nicephorus, and that the Edict made by him concerning Ecclefiastical Affairs should be rescinded. The Murtherers by Zimisces his command were presently removed. Banishes Theo- and Theophano Banished into Proconnessus, whence afterward escaping and betaking phano the Em- her felf to the great Church, she was thrust out by Basilius, and carried into the Province of Armenia, and there close thut up in a Monastery, after many bitter and reproachfull Speeches uttered against the present Emperour and against Basilius, to whom she had given a Cuff on the Ear, and loaded him with the Names of Scythian and Barbarian. Her Mother also was removed from the City, and the Edict of Nicephorus against the Privileges of Church-men openly produced and torn in pieces.

Zimifees Crowned at

37. These things performed, and the Emperour having promised for expiation Configuration of his Crime, to give all the Estate he had been Master of when a Private Manto the use of the Poor, he was admitted by Polyeuclus into the Church, and on Christmas day was there Crowned by his hands. While there was this changing and shifting at Court, Affairs of the Empire both in the Eastern and Western Parts, were but in a ticklish condition. For the Cities taken from the Saracens in Cilicia, Phanicia and Calofyria, were inclining to revolt. And Nicephorus his procuring of the Rullians to invade Bulgaria, as it happened, had brought the Territories of the Romans into much greater danger. Zimisces thought he should provide in some measure for the security of the East, by preferring to the Bishoprick of Antioch upon the River Orontes, or that near Daphne, one Theodorus a Monk, a man of very good Defert, who always told him that he should come to be Emperour, but always advised him not to be hasty in his Attempts that way. He had also perfwaded him that as foon as he should get the opportunity by his preferment to remove the Manichees out of the East, which he performed afterward, causing The Suracens, them to be transported to Philippopolis. All this while the Saracens intermitted indeavour to no thoughts nor means for recovery of their Cities, especially of Antioch, in which their Reputation was most concerned. By the Agitation of those most principally concerned, a strict League and Alliance was entred into, not onely by that People in what parts foever they lived, but by all other Nations, professing their Religion, particularly, as Cedrenus reckons them, the Egyptians, Persians, Elamites, both the forts of Arabians, (inhabiting the Defart and Happy Arabia) and Sabæans, vast Forces they gathered together, the Command of which was given to those of Carthage, as the most experienc'd in War both by Sea and Land, who transferred it upon Zochares a man very fit for the place of General. They laid Sprie Metro-Siege to that Antioch near to Daphne, as our Authours call it, to distinguish it polisamiochia from all others of that Name, and omitted nothing proper to take it, but the go wocate. strength of the place and the Courage of the Besieged held them to it till such Daphne erat time as the Emperour had fent orders to the Governour of Mesopotamia, to raise subvision of arbores umbriwhat power he could and relieve them, and dispatched away Nicholas an Eunuch feras & aquamost intimate with him to be General of the Expedition. He mustering all the rum copies a-Forces he could possibly get together, though not once to be named with their quad enim in Multitudes, set upon them, gave them Battel, raised the Siege, forced them to Italia Baie, ad But are redu-disperse, and betake themselves to their own Countries, such of them as esca- Alexandriam ced to obediped the Slaughter; and confirmed the Cities of these Quarters in their Obe-in Spria Subst-

ced to obedi-

38. Thus matters in the East very well succeeded; but in Bulgaria, which chia Daphne. the Rolli had overrun, things went not according to expectation; for this People having made themselves Masters of the Countrey, and got into their hands Borifes and Romanus the two Sons of Peter, finding it much more pleasant and fertile than their own, resolved to fix in it, and brake the Covenants they had made with Nicephorus. In this their Resolution they were confirmed by one Calocyrus, who ingaged that if by their means he could come to be Emperour of the Romans, he would freely quit to them Bulgaria, make a perpetual League with them, and

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Son Zimicces, &c. CHAP. II.

double the Tribute or Pension, which had been promised them. Pussed up with these his O fers, but especially with present postession, they challenged Bulgaria as their own acquired by War, and the Ambassadours of the Emperour, who offered to confirm and make good whatever Nicephorus had granted, they rejected with fcornfull Language and Deportment. Zimises then finding himself obliged by force of Arms to obtain what by good words he could not compais, fent He orders his Orders for all his Forces to march Westward, over which he made General, one Forces to Bardas firnamed Sclerus or Hard his Wives Brother, refolving in the Spring in Person, to be at the Head of the Army. The Russians hearing of these preparations, to prevent him, raifed to themselves as many of the lately conquered Bulgarlans as they thought convenient, and drawing into their Affiftence the Patzinacæ, and thole our Writers call Turks, inhabiting the Western Parts of Pannonia ( the Hunnes or Hungarians ) made up an Army of three Hundred and eight thousand Men, with which passing Emus, they laid waste all Thrace, and sate down before the Walls of Adrianople. Bardas could scarcely muster above twelve thousand Men. and therefore so very much over-matched in Numbers, resolved to try if he could be superiour in skill and strategeme. He contained himself within the Walls of that City, and however challenged and provoked by the Enemy would not fight, making a shew of great fear and diffidence. This made them secure, so

as they kept no order, observed no rules, were negligent in their watches, as not doubting but with convenience enough to feize upon the Prey.

39. He watcht his opportunities, and when he saw his time sent out John Alaca-Sensis a Patritian, with a Party to skirmish with the Enemy, and by little and little retreating to bring them into an Ambush he had conveniently placed for them. The Barbarians were divided into three Bodies, whereof the Ruffians and Bulgarians composed one, the other two confisted fingly of the several Nations of Patzinacæ and Turks. It happened, that John light upon the Patzinacæ, with whom skirmishing and gently retiring till he came to the Place of the Ambush, he then sted as fall as his Horse could carry him, and they breaking all Order, and pursuing fell into the Army of Bardas, which compassing them in, cut them all off, or very few escaped. This incouraged him to complete his Victory by falling upon the rest, who though discouraged by what had happened to their Friends, yet made flout refiftence, and the fuccess continued doubtfull a long time, till a Scythian taller and bolder than the rest singled out Bardas, as he rode up and down incouraging his Men. He gave him a blow on the Head, but his Helmet was of fuch tried Metal, that his Sword could not enter, though that of Bardas was so much better temper'd, that with one stroke he both clave his Headpiece and Head in funder. And Constantine a Patritian, the Brother of Bardas, coming in to his Relief had as good Success. For they write, that grapling with another Scythian who affifted his Countreyman, and fetching a stroke at his Head as he declined the blow, he cut off the Head of his Horse, and then cut the Throat of the Master as he lay grovling on the Ground. These Atchievements of the Roman General, and his Brother so discouraged the Barbarians, that they would no more abide it, but shifted for themselves aswell as they could, but had not Night prevented farther pursuit, none had escaped, most being killed, and the rest in a manner all taken Prisoners, of whom there were very few to be seen, that were not wounded. Yet if we may believe some Writers, of the Romans were killed but five and twenty Men. But none escaped without having received the marks of their Valour upon their Skins. 40. Scarcely was this Scythian War brought to an end, when one Intestine which

threatned more danger if not to the Empire, yet to the Emperour, recalled Bardas to Constantinople. Bardas Phocas who had been banished into Amasia had sted from thence, and having held fecret Intelligence with his Kindred and Acquain-Burdas Phocas tance, was up in Arms, having feized on Calarea the City of Cappadocia, where sering he had got together confiderable Forces, and several Eminent men being come to him had assumed the Imperial Title and Ornaments. Leo Curopalites his Father had drawn in many, some by Gists, and others by large Promises, by the means of the Bishop of Abydus especially, and had purposed with his Son Nicephorus, to steal out of the Island Lesbus, whither he had been confined, into Thrace. But

the Bishop being apprehended and examined revealed all the Plot, and both the Father and Son were condemned to death. This Sentence of the Judges, was by the Emperour mitigated to the loofing of their Eyes. Yet was he fo farther mercifull, as it's faid, he gave order to the Executioners to make thew onely of blinding them, and to spare their fight, and give out that it was not by his

Command,

ing with the Barbarians

Command, but proceeded merely from their pity towards them. In the mean time Bardas the General was come into Asia, as far as Dorylaus, having given him in charge from Zimisces to shed no more bloud than was necessary. By Dorplant, que him in charge from Zimples to find to draw Phocas and his Complices from etiam Doyy-large Offers therefore he first endeavoured to draw Phocas and his Complices from etiam Doyy-law, Magne what they had undertaken. But finding them so consident, that with scorn and Physica Ci. heat they rejected his Proposals, he marched to Casarea, where he was scarcely vitas, junta heat they rejected his Propolats, he matched to Caparta, which is the research arrived, when these Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon quam oriting arrived, when these Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon Hermit amfarther consideration, and weighing of what had been offered, with what their mis. utmost hopes might amount to, found their best Game would be to undoe what they had done, and accordingly one Diogenes Adralestus and Ampelas, with Theodorus but is deferted by those and Nicephorus the Sons of Theodulus, who had been the Authours of the Revolt that fet him first came over, whom all the rest followed, so that Phocas was lest attended onely by his own Servants.

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41. Much discontented at the Falseness of those, wo had perswaded him to these ambitious Courses, and, as they say, farther discouraged by a Dream, he Fiving to the fied toward a Castle called Tyropæum. The General sent a Party if possible to over-castle Tyropæ take him, and it reached him as he came to the Foot of the Hill, on which the um, capitulates. Castle stood. There one Constantinus Charon, bolder and more forward than any of the rest came soonest up with him, and giving him other contumelious Language called him Coward, bidding him stay if he durst, and receive the Reward of his Treasons from his Hands. Phocas perceiving who it was, stopped his Horse, and turning towards him, put him in mind how idle a thing it was without confideration of the Instability of Humane Affairs, to infult over a man that was merely oppressed by the Inconstancy of Fortune, and that he ought rather to commiserate the Condition of one, whose Father was Curopalates, Grandfather Cafar, and Unclean Emperour himself. Charon to this returned more outrageous words, calling him Villain, and telling him that he should sooth up Boys with fuch idle Stories, and not think therewith to delude him; and very fiercely made up to close him. But Phocas being aware of him up with a Club, or Poll-axe, which hung concealed, and his Helmet not being strong enough to keep off the blow knocked him on the Head, whom thus having dispatcht, he put Spurs to his Horse again, and recovered the Castle, the Pursuers when they came where Charon lay dead, were so assonished at the fight, that they followed him no farther. But not long it was e'er Bardas came up, and by Messages urged him to yield, professing his kindness to him as an Allie (for to Sophia the Sister of Phocas, was married his Brother Constantine) and undertook to procure his Pardon from the Emperour. Phocas then receiving from him an Oath, that he should not be rigoroufly proceeded against, yielded himself. And the Emperour made good what Bardas had ingaged, being satisfied with his entring into Orders, and Confinement to the ssal of this. This danger thus happily over, Bardas received Command to return into the West. To which our Writers of the Byzantine History mean Constantinople, and those Parts of Europe still subject to it, as by the East the Provinces of Afia.

the Island

ries Theodora Sifter to his Collegue.

42. These things happened at the beginning of the Reign of Zimisces, who much about the same time his former Wife being lately dead, married Theodora the Sister of Romanus the Third, and Daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as our Greek Historians write, though Panvinius whomsoever he follows, makes her the Daughter of Romanus by Theophano, and the Sister of Basilius and Constantine. the Collegues of the present Emperour. In the second year of his Reign, resolving in Person to make War against the Rossians, he used all endeavours possible to make his Designs effectual. By his bounty he made his Souldiers chearfull and courageous. He set over them prudent and valiant Officers, took care that no Ammunition or Provisions should be wanting; and not onely set all things in good order at Land, but provided as well for the Sea, fetting forth a very confiderable Fleet under the Command of Leo, the Drungarius thereof at present, but afterward preferred to be Protovestarius. Having finished his Devotions for good Success, and fetled all matters at home, in the beginning of Spring he fet forward, and in his Journey at Rædestus met with two Persons, who under shew of an Embasfie were fent from the Enemy to spy how matters stood with him, making great complaints of great Injuries offered to the Nation of the Scythians. He knowing well enough on what errand they were fent, caused them to take a view of all his Forces, and therewith bid them be gone, and tell their Masters with how great and well disciplin'd an Army he was coming against them. With five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse sit for expedition, he marched away or-

dering the rest to follow under Conduct of Basilius the President, and passing over Hæmus, laid siege to Persthlaba the principal City of Bulgaria. This struck a great terrour into the People, and Calocyrus being in the Town without any oppolition made, fecretly withdrew himself into the Camp of the Rossians, who upon fight of him, and hearing the Emperour himself was in the Field, were not a little difmaid. But Sphendofthlabus their General comforted them, aswell as he could by words fit for the present exigence, and caused them to remove nearer the City, where they incamped. A Party of Eight thousand, exercising themselves near the City-Walls Zimisces fell upon and did great Execution, whom others iffuing out to fuccour in confusion ran the same Fortune, the ways being intercepted at their Retreat, fo that multitudes were flain and as many taken, amongst whom Sphagellus, the next in Authority to their General. Animated with this Success the Romans fell upon the City, and were forced off more by

the Darkness of Night, than the Valour of the Defendants.

43. Early in the Morning appeared Bafilius, with the rest of the Army to the great Joy of the Emperour, and shewed himself upon an Hill to strike greater Terrour into those that kept the Town. Now did Zimisces endeavour to perswade them to fave themselves by yielding, to which finding them averse, he gave order for the Forces jointly to begirt and attacque the Place. So violent an Onset takes by form the Romans made, by their showres of Arrows driving the Desendants from the Walls, and then scaling them with their Ladders, incouraged by one of their Fellows who first mounted, and was more pertinacious than the rest, that a sufficient Number got in and opened the Gates, and then the Army entring filled all Places with flaughters. The Women and Children were made Prisoners, and Borifes King of the Bulgarians was taken with his Wife and Children, who in his Royal Robes was brought to the Emperour. He used him very courteously, gave him the Title of King, and fet at liberty all the Bulgarians, professing himself their Friend, and an Enemy onely of the Rolli. But all this while, when he thought his work was done as to Persthlaba, Eight thousand of the stoutest Scythians had seized upon the Castle, and were first discovered by the Mischief they did, making feveral Sallies and Slaughter of many they furprized. He caused his men to attacque the Place, but they were very faint in the Service, not fo much for the Valour of the Defendants, as the natural strength of its Situation, which he perceiving armed himself, and with Sword in his Handled them on, which sight wrought so much shame upon them, that striving who should put himself forwardest betwixt his Prince and Danger, they broke through all opposition by Fire and Sword, and Master'd the hold; those that resisted, being either killed or driven headlong down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire and Changing the burnt. Thus was this City fully conquered, in the space but of two Days. The Emperour took order for repairing of it, and called it after his own Name Joannopolis. He left a strong Garrison in it, and furnished it with all forts of Provisions. Having therein attended the Devotions of Easter-Day, the Day following he de-

parted for Dorostolus, which also had the Name of Distra. 44. All this while Sphendosthlabus, was incamped in expectation of the coming of the Romans, till furpriz'd with the News of the taking of the City. He concealed his grief and exhorted his Men to shew themselves the more courageous, the more opposition they met with, and no longer to expect but to march and find out the Enemy. The Emperour in the mean time ranged about, and took and wasted many Towns and Castles, the plunder whereof he gave to the Souldiers for their Incouragement. But having notice of the approach of some Rossians, he ordered one Theodorus of Mistheia, with a select Party of three hundred to go before to view them, and give him an account of their Condition, and if occasion were to skirmish with them till he should come up to the main Body. It proved onely a Party of some seven thousand men, sent out as it seems upon the same errand with which yet he ingaged, and they imagining because of his small Number some Strategeme to be in the case, fled amain to the adjoining Woods and Mountains, and to took their way for Diffra, not far from which, all but fuch as fell in the ingagement and perfuit, joyned themselves with Sphendosthlabus, and his Army. There it was now refolved, that twelve Miles from that Town they should incamp, and stay for the coming of the Emperour; being in all three Hundred and thirty thousand Men, and those unanimous, for three Hundred Bulgarians, whom they had fuspected, they had put to death. The Romans animated to a great height by their Victories were presently with them, and then both Armies prepared for a Battel, at the beginning whereof, though the late Victours

Then meeting did great Execution, yet the Numbers of their Enemies were equivalent to their feats them.

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the Army of Alacrity, and thereby incouraged, they made fuch refiftences, that the fuccess was very doubtfull. Twelve times Fortune seemed to change her Face the diftreffed fide still reinforcing it self, till at length Night now coming on, the left Wing of the Rossans gave more ground, which as they endeavoured to recruit the Emperour in person led on a Reserve, and with Spear in Hand so bestirred himself. that his Example put new life into all his Souldiers, whereby he carried the day. Flying to Do- The Rollians fled to Dorostolus, very much lessened in their Numbers, and thither followed the Emperour after he had done his Devoirs to St. George, on whose Day this Victory was obtained.

45. He fate down before the Town, but would make no attempt upon it, till Which upon his Fleet arrived, because the Defendants might easily escape by the River. In the arrival of the mean time Sphendosthlabus commits to safe Custody in Fetters no fewer than the mean time Spermayous Commission of the Fleet Learn and despread for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperour the Garrison, and prepared for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperour buckled himself to his business, and the Enemy making several Sallies, he still repelled with good Success. Now the Rossians horsed several Companies contrary to their former Custome, and in an Evening when the Roman Soldiers were dispersed, at their Supper, made a very brisk Sally out of two several Gates, the one toward the East, where Peter the chief Commander of the Camp lay with the Thracians and Macedonians, and the other to the West, which Post was affigned to Bardas Sclerus, with the Eastern Forces. A very sharp Conflict there was, and the Success for some time inclined to neither side, but the Romans had the better at last, and killing many, forced the rest back into the City without so much as one of their own Men either killed or hurt as our Authours affirm; onely three Horses perished in the Ingagement. The Barbarians much discouraged at this repulse, with great Howlings and hideous Cries, bewailed the Death of their Fellows lately flain, and for the greater fecurity of the place, fent for all their Countreymen that lay in the Garrisons round about. Zimisces hereupon drew out his Army into the adjoining plain, and offered them Battel, which they refus fing he had time to give Audience to Messengers that came from Constantia, and other Forts beyond the River Ister, to beg pardon and yield themselves, whom he gratiously received and fent Garrisons into the Places so given up. But the befieged, though they refused a pitcht Battel, yet their Number being increased issued out in the Night at all their Gates at once, and furiously asfailed the Besiegers when they little expected it. And at the first, as was to be expected, they had the better, till Sphagellus was flain, which so discouraged them, that they remitted much of their former Alacrity. Yet they kept the Field all the Night, and till Noon the next Day, when perceiving that a Party was fent to get betwixt them and home, they then began to shift for themselves, and finding the ways leading to the Town befet, they stragled through the Countrey, and many of them were flain. The Night following Sphendost blabus, began to draw a Trench about the Walls, with which having more strongly fortifyed the Place, he refolved to hold out till the last.

46. But Provisions failing, and all ways by Land being blocked up, he took along with him two thousand Men, and in a dark and rainy Night passed down the River in Boats, and fetched in Corn and other Necessaries, without the least apprehension of the Besiegers, till at his Return he killed many of their Foragers, and the rest escaped with the News, which arrived not till he was got out of danger. At this the Emperour was very much disturb'd, and threatned the Officers of the Fleet with death, if any fuch thing happened for the time to come ; for having spent now forty Days to no purpose in Hostility, he was resolved to starve them out, and having taken care for stopping up of all Avenues, took his ease and expected the Event. In the mean time while he fought after new Conquests, what he had formerly possessed was in great danger, for Leo Curopalates, and his Another Re-Son Nicephorus no-way obliged by his Clemency, who had caused their Eyes to be spared, when they had been sentenced for their former Treasons to loose their fight, again broke out into Rebellion, and having corrupted many Officers in several Places, left the Island, to which they were confined, and by Night came to Constantinople, where they imagined they could doe great matters, in the Abfence of the Emperour. But Leo the Drungarius of the Fleet, to whom with Bafilius the Rectour, the care of the Palace and City was committed, timely before they could get their Complices together, sent a Party of Souldiers to secure them, of which having notice they betook themselves to the great Church, but

But fuppref-

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. S John Zimifces

were thence drawn out and fent into the Island Prota, where the former Judgement was now executed with effect upon them. To return to the Siege, the Defendants were both forely pinched with Famine, and diffrested by Engines of the Enemy, with which among so many stout and young Warriors, some would ever be trying their skill, and attempting fomething. One John a Magifter the Son of Romanus Curcuas with a Machine he had, did them most milchief, so that they resolved to make a Sally by some of their stoutest men, to break or disable it. Curcuas to rescue his Engine rushed in amongst them, was knocked down from his Horse and slain, but his Souldiers though they could not save his Life yet preserved the Ram, and drove back the Rossians into the Town,

The belieged

After which

47. On the twentieth day of July, they resolved to make an universal Sally, by the Advice of one Jernor, a man who for his defert was the fecond in Repute amongst them. A fierce contest there happened, till Anemas one of the Emperour's Guard fingled out Jernor and flew him, at which fight in Confusion they retired, and many by reason of the straitness of the Ways, were either killed by the Purfuers, or trampled down by their own Fellows, Sphendofthlabus himfelf with diffi-culty escaping. When the Romans came to strip the slain, they found many Women in Mens Clothes had accompanied their Husbands, and fought flourly. And courageous enough they were of both Sexes and all Conditions, but what prospect of any hope there was to succeed, the most prudent amongst them could not see. For on all fides, were they furrounded with infuperable Difficulties. Of any relief there was no probability, their Friends and Countreymen being so far off. The Neighbouring Nations refused to meddle, being awed by the Power of the Emperour; who by his Fleet and Army being now Master both at Land and Sea, barred them of all Access, while he and his Souldiers abounded, not onely with all things necessary but delightfull, and was recruited with perpetual Supplies of Men. Great deliberation being had about their matters, some were for flying away by Night, others moved that they should yield, others propounded other ways and Methods, but all concluded that a Period was to be put to this War. But Sphendosthlabus affirmed, this was not to be done in any cowardly manner, lest they should be derided by all their Neighbours, and Eternal Infamy should stick to their Nation, and therefore he perfwaded them once more to try it with the

Refolving to

Befiegers, and prefer a glorious Death before an ignominious Life. 48. Unanimously the next day they quit the City, and make fast the Gates leave the City that no hope of retreating thither might any more remain. Such a Fight followand tryit out ed as is usual with a resolved and desperate Enemy. The Romans less accustomed to hardship were most distressed by the heat of the Weather, whom their Emperour carefully relieved by bottles of Wine and Water mixed, and then caused them thus refreshed to renew the Fight. The narrowness also of the ways was a great hinderance to them, of which he being fenfible, commanded that his Officers should by degrees retire, and when they were come into the open plain, then to fall on again with their former violence. The Roffians imagining they fled, made after them with great earnestness, till the Romans being arrived at the appointed place, furiously charged them a fresh. Now the service being hot on both sides, Theodorus of Mistheia his Horse was killed under him, and a sharp contention followed, while the Enemy endeavoured to kill, and his Friends laboured as hard to preserve him. He clearing himself of his Horse as well as he could, cought one of the Rossians fast by the Girdle, and bestirring himself, thrust the Man on this side and that side of him, where he saw the danger was, and used him as a Target to receive the Strokes or Darts that were designed aganst him, and this he did till he was rescued and brought off. But Zimisces seeing the Enemy fight rather more courageously than ever, the fuccess doubtfull, and pitying the dangerous condition his Men were in, to prevent greater effusion of bloud sent to Sphendostblabus, and challenged him to defide the quarrel by the fingle Combat of them two. The Barbarian refused it, proudly answering that he understood himself better than did the Roman Emperour, who if he was weary of his Life, might find ways enough to be rid of it, while he should mind what he had to doe. The Emperour resolving with all his force and dexterity, to drive the Affair in that manner, which alone remained and by this one days action, to finish both this War, and Siege, sent Bardas Stlerus, with his Troops to hinder them all Access to the Town, Romanus the Patritian, the Son of Constantine Casar, and Grandson of Romanus the Elder, together with Peter, another great Commander in the Army, he ordered with their forces to give a fresh charge, which was so warmly both given and received, that still the success remained absolutely uncertain: but Anemas lately mentioned, Son of the

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PART IV

in which

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Ameras of Crete, with a blow given upon the fide on the Head, beat Sphendoshlabus from his Horfe, and while he indeavoured in vana to kill him, by reason of one is all mounted and the strength of his Armour, was himself cut in pieces. At length the faint and starved Rossans gave way to the stout and vigorous Romans, who put them to flight, and in the Pursuit through the Plains killed an innumerable Multitude of them, all the rest being also said to be wounded. The Victours not ascribing the Victory all to themselves, took notice that Heaven fought for them, by a Storm of Rain which blew so violently upon the Faces of their Enemies, that they could not with their wonted Alacrity and Conduct manage the Fight. And much was ascribed to Theodorus the Martyr, on whose day the Battel happened, whom some faid they faw fighting at the Head of the Army. And the Emperour's Faith was herein to ftrong and operative, that he repaired a Church dedicated to him, and the Name of the Town wherein it stood he changed from Euchaneia, to Theo-49. "Now Sphendosthlabus having herein satisfied himself, that he had done "all things becoming a prudent Man, for the maintenance of his cause and Country, and that nothing succeeded, betook himself to the last refuge, of sending

"to the Emperour. But greater things he required, than one would judge to

" have been fuitable to his condition; as that on the publick Faith he might be re-

Who accepts

Constantino-ple in Tri-

jects from Hearth-mo-

A dreadfull Comet ap-

" ceived as a Friend and Ally of the Empire, that safe Conduct should be granted " to him and his Countreymen, to their own Homes, and that free Commerce should be established betwixt the Nations. These things he thought it pru-" dence to ask, though not to fland by them, but govern himself according " to the humour and answer of Zimisees, who either weary of the War, or afraid " farther to provoke a desperate Enemy, of whose courage he had had sufficient " experience, granted what he ask'd, excusing it with this old saying, that It was " the Custome of Romans, to overcome more by kindness than force of Arms. The Accord being made, he defired to come to an interview and discourse with the Emperour, which was also granted. It was covenanted that the Patzinaca should be comprized in the League, and for that purpose the Emperour should fend to them, to fignifie that he would accept of them as Friends and Allies, and to defire free pallage for the Reff, through their Territories to their own Countrey. And returns to The Patzinaca agreed to all except the free Passage, but the Ross in the case they were in, must needs put them to the Trial. After their departure Zimisces fortified all the Towns and Caffles upon the River, and then returned to Conflantinople, where the Patriarch with his Clergy, the Senate and People received him with all expressions of Joy imaginable. They met him with Crowns, and a Chariot drawn with four Horfes iplendidly furnished, in which they would have him enter in folemn Triumph. But he would not admit of any of this, but bore himself very modestly entring upon a white Horse, and putting into the Chariot the Vestments of the Bulgarian Princes, and over them the Image of our Lady, as the Protectress of the City, which he ordered should go before him. Having in the Forum received the Acclamations of the Multitude, and finished his Devotions, in the fight of them all, he devested Borifes of the Ensigns of Majefty which were a Golden Crown, a Silken Vestment and Purple Shoes, and then going to the Great Church offered the Crown, and there left it. Which done, he promoted Berifes to the Dignity of a Magifter, and so departed to the Palace. In the mean time Sphendolthlabus, in his Return, passing through the Countrey of the Patzinacæ fell into the Ambushes, laid by them for him, and was cut off with all his men; they objecting it as a Crime, that he had entred 50. But the Emperour farther to tellifie his Gratitude for his late Success, into League with the Romans. re-edified the Church which flood upon the Arch of Chalce, sparing no Cost in

Where he re. the Workmanship. He eased all his Subjects of the Smoke or Chimney-money, where he re-leaces his sub- and gave order, that as well in the Golden Coins, as in the Obolus, the Image of our Saviour should be stamped ( which formerly had not been done ) with this Inscription, Jesus Christ the King of Kings, and this was afterward observed by his Successours. But to put him as well as other Mortals in mind, what Accidents and Inconstancy threaten humane Life, in the Month of August, and the third Indiction appeared a Comet, which because of its shape of a Beard, they were wont to call Pogonia, and it continued till the Eighth Month of the fourth Indiction, foreshewing as was afterward believed, the Death of the Emperour, and those Distempers never to be cured, wherein the State by reason of Civil Wars was thenceforth involved. After this, Zimisces undertook an expedition

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Spanifices & Ballius, &c. against those Cities which having been Conquered by Nicephorus, had afterward makes an expedition as far revolted, and Travelling as far as Damascus, some by fair words, others by rough as Damascus. deeds he recovered, and having setled all things according to his will, returned home. In his Journey as he passed by Anazarbahe, Podandus, and other places, seeing there most pleasant and fruitfull grounds, he asked to whom they belonged. It was answered that they all belonged to Basilius, the President, who had obtained the possession of them all, though part got by Nicephorus, other portions by this or that Domestick of the Schools, and some share by the Arms of Zimisces himself. Hereathe grew very sad, and perceivingthe publick had got little by the Accession of those Territories, broke out into this expression; "My Com-

panions, it's a very odd thing that the publick Treasure must be wasted, and " the Roman Armies undergo such difficulties, and yet whatsoever has been gain-" ed by fo much labour and expence, must be ingrossed by one Eunuch. This But in his re- Was not fo well meant as ill taken by Bafilius, from whom confidering his turn is Poison- place, it could not be hid, and thenceforth he resolved by some means or other ed by the pro-curement of to make away the Emperour. This e'erlong he effected by procuring his Cupbearer for some reward in present, and more in promise to give him Poison, not fuch as should speedily kill, but by degrees in a Languishing manner dispatch him, which carried him off yet e'er he reached Constantinople, with the Symtoms of Carbuncles upon his Shoulders, and avoidance of much Bloud by his Eyes, after he had Reigned fix years fix Months and something more. An excellent Prince, who is onely guilty upon Record, for the Murther of his Predeceffour (however the Patriarch absolved him) although as we may see by frequent examples, fuch ambitious feeking after Sovereignty and Dominion, was scarcely counted a Crime in those days.

Bafilius and to. fucceed.

51. Bafilius and Constantine the Sons of Romanus, according to his own Defignment, succeeded him in the month of December, the fourth Indiction, A. D. DCCCCLXXVI. Now our Authours speak more probably of their Age than formerly, that the one was about twenty, and the other three years younger. They bore the Name, but all the Power still resided in Basilius the President, who prefently to ingratiate himself with them and their Mother, sent a Pinnace and fetcht her out of Banishment. To provide against the Usurpations of others, he had greatest cause to suspect Bardas Solerus, who had already been guilty that way, and had narrowly escaped the losing of his eyes, but at preient Commanded all the Forces of the East, by which advantage he might easily perswade the Souldiers to any thing he pleased. The Command of the East therefore he took from him, and gave him the Government of Mesopotamia, with orders to restrain the Incursions of the Saracens. In like manner he dealt with Michael Burtzas for the same reason; and to draw him from the company and Neighbourhood of Bardas, made him Governour of Antioch upon Orontes; and the Command of all the Forces in the East was given to one Peter, formerly the Servant of Phocas, an Eunuch, but a Man of much valour and experience. Hereat Bardas was exceedingly inraged, foashe could not refrain himself, but fell into grievous invectives and reproachfull words against Bafilius, who for all that was not moved, but admonished him to quiet himself, and settle to the business enjoined, or else expect to be deprived of all Command what soever, and confined to his House. Hereupon he departed into his Province, and having broken his Defign Bardas Sole- to some Officers of the Army, resolved to break into Rebellion, knowing all the rus breaksout Souldiers to be at his Devotion. But his Son Romanus was at Constantinople, and into Rebellion obtainers to be at the percentage and thing till he had got him thence, which he and utimps, therefore he durft not attempt any thing till he had got him thence, which he effected by the Industry and Dislimulation of one Anthes, who coming to the City, spake all bitter things against him, and so passing for his Enemy, had opportunity to steal away the Youth. Then did he openly assume the Title and Habit, and was faluted Emperour by his whole Army, the Armenians herein giving example to the reft.

52. For maintaining what he had now done, and going through with his Enterprize, he seized upon all Collectours of the publick Revenue he could, and constrained them to pay it to his Officers. Such as were rich he forced to contribute, and many there were who in hope of receiving it back with good Advantage, voluntarily fent him in large fums of Money, all which he laid up for a Reserve in a certain Castle of Mesoporamia, called Charpote, where he placed as strong a Garrison as the concern required. With his Neighbours the ced as itrong a charmon as the content toquicos.

Saracens he contracted Friendship, which was strengthned by closer Alliances and Saracens he contracted Friendship, which was strengthned by closer Alliances and Saracens E-Marriage, by virtue of which he received from the two Ameras of \* Amida met.

Joyning with the Saracens

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and \* M rtyropolis much money, belides three hundred Arabian Horsemen for a 'Miepherkin. fupply. Thus furnished in the beginning of Spring, and farther encouraged by a Dream of a certain Monk, he fet forward for Constantinople, whither the Report flying diffurbed both the Emperours and all men that were not delighted with change, and loved to fish in troubled waters. Orders are dispatched to Peter to have the Army in a readiness, to Rendezvous at Cafarea, and Stephen Syncellus the Bishop of Nicomedia is sent to Bardas, by his Eloquenee, if posfible, to perswade him to desist. But all he could say not in the least shaked the Determination of the Usurper, who to make a short Answer to his long Oration, thrust out his right Foot, and shewing him his Purple shoe, told him, that " He that had once worn that colour abroad, and in the fight of People, " could not be easily induced to put it off, and bid him tell those that " feat him, that if they would not freely admit him for Emperour, he would en-" deavour to establish himself as such whether they would or no. This Anfiver returned, command was fent to Peter, that he should not begin the War, but watch and observe Bardas, secure the Passages, and make resistence if Attacqued. Accordingly he stopped up the ways, and after some bickerings of small Parties, they came to Encamp one against the other. Bardas now shewed himself backward to Fight, till some convinced him that he injured himself Ly delays, which would most certainly bring him into contempt, and cause his Friends to fall off from him.

Emperour's tegeme he overcomes

53. Convinced by this Reason he dislodged, and in the space of three days marched into Lapara, called afterwards Lycandus, a Part of Cappadocia; and Peter, left he should be prevented, followed after, night and day, and thither came up close to him. Yet neither of them had any mind to Fight, but endeavoured by wiles to circumvent each other, in which craft, Bard is was fu-Army by Stra-periour after this manner. He caused meat to be prepared as if all the Army was to take Refreshment, but yet commanded every Man to be ready to Fight. This perceived by the Enemies they also fell to Eating, as concluding that for that day they might take their ease, and there would not be any Ingagement. In this posture he fell upon them, and though they flew to their Arms and made flour refisience yet perceiving they should be compassed about by his two Wings, and the Mercenaries he had ordered to fall on their Backs, they ran away, and with the first Burtzu the Governour of Antioch, whether for fear or out of defign is uncertain. Many were killed, and Bard u took their Baggage wherein was much treasure found. Thence he removed, and took in a City called Tfamandus, and by this fuccess got fuch reputation that many came over to him, and took his part, as Burtz is we now mentioned, Andronicus a Patritian, Lydus an Officer in the Army, and the inhabitants of Attala laid hands on Michael Curticas, the Commander of the Emperour's Fleet, which they carried all to Bardas, and from him received orders under his command, to make War against the Cibyrraota. These things being reported at Court, it was there refolved, that some of the Emperour's Friends should be invefled with absolute or imperial power to give, grant and act whatsoever he Leo as Did.s should think convenient for the suppression of this Usurper. Against him then was created, Dictator (as we may Term him ) Leo the Protovestiarius and one John a Patritian a very eloquent and eminent man was fent with him as an affiftent or Councillour. Joyning with Peter at Cotyacius a place of Phrygia he first essayed secretly by great promises to draw the most considerable Persons from Bardas, but all his Art this way was fo far from doing any good, that it confirmed them in an Opinion of his weakness and of his Inability to proceed any other

54. Finding this project to failhim, by the night time he gave Bardas the go-by, and held on his course toward the East, which marvellously perplexed those about the Usurper, both in that they leared their Treasure, and also were folicitous for their Relations, left behind them in those parts. And this consideration fo wrought with them, that many departed and fled to Leo; Bardas his affairs were brought into that posture, that he had just cause to fear that all his Forces would incedily fall away and disperse themselves. There was no way therefore but one; to fend Burtzas and Romanus Taronita a Patritian, two that he could trust to slop the course of Leo, by continual Allarms, sudden on-sets and intercepting his Provisions, yet so as to be sure not to venture a set Battel. But they were forced to break their orders. For News was brought that betwixt the two Armies were shortly to pass some Saracens who were carrying the Annual

Tribute, due from the Eastern Berræa to Constantinople, which would fall as a certain Prize to those that could compass it, and therefore the Souldiers were not to be restrained. It occasion'd an Ingagement, wherein Burtzas was beaten, and many of his Men were flain, especially the Armenians, to whom no Quarter would be given, because they first revolted to Bardas. He having notice how matters went, hasted with the Body of his Army, and incamped, as conveniently as he could against Leo, expecting a fit opportunity to ingage. But Leo was wary and drew out the time in length, which he was incouraged to doe, finding that his strength increased by the daily coming over of some or other to him. And the opinion of the Elder and Wifer about him was, that by delay he should fill manage his Matters; but those of the younger and hotter fort were all for fighting, and as we are apt to yield to the worst, he suffered himself to be overruled, and to give Battel. Bardas divided his Forces into three Parts, whereof he But in a Bat- himself led the middle Battel, to his Brother Constantine he assigned the right, and to Constantine the Son of Gabras the left Wing. They had not long ingaged when Leo's Souldiers, not able to fustain the violence of his Horse, placed at each Wing, gave ground and occasion to a total Defeat, which immediately followed. John the Patritian was killed, and Peter the Master of the Camp, with many other perfons of great Quality. Leo, with feveral other men of Office and Dignity was taken Priloner. He was committed to Cultody; but the Eyes of Theodorus and Nicetas Hagiozacharitæ, two Brothers, at the Head of the Army were digged out.

this while very intent upon his business, and though he neglected no means for

because they had broken their Oaths and fallen off to Leo.

increasing the Land Forces, yet his especial care was for setting out a strong Fleet; for Michael Curtices the General of Bardas, had wasted almost all the Islands, and was thortly expected at Abydus in the Hellespont, which must needs cause Constantinople it self to tremble. Having made all preparations the time would give him leave, he fent out the Navy under Command of Theodorus Carentenus, a Patri-The Seascleatian, who finding out Curtices at Phocae, fought with and defeated him, by red of the u- which means the Seas were all cleared. Then Bafilius applying himself wholly to

55. This Victory so exceedingly advanced the Interest of Bardas, that the

whole Empire seemed now at his Devotion. But Bastlius the President, was all

surper's force, the War by Land, sent away Manuel Eroticus to command the City of Nice, the Metropolis of Bithynia, against which in a short time after Bardas shewed himself and fell upon it with all violence. But not able to Master it, so vigorous and successfull was the resistence which Manuel made, he resolved to starve him out, and from his hands forced him to betake himself to his Wits, so much were the Inha-

bitants pressed with want. He caused the Granaries therefore of the City to be filled with Sand, and Corn to be strowed so thick upon it, that the Sand could not be discovered by the Eye. Then did he shew to some Prisoners he had the faid Granaries, and bragged how able he was by that means to hold out: but withall fignified, that if he and those with him might have leave honourably to depart, he would quit the place. This was not unwelcome News to Bardas, who upon report of the full Granaries, granted them fuch Conditions as they defired, and so with Bag and Baggage they marched out, and went to Constantinople. Thus Bardas became Matter of Nice, but in fuch a way, and by fuch means,

as he was ashamed to own. However, he put a strong Garrison into the Town, under Command of one Pegafius, and then attended his other Af-56. Basilius the President perceiving his matters now desperate, Bardas being

shortly expected at Constantinople, betook himself to his last refuge in making use Which causes of a Person to which Necessity alone could oblige him. This was Bardas Phocas and the property of to be recalled whom for this purpose he speedily recalled out of Exile, and judging him the and made Ge- onely Person he could oppose to his Namesake, received of him an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperours, and conferring on him the Dignity of a Magister, made him Domestick of the Schools, and committed the War to his management. Phocas having received Power and Instructions, indeavoured to pass over to Abydus; but finding Romanus the Son of Sclerus to command the Hellespont, returned to Constantinople, and there light of a Vessel which wasted him over to the opposite Shore, whence travelling by Night, he came to Cafarea, and there joining himfelf with Eustathius Maleinus and Michael Bartzas, who had again turned to the

Emperour's fide, and gathering what Forces he could together, went on to Amorium. Sclerus having notice of his Arrival, now concluded, that he was to deal with his Match, not with Eunuchs and Effeminate Persons, and to Amorium he

{Bafilius, . Confrantine X.

marched, where coming to an Ingagement, the Forces of Phocas being disheartned Who is twice by the Defeats they had lately received, failed of Courage and of Success, and were worlted by driven out of the Field, yet so as the Retreat was very fair and leisurely, Phocas himself bringing up the Rere and facing about and charging the Pursuers as he had advantage. He got away to the Castle of Charstanus, and there refreshed his men. and received many that came to him upon the Emperour's Account, whom he promoted according to their Qualifications. Sclerus was not long behind him, but coming and incamping not far off provoked him to fight, who as readily confenting, they joined Battel again, wherein Phocas had the worst, not being able to make his men fland their ground, though with his Poll-axe in his Hand he rode about to the feveral Ranks, and killed many of the Enemies, discharging all Offices both of an expert Commander and valiant Souldier.

57. After this Defeat he went into Iberia, where he defired and obtained a fupply from David the Prince of that Countrey, with whom he had contracted a particular Friendship when formerly he commanded Chaldia. Joyning these Forces with the remainders of his own, which he had rallied, he marched to Pancalea. a large Plain lying upon the River Halys, to feek out his Enemy, who there lay incamped. Another bloudy Contention followed, wherein Phocas perceiving his men again to give ground refolved to indure no longer the ignominy of being beaten, but espying Sclerus, ran violently at him with purpose to kill or be killed. third ingage. But Sclerus was so aware of him that he fetch'd the first stroke, some say with his

Poll-axe, and others with his Sword, which missing him, cut off one of the Ears of his Horse, and his Bridle in funder. Phocas his hand was more steady, who gave the other fuch a blow upon his Helmet as struck him down upon the Neck of his Horse, which done he galloped up to an Hill and restrained the flight of his Souldiers. Sclerus dazled with the stroke, and fainting, was by his Followers carried to a Fountain to have his wound cleanfed, who concluded that Phocas and his Cause were both now lost, and therefore were the more careless. Not taking heed to their Master's Horse when they had taken him off, he got loose and with his Main all bloudy ran amongst the Souldiers, who thereupon concluding that the Rider their General was flain, instead of pursuing, ran away themselves, and that with fuch fear and hafte, that fome tumbled down Precipices, and others took the River and therein were drowned, while Phocas to his great amazement beholding what happened and looking upon it as an extraordinary mercy from Heaven, took the Advantage offered him of giving the Chace and obtaining an unexpected Victory. Sclerus with a few escaped and got to Martyropolis, whence he fent his Brother Constantine to Chosroes the Prince of Babylon, to desire his Friendship and Affistence. Chofroes making delay, and neither granting his Request nor returning a denial, when his Brother came not back with any answer, he himself went thither with all his men. The Emperour Bafilius being informed by Phocas of his late fuccess, and how Sclerus was gone to Babylon, sent an Ambassadour to Chosroes the Amermumnes, defiring him to confider, as he was a Prince, of what ill example and confequence it might prove to harbour and protect Rebels, and Letters were written also to Sclerus and those about him, offering them free pardon for what was

past, if they would return to obedience, and every man to his own Home, which when Chofroes understood, not thinking himself fairly dealt with, he committed Is there com- both the Ambassadour and Sclerus to Custody. Such of his Party as did not accompany Sclerus to Babylon, feized upon one or two strong Castles in the Province of Thrace, whence for fome confiderable time they made excursions into the neighbouring Territories, and did much mischief, till by Nicephorus Parsacutinus a Patritian, upon promife of Indemnity from the Emperour, they were perswaded to defift, and were brought in. 58. Such was the Issue hitherto of the Rebellion of Bardas Sclerus; how mat-

ters went in the mean time in the Western Parts of the Empire, we must now discover. The Bulgarians, notwithstanding all the pains of Zimisces, in that Countrey continued no longer in obedience than he in life. Not long after his Death, resolving to be governed by those of their own bloud, they committed the fu-The Bulgarian preme Power to four Brothers, David, Moses, Aaron and Samuel, called commonuni wade the weltern paris ly Cometopoli, because they were the Sons of an eminent Count amongst them. of the Empire. For of the stock of Peter none was left whom they could prefer. His two Sons Borises and Romanus, that were, as we faid, brought to Constantinople, had thence upon the death of Zimisces made their escape back into Bulgaria. But Borises pasfing through a Wood in a Roman Habit, was killed by a certain Bulgarian, who took him for one of that Nation: Romanus indeed was alive, and returned fome

time after to Constantinople, but he was an Eunuch, having been gelt by Joseph, that eminent Bedchamber man, formerly mentioned. Now of all these four Brothers David died presently after. Moses in the Siege of a place called Serra was killed by a blow given with a Stone, and Aaron being suspected to savour the Romans, was by Samuel murthered with all his Children, one Blackoftblabus excepted, called also John, who was preserved by Kadomer (otherwise also named Romanus) the Son of Samuel. This Samuel was a man of a restless disposition, a very good Souldier, and while the Empire was fufficiently intangled with the War against Sclerus, plagued all the West with his Incursions, not onely Thrace and Macedonia, with the Parts near to Thessalonica, but Thessaly also, Greece, and Peloponnesus, and took many strong Holds, the chief whereof was Lariffa, the Inhabitants of which with their whole Families he transported into Bulgaria, inrolled them amongst his Souldiers, and used them against the Romans. 59. Matters thus standing with the Bulgarians, the Emperour Basilius, as soon

as the business with Sclerus was over, began to reflect upon his own Power, and refolved now he was of years sufficient to undertake the War against them upon his own score, to shew he was in a condition to be out of Pupillage. Without acquainting Phocas, though the Domeslick of the Schools, or any other of the Cap-Upon which tains of the East, he invaded Bulgaria, through the Countries, lying near Rhodop-

Bufflins the Leat, he hivaced Buggarta, through the Countries, tying near Rhodop-Emperour en. tes and the River Eurus, leaving Leo Melifenus behind him to fecure the Straits, ters Bulgaria. Whilit he coming about by the difficult Passages and Woods, lying near to Triaditza, or as it was in old time called Sardica, came into a place known by the Name of Stoponium, refolving to lay Siege immediately to Sardica, being the more incouraged to to doe because Samuel was reported, out of fear, to keep himself in the mountainous Parts of the Countrey, not daring to come down, but when he faw he had an Advantage by Strategeme or Ambulh to effect fomething confiderable. But while he prepared for this Siege, Stephen the Domestick of the Schools of the West, for the smallness of his Stature called Contostephanus, but a very great Enemy to Leo Melissenus, came to him by Night, and with most vehement words perswaded him to set all other Considerations aside, and return with speed to Constantinople, because Melissenus had a Design to Usurp, and for that purpose was hafting toward the City. The Emperour eafily frighted with fuch a Story But in his re- gave orders for the Army to march, and then Samuel feeing his time, fell upon

turn loofes his them as a flying Enemy, and put them to flight indeed, taking all their Baggage, Baggage, Go and therein the Emperour's Enligns of Majesty, who with much adoe got through the Straits, and escaped to Philippopolis. There he found Leo at his Station intending diligently what had been injoyn'd him, whereupon fensible how they had both been abused, he reviled Contostephanus as a Lyar and Authour of so great Infamy as this ridiculous Expedition must needs procure, and Stephen demeaning himself very arrogantly, and indeavouring to defend what he had done, he leap'd from his Scat, and catching fast hold of him by his Locks and Beard pulled him down to the ground.

A great Earth- 60. A great Earthquake happened after this in the Month of October, and the twelfth year of the Emperour Basilius, and Constantine, of whom we hear little or nothing, being wholly given up to Idleness and Pleasure, and willingly leaving all to the management of his Brother, who now casting off his former Neglect. took matters into his own Hands, and seriously applied himself to business. By the Earthquake were not onely many Churches and private Buildings overturned but also part of the Globe of the Great Church, which he magnificently repaired with fo great expence, that the very Scaffolding stood him in ten Centenaries of Gold. But his late Expedition into Bulgaria had that operation upon several of the Nobility, especially Bardus Phocas, that thinking themselves exceedingly neglected in that he would not confult with them, and thence taking a measure of what they must expect from him in time to come. Some two Months before

the Earthquake in the Month of October, meeting at the House of Eustathius Ma-Bardas Phocas lenius, who had been ignominiously dismissed the Service, at Charstanum they proclaimed the faid Phocas Emperour, giving him a Diadem, and investing him with the other Imperial Ornaments. At the same time word was brought that Sclerus (whom Baronius strangely makes the same with Phocas, writing that Sclerus Bardas, firnamed Phocas, was this year Proclaimed and Crowned Emperour) was Quod ad res coming out of Syria being delivered out of his Prison at Babylon upon this occasion, pertiner Ori-

Civili, Sclerui Bardas Cognomento Phocas Tyrannus, Imperator acclamatur, ac coronatur. Baron ad. A. D. 987. num. 4.

Saracens.

The Perfusi The Nation of the Perfusis being subdued and inflaved by the Saracens, endured the endeavour to Yoke with much Reluctancy and Repining, and the most Noble and Potent of them were watching but for a fit opportunity to shake it off. Of these one Inargus more concerned himself than all others, being of a great Family, very Eloquent, and a Complete Souldier, who observing Chosroes very imprudently and negligently to manage his Affairs, refolved not to let flip fuch an Advantage, but drew to revolt all the Achamonidae or Achamenidae, a Part of Perfia, and hired Achamenia twenty thousand of the Eastern Turks (so they term them, as the Hunni or Hun- pars Persidis garians the Western) and then openly makes War, killing all the Saracens where the Abanana to the could light on them. Chofrees often in Person, and as often by his Of-stage at ticers ingaged with him in Fight, but still came off with loss, which struck such Stephanus. Aterrour into his Souldiers, that they could not endure to hear a Perfian named. chamers au-This made him think of his Romans now in durance, and to confider, that were Perfarum, nonot Sclerus a man very confiderable, aswell for skill in War and Courage as other men teste Am-Matters, he could never have waged war with the Emperour, nor brought him to Regibus imfuch Straits as he did, nor would fo many Noblemen have fided with him, and perans fonat. given him the Title. Communicating his thoughts with his Council, he delivered him out of Prison, and after much Caressing of him, defired that he would undertake the War against the Perstans. 61. Sclerus at first pretended an Averseness, affirming that He and his Fellows

being kept fo long in Prison, were thereby rendred unfit for Employment of that thon which Nature. But Chofroes promiting him ample recompence for the Injury that had Sclerus and the been done him, with much Treasure and great Force for carrying on the War, real are let out he undertook it, yet so as he would not meddle with the Arabians, Saracens or other Subjects of Chofroes, but defired that the Prifons of Syria might be opened. and all Roman Captives fet at Liberty, with whom and no other Army he would doe his work. By this means, getting together about three thousand Men, he caused them by bathing and other ways to recover their former strength, and new clothing and arming them, led them against the Persians, whom by a manner of fighting unufual to them, and especially by the Violence and Courage of his Souldiers he totally defeated, so that scarcely remained any to carry away the Who ingage and defeat the News, and Inargus himself fell in the Croud. Now the Romans inriched with great booty, and many Horses would by no means return to Chosroes, but taking the Rode that led into the Territories of the Empire, by great Journeys without the Knowledge of the Saracens, they escaped thither. Thus some reported. Others affirmed that they went back to Chofroes, were courteoully received by him, and that dying not long after he gave Order to his Son to conduct them with Honour and Safety, into their own Countrey. And a third story there was, they getting away without his Knowledge, he fent after them a great Multitude to bring them back, with which they fought, and reducing them to a imaller Number than themselves, such slaughter they made, then without any opposition prosecuted their Journey.

iato the Em-

Ferfians.

62. However it was, Sclerus with his Followers got fafe into the Territories of the Empire, where understanding how Bardas Phocas had also assumed the Title, he found himself much at a Loss what to doe. To make himself sole Emperour, he was not fufficiently provided, and to join himself either to Basilius or the other he esteemed a mean thing, and below him, and should he take the Part of one and make the other his Enemy, it might prove a matter of great danger, therefore he refolved to give words to both, and so ingratiate himself with casoning Pbs the one, that he should not disoblige the other. To Phocas he sent and offered to suppress Basilius, and share the Empire with him, but secretly at the same time one mis son to Bafflins the he caused his Son Romanus to go to the Emperour at Constantinople, under pretence of running away and revolting, with this Defign, that if Phocas got the better, the Father should intercede for and bring off his Son, and if Bafilius overcame, his Son thould make the Father's Peace. Romanus was kindly received, preferred to the Dignity of a Magister, became a great Favourite and a Councillour to Basilius in his Wars, who had now taken all matters out of the Hands of Bafilius the Prefident, and fearfull that for his fo doing, he might as he had done to others practife formething against him, had removed him from Court to his own House. There perceiving that he was very unfatisfied, and turbulent, and was hatching fome Defign for recovery of his Power, he banished him, and seized upon most of his vait Estate both to inrich himself, and hinder him from attempting any new matters. The Monastery lately built by him, he rifled, and seized on all his Curiofities, which so afflicted the old Man, that he pin'd away and died. Basilius being rid of him, and wanting some to assist and advise him, the more welcomely received Romanus, knowing him to be both a prudent Man, and an excellent Souldier.

Phocas make on Agree-

63. In the mean time an Agreement was made between Sclerus and Phocas, on these terms, that their Designs succeeding, Sclerus should for his share have Antioch, Phemicia, Palestine, Culosyria, Mesopotamia and Egypt; and Phocas obtain Constantinople, with the rest of the Provinces. This was confirmed by oath on both fides, and Sclerus joined himself with Phocas in Cappadocia, for the better But when joy. Carrying on of the War. But Phocas watching his Advantage, spoiled him of the Imperial Enfigns, and then committed him to Custody, which done he prevailed with his Souldiers to fight under him, and now feeming to himself to have sufficiently him to custo- provided for his Interest, sent one Calocyrus Delphinus a Patritian, with part of dy putting in his Army to Chrysopolis, over against Constantinople, on the shore of Asia, and with the rest of the Forces he himself removed to Abydus, by this means to block up Constantinople. Basilius by this time had received some Succours from the Rossians, to the Prince of whom, Bladimere, he had married his Sister Anne. With these Rossians by Night having wasted over, he sell unexpectedly upon Delphinus, eafily overpowred and took him Prisoner, whom he caused instantly to be nailed to a Post, and having animadverted as he thought fit upon the rest, that he there took, then returned to Constantinople. In the mean while Phocas, with might and main endeavoured to get into Abydus, but the Inhabitants made flout relistence, being incouraged by Cyriacus the Drungarius of the Fleet, who was fent thither for that purpose. But presently Constantine the Emperour passed over, and was foon followed by his Brother Bafilius, whom Phocas with part of his Forces speedily encountred, leaving the rest to continue the Siege of Abydus. Before the Armies joined doubtfull of the Event, and perceiving Bafilius to ride up and down, to view the Troops, give directions and animate his Men, he resolved to fingle him out and kill him, by which Act feeming not at all difficult, their years and experience considered, he should put an end to the Quarrel, and secure the Empire to himself. Accordingly with all his Force he made towards him, but stopped in his Carreire, before he came near to the Emperour. Some reported his Horse threw him: the Emperour Constantine gave out that he fell by his Hand, but the general and most received opinion was that making toward an Hill near at hand, finding himself surprized he laid him down and died of Poison, which by procurement of Basilius, one Simeon a Servant whom he most trusted had given him, although it was also given out, that in his Passage from the Hand of some Enemy he received a mortal wound. At first it was onely imagined that he there rested himself, but when he was found to be dead, and the Rumour was thereof spread into the Army, his Men then fled in disorder, and the Emperour's giving the Chace obtained a Victory at a very easie rate. Amongst the Prisoners were Leo, and Theognostus Melisseni, Theodostus Mesanyclus and many others whom Basilius led in Triumph, being set upon Asses. Onely Leo Meliffenus he exempted from this Ignominy, because when the Armies were preparing for Battel, he rebuked with Tears his Brother Theognostus for reviling the Emperours, and beat him when he would not cease his contumelious Language. 64. Bafilius finding himself now Emperour indeed, upon the removal of such

a Competitour, with his Fortune quite changed his Humour, scarcely thinking or is fole Em-

Sclerus is fet

Who in effect doing what he had been accustomed to before. Considering what solicitude and pains his place required, he quitted all his former pleasures, lest off all his brave apparel, renounced his wonted Intemperance both as to Wine and Women, and Indulging applied his mind wholly to the Art and Fractice of Government in a Guard, hintiff in eale left nothing to his Brother but the mere Name and Lustre, affigning him a Guard, and pleasure. but that very small, and not answering the Dignity, which he did not at all take in evil Part, contenting himself with his Freedom and Ease, and prizing his Hunting and Convertation with his Friends, above whatever Domination and troubletome Command could afford. But Phocas being dead in the Month of April, the second Indiction, and the fourteenth year of Basilius and Constantine, Sclerus was thereupon fet at Liberty, by fuch as kept him in the Castle of Tyropæum, and continued in the same mind of assuming the Title as formerly. Basilius laboured to take him off, expostulating with him for imbroyling the Empire, and being the cause of so much Bloud-shed contrary to his Christian Profession; But by Agree- and herewith he was so much moved, or rather by consideration of his great ment with Ba- Age, and the little means he had to compass his ends, that having received security for his Indemnity, and the Dignity of Curepalates, he made an Agreement,

and was content to lay down his Pretentions. When the Emperour faw him led to him by two that supported him, for by reason of his Age and Corpulency he could not walk, or as some gave out in his way to him he had lost his fight, he fmiled to think in how great fear he had flood of fuch a Man, and perceiving that he still wore his Purple Shoes, which he had forgot to put off, having devested himself of all other marks of Majesty, he refused to admit him to Discourse. He then put off the Shoes before the Door and approaching the Emperour's Seat, Bafilius rose up to him, and taking him by the Hand caused him to eat and drink with And is kindly him. According to the Agreement he was made Curator of the Palace, and fuch of his Followers as had under him enjoyed any Places or Estates, were permitted to enjoy their Estates and to keep their Places, or elsewhere preferred to others of

65. Bastlius, being freed now from all Usurpations and trouble of Civil Wars, Buffliuseven. confulted how to be revenged on Samuel the Regulus of Bulgaria, and others who genunterengen huntelfor during those Rebellions had taken the Advantage to insest the Borders of the Emdite Incursions pire. He made a Progress into Thrace and Macedonia, and going to Thessales. bours during there lest a strong Party under Command of Gregorius Taronitas, to represe the In-

cursions of Samuel, and returning to Constantinople shortly after took another Journey into Iberia. David the Curopalates or petty Prince of that Countrey being lately dead, had made him his Heir, he therefore took possession of his Inheritance, and forcing George the Brother of David to be content with the Inner Iberia, received his Son for an Hoftage, and then took his way for Phanicia, where the feve-

"Hon 38 g) δ Κυροπαλάτης επθηθημή Δαβίδ. Hoc ex loco Cedrem apparet Re-gulos iftos, ut bene innuit Xylander, fex Regionum Romanis Vicinarum Domines vocari Curopalatas. Et suprà quoque facta est alicubi Iberia Curopalata men-

Kal ii reagg 78 meis Panare 74 Ic-

'Αρρεβ ѝ δωςεᾶ ѝ ἄλλω τιιὶ τςὁπω εἰσίς-

25 อนเ ซีเ; xweler, naysav ะห่องเร.

องใช, ล้าน จุกภ แกร์เงล และลัก ซึมิ ซีย-องลัสโลง Masissav, ทักนโยเม่นง ซีอ.

ral Ameras of Tripolis, Damascus, Tyre and Beritas, had, during the Usurpation and Wars of Sclerus, made a League amongst themselves and set upon Antioch, the Governour of which Damianus a Patritian they had flain in fight. But he now frighted them into a Compliance, forced them to submit themselves, and having received Hostages for their dutifull demeanour for the time to come, returned back to Constantinople. As he passed through Cappadocia, the Magister, Eustachius Melenius entertained him with his whole Army, with which kindness he pretended he was much pleased, but inwardly dislatisfied that a Subject should be possessed of fuch an Estate, to the endangering of the Government, which was so often shaken, through the too great Wealth and Power of the Nobility; under shew of kindness he carried him with him to Constantinople, where he took care he should live very plentifully, but never would permit him to return home; and after his death seized on all his Estate. To prevent the Mischiess thence arising by a Law, decrees that he ordained, that the Great men should not increase their Possessions or Lands. which (faith Cedrenus) had been formerly enacted by his Grandfather Constantine. and Romanus (the Elder) his Father-in-Law.

66. The Constitution of Romanus the Elder, here mentioned, is yet extant and published by Bonefidius, in the first Book of those three, which he set forth con- Pag. 24.

cerning the Oriental Law, bearing the name of a Novel. "It prohibits any of the conspicuous Magistri, or Patritians, any in command or power, any Honoured with principal Dignities, whether employed in Functions, Civil or Military, Magistrates, chosen or substituted, any Metro-

politans or Archbishops, Prefects or those that had the overlight of Religious Houses, or any other preferred to " any iecular Honour, by purchase gift or any other

means, to get into their Hands, or come to the possession of any Territories or Lands. If any fuch should prefume so to doe, after the publishing of this prefent Constitution, it ordains that without Restitution of their Money, they be put out of Possession, and loose all their Labour and Charges, they had been at both in getting and bettering what they had fo obtained. Befides this they shall forfeit the value of the Lands to the Emperour if they be the more " eminent and Illustrious Persons; and if meaner condition, they shall be forced " from them without any the least satisfaction made, and farther punished as

The reason of "they shall deserve. The reason of the making and Re-inforcing of this Law is, as we may very well observe from the course of this History, to be setched from those frequent Usurpations, of the great ones, to which they were inabled by their great Revenues and Possessions, which both afforded them Treasure, and many Dependants out of their Tenants and Vassals. Hence do we reade of one Domeltick of the Schools, able with his own Retainers to Wage War with feveral

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. {Bafilius, Constantine X. CHAP. II.

Ameras of the Saracens, and we Translate the word Territories, as well as Lands Xuelon. or Grounds. For fuch were intirely possessed by Basilius the Bed-Chamber-man, or President, as we have seen, that Zmisces complained to the loss of his Life, Hence it was that the imperial Purple was so dangerous to be worn, such murthering of Princes, such alterations in the Government. And we see Bastlius the Emperour was not onely directed by a care of his own preservation, but much warranted by former Laws, in proceeding with Bafilius the Eunuch fo as he did,

Bulgarian

67. But to return to our Story, Samuel the Bulgarian was now come against Theffalonica, the Conquest of which he knew would much conduce to the Mastering of the whole Countrey. He placed some of his Army in Ambush, and then sent others to face the Town to the very Gates, to draw out the Garison into the Snarc. And the device to tar took that Oregory the Governous Afores his Son with a party to make a discovery of the Enemy, who fell into the vernour. on notice Gregory iffued out to relieve him, but being also intrapped and overpowered, he himself was slain, and his Son taken Priloner, which being known at Constantinople, Nicephorus Tranus; who had corrupted his Keepers and escaped out of Prison at Babylon, the Commander of all the West, was speedily dispatched thither. Coming to Thessalonica he found that Samuel, grown insolent upon the Death of Gregory, had passed Tempe, crossed the River Peneus, and made an Inrode into Thessay, Baotia, Attica, and through the Isthmus of Corinth into the very Heart of Peloponnesus. He marched therefore with his Army by the foot of Olympus to Lariffa, whereleaving his Baggage, by great Journeys he proceeded into Theffaly, and passing the Pharsalian Plains, and the River Apidamus, incamped himself on the Bank of Spercheius opposite to Samuel, who lay on the other fide of the River at this time so swollen with Rain Water that no pasfage could prefently be had to come to an Ingagement. Yet Tranus by much the thing the course of the co and defeated. Bulgarians as they securely slept, and made vast Slaughter of them; and Samuel with his Son Romanus were forely wounded, and had been taken but that they lurked amongst the dead Bodies, and the following Night stole away into the Mountains of Atolia, by the Tops of which they elcaped to the Hil Pindus, and so into Bulgaria, here he was constrained to Marry his Daughter to Afores

his Prisoner the Son of Gregory Taronicus, for being desperately in love with him, fhe had declared that if she might not have him, she would kill her felf. 68. The Wedding being over, he fent his New Son-in-Law with his Wife to Dyrrachium, making him Governour of that Countrey. They had not been long there, but he having eafily perfivaded his Wife to Accompany him and taking the opportunity of the Emperour's Gallies which were then crufing on the Coaffs, went to Constantinople where he was honoured with the Dignity of Migister, and Zerill Ville fle with the Title of Zofia or of the Robes. He brought Letters also to the

Emperour from Chryfelius, one of the principal Officers in Dyrrachium, who thereby covenanted to deliver that City into his Hands on condition that the Dignity of Patritian might be conferred on himself and his two Sons; but this feems to have been prevented by the Death of Chryfelius, which the maimed Text of Cedrenus hints to us, though it be not clearly expressed; however the Emperour became Master of the place not long after, although by some other means. But about the same time Paulus Bobus Magister the chief Man in The falonica, and Malaceimus a Person eminent for wisedom and eloquence being accused of favouring the Bulgarians, were sent away and confined, the one to Constantinople, and the other to Palias in Thrace, which report flying to Adrianople, some of the most eminent there that had also been suspected out of sear betook themselves to Samuel. The Emperour that he might obtain the Friendship of the Venetians to their Prince or Duke gave in Marriage the Daughter of Argyrus, and Sifter to him who afterward Reigned. He now invaded Bulgaria by the vades Bulgaria by the committed to the care of Theodorocranus a Philippopolis. Parritian, and having taken many Caffles or Forts in Triaditza, returned to Molynopolis. Afterward he fent a great Army against such of the Bulgarian Garriions as lay beyond the Mountain Hamus, commanded by Theodorocranus, and Nicephorus Xiphias a Protospatharian, who took both the greater and the lesser

Perftblaba, with Plifcoba, and victorioufly returned Home. Another Inva-69. The following year Bafilius in perfon made another Inrode into Bulgaria by the way of Theffalonica, and received Berrhea from the hands of Dobromerus the Governour, who for his good service was rewarded with the Honour of Procon-

ful. But one Nicolas for the smallness of his Stature nicknamed Nicolitzas, floutly defended Servia against him which yet he took by force, and having therein placed a strong Garrison took Nicolitzas along with him to Constantinople, and conferred on him the Dignity of a Patritian; but there he did not long continue, making an escape back to Samuel with whom he came, and again belieged that place. The Emperour upon Notice hasted thither and easily raising the Siege beat away Samuel and Nicolitzas, who was taken shortly after, and then committed to close Prison at Constantinople. Basilius after this went into Thessaly where he caused to be repaired those Castles which Samuel had dismantled, such as still were held by the Bulgarians he recovered, and removing them to a place called Bolerus re-inforced them with strong Garrisons, and thence removed to Bodena a fort fituate on a Craggy Rock through which Water passeth unseen from the adjoyning Fenns and then prefently appears again. This he took by force, and removing the Defendants (such mercy he used) to Bolarum, furnished it with all conveniences, and then went to Thessales. The Governour, Drexams by name, a very good Souldier, defired leave of him to live at Theffalonica, and there he Married a Wife the Daughter of the chief Pribatarius of the Church of St. De- The metrius. After the had born him two Children he endeavoured to run away, but it against was taken, and at the intercession of his Father-in-Law, pardoned. The second wessamelaw. was taken, and at the intercention of his rather-in-raw, particular, and found the fame indulgence. But after the lie ifte pribabirth of two Children more relapfing into the fame Crime the Emperour would ex- tarius nondum tend no farther mercy to him, but being again furprized he was there fastned alive constant, simi-70. In the mean time the Numaritæ and the Ataphitæ Arabians grievously in-nostri te

The Arabians

infelting Ca- felled both Calofyria and Africk with their Depredations. To restrain them the ris. frick are sup- Emperour made Nicephorus Tranus Governour of Antioch. One David Arianita a Patritian being ordered to fucceed him in his command at The falonica, as Nice phorus Xiphias succeeded Theodorocranus in the Government of Philippopolis, who resigned it for Age : Vranus shortly after his arrival at Antioch in three Battels defeated Ciffrinitas the Captain of the Arabians, and forcing him to live quietly, procured Peace and Rest to those parts. The year that followed being the fifteenth Bidyna taken Indiction, the twenty feventh of the two Brothers, Bafilius laid Seige to Bidyna, which City he took by storm after a Siege of eight Months, and then returning toward Constantinople, took or Demolished many forts of the Bulgarians in his way. Samuel's Ar- Being come as far as the City Scopia, he perceived that Samuel lay with his Army in great carelesness and disorder beyond the River Axius, called afterward Bardarius, to the depth whereof lately increased by Rainshe trusted. But the Emperour having discovered a Ford passed over, and falling upon him so unexpectedly, struck such Terrour into his Men that they all ran as fast as their Legs could carry them, not one shewing his Face to the Enemy. His Camp and Pavilion was taken, and the City Scopiæ was delivered up to him by Romanus Simeon the Governour, the Son of Peter and Brother of Borifes, who for a reward was made a Patritian and Governour of Abydus. Thence Basilius proceeded to a place called Pernicus which one Cracras fo stoutly defended, that finding it two strong for him to Who returns Master at present, by Philippopolis he returned to Constantinople. "Here he made AAANAÉTANON " a Law for the payment of Allalengyum, as it was called, which was this. When " any by reason of their Poverty could not pay the usual Tribute, the Sum was " made up by their Neighbours that had wealth enough to doe it. This feems " the same with the Epibole of which we formerly spoke in the life of Justinian; fo that Basilius rather renewed than made a Law for the Payment of this duty. As formerly \* at other times this payment was opposed especially by the Eccle- \* Vide Alefiasticks, so now also the Patriarch Sergius, and many other Prelates and Religious Procepii Arca-Men laboured to diffwade this Emperour from it. But in vain. 71. For by this time grown infolent upon fo many Victories, he was become anti-voce

very lofty in his Conversation, and defired rather to be feared than to be beloved Employed by his Subjects. Neither was he more indulgent to the Souldiers, than others in Civil employment; contrary to the Custome of his Predecessours, who esteemed it their greatest Interest to gain the affections of Military men. Of Learned men zonarsi he made no Account, neither did he at all value Learning it felf, but accounted it a thing formal, vain and useless, as ignorant and effeminate Princes are wont to doe: for which reason he made no distinction of Men, but preferred to be Secretaries and other Employments, Persons of no Education nor Ability, and he was served accordingly, their Actions being as much derided and fcorned as their Perfons. His Treasury he kept full, but the Doors thereof fast locked. Of Gold

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Coin alone he was reported to have two Hundred thousand Talents in his Coffers; besides of those of other Metals, Summs not to be counted, and vast quantities of Pearls and Gemms, none of which he ever used or wore but when he gave Audience to Ambassadours, or on high Festivals. In the management of his Wars he was of various humour, as the feveral Diversities of Accidents wrought upon him, in time of Peace and Rest more earnest, and vehement than ordinary. He endeavoured to conceal his Passion; but easie Provocation would discover it to the Cost and Pain of Delinquents, against whom he was severe, resolute, and inexorable after Sentence passed. This was his natural Temper and Disposition throughout the Course of his Reign, which was both long and full of Action, as we shall farther see.

72. In the thirty fifth year thereof and the eighth Indiction, Azizius the Prince of Egypt for very flight Causes, and not worthy the mentioning as our Greek Writers relate, breaking the League betwixt the Romans and himself, destroyed The Church the sumptuous and beautifull Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem, together with the Monasteries, the Monks whereof he caused to be driven away, ours sepure. Another Historian will have this done by the Prince of Babylon, induced thereto by Glaber. falem destroy- the cunning and malitious Infinuations of the Jews, who from Orleance in France, fent Letters to him written in Hebrew Characters, whereby they perswaded him that by reason of the vast Confluence of Christians to Jerusalem, he was in danger of loofing his Principality. Another calls this Prince Homer, Prince of the Guil Tyrin:

Saracens, and these Latine Historians fix this Action at the seventh Indiction, the preceding year, moreover adding what greater Massacres were made of the Jens, in all Places upon discovery of the Treachery, with other matters thereon depen-A hard Win- ding more proper for to be related with Ecclefiastical matters. A very hard ter and dread. Winter followed, wherein all Waters were frozen up, the Sea aswell as Rivers and Fenns, and in January happened a most dreadfull Earthquake ( the stopping of the pores of the Earth, producing the same Effects of diffurbance in it, as the Retention of fuliginous Vapours doth in the Body of Man ) which continued by Fits till the Ninth of March, on which Day it caused to tumble down the Cupoloes of the Church of the Forty Saints, and of the Church of All Saints at Constantinople, befides much mischief done both there and in the Provinces. This was thought

to presage those motions which presently followed in Italy, where by the perfwasions of one Meles a powerfull man in those Parts, the Lombards took Arms The Lombards against the Romans. The Emperour sent to reduce and quiet them, Basilius Ar. Auragen 3 gyrus, and Contoleo, the one Governour of Samus, and the other of Ciphallenia; but 18 70 internal and the other of Ciphallenia; but 18 Meles gave them a very notable defeat, killed many of their Men, and the relt for the Men, and the relt for the Men, and the relt for the Men. ced to an ignominious flight. Thus the Lombards revolted from the Romant, as AM, Consult. our Authours word it, by which you must understand, as they ever do those sets any, that had relation to New Part and the that had relation to the that had relation to the that had relation to the theory of the that had relation to the theory of the the that had relation to the theory of the that had relation to New Rome, or rather those that were Emperours and Subjects and serve that

of that Roman Empire which still remained unaltered, and unconquered in those Popular al-Parts, although Rome it self the first Sear thereof, with most of the Provinces 1st Codemu. Parts, although Rome it felf the first Seat thereof, with most of the Provinces about it had run a quite contrary Fortune through several Hands; which quite altering the Property, our Greek Writers contend, that the Western Empire fell with Augustulus, and what after happened could not make a sufficient Title, neither for an Empire nor Emperour.

Another expe-

73. Notwithstanding these things Basilius, every year made an Inrode into Bulgaria, wasting all the Countrey as he passed. Samuel had received so many Deleats, that he durst not venture any more to fight; but indeavoured by Bulwarks and Trenches to intercept his way in the straits of Cimba Longus and Cleidius, where he also placed a strong Guard. And this Guard having the Advantage of the Ditch, and the height of the ground, so effectually made resistence, that the Emperour despaired of breaking through, till Nicephorus Xiphiis the Governour of Philippopolis, found out the means which in such like cases had ever succeeded. He advised him to remit none of his Intention and Earnestness in his indeavour to force the Passage, while in the mean time he would with a convenient Party get over the Hill, that lay to the South called Balathifla, and come upon the Back of the Enemy, whom he could thereby quickly constrain to quit his Post. This, with much difficulty having passed over to high and steep an Hill, he essected on the ninth Day of Faly in the twelsth Indiction, so that putting the Bulgarians to flight, Bastlius had easie entrance, and gave the Chace. Many were killed and many taken. Samuel himself hardly escaped by the great Valour and Conduct of his Son, who made as fair a Retreat as the Condition they were in would permit, and after many facings about

and renewed skirmishes, horsed his Father and carried him off into the Castle Bufflins puts of Prilaps. Of all the Prisoners to the Number, it's said, of fifteen thousand the out the Eyes Emperour caused the Eyes to be put out, and to every Hundred assigned a man ding them to that had one Eye left, under conduct of which Leaders he fent them away to Samuel, who Samuel, who beholding fuch a Spectacle coming to him in fuch Rank and Order was not able to bear up against so great a Calamity, but instantly fell down in a fwoon. Those that were by with Spirits, and other things at hand, did what they could to recover him, and he came to himself again, and asked for some cold Water. Which having drunk, he fell into a Cardiogmus, or Pain and Faintness at his Stomach, and died of it two Daysaiter. 74. Gabriel who was also sirnamed Romanus his Son, by a Captive Woman of

But is kill'd by John.

Lariffa, fucceeded him, one superiour to him in strength of Body, but in that of mind far inferiour. When he had not reigned all-out a year, he was as he went out to hunt, killed by John Bladisthlabus the Son of Aaron, whose Life he had once preserved. But before this happened, one Nestoritzas was sent by Samuel, with a confiderable Force into Theffalonica, in the Government of which City, one Theophylael Botaniata had succeeded David Arianita. This Theophylael with his Son Michael, fallied out against him, put him to flight, and having got much Plunder in his Camp, then went to the Emperour as he lay in the Straits. Having passed the Straits and followed the Chace after Samuel, as far as he thought convenient, Bastlius took in a Castle called Matzucius, and then passed on toward Strumpitza, from which place defirous to have a way cleared to Theffalonica, he put Theophylact upon that task, to clear the Hills of Fortresses, and open the ways through the Woods, and he undertook the work with all Alacrity, and profecuted it with diligence, but was intrapped and compaffed by the Enemy, in a place where there was neither means of escaping, nor good opportunity to fight, and cut off with most of his Men. The Emperour much troubled at the News durst not proceed but retreated, and in his way had a very strong Castle called Melenicus, through the powerfull Oratory of Sergius and Eunuch, whom he employed to the Garrison Souldiers, delivered up into his Hands. Having kindly entertained those that gave it up, and therein put a strong Party of his own Men, he removed to Mosynopolis, where on the four and twentieth Day of October, he heard of Samuel's death. Thence marching to Thefsalonica, he moved into Pelagonia without doing any harm to the Countrey, save that he burnt Buteliana the Palace of Gabriel, and took in the Castles of Prilapus and Stypeius. Then passed he the River Tzerna, with Boats and Bladders as he could and came to Budena, whence on the Ninth day of January, he arrived

At length Theffalonica.

at Thessalonica. 75. At the beginning of Spring he again invaded Bulgaria, where having fion into Bul- recovered the Castle of Budena which had revolted, he caused two Castles to be built in the middle of the Straits, one by the Name of Cardia, and another by that of St. Elias, and returned to Thessalonica. As he here lay, one Romanus Cheirotmetus brought him Letters from Gabriel, wherein he promifed to turn his Subject and Vassal; but he giving no credit to them, sent Xiphias and Constantine Diogenes at present the Governour of Thessalonica, with an Army into the Countrey of the Moglenians, which having wasted and laid Siege to the City, he himself came up with the rest of the Forces, and by a Ditch caused the River to be drained from the Walls, the Foundations whereof when he had undermined the Inhabitants with Lamentations and Prayers, gave up what they Taking seve- could not keep. Therein were taken Domitianus Caucanus, the principal Counral of the No- cillour of Gabriel, with Elitzes the chief Man of the Countrey, besides many other Noblemen, and a multitude of the inferiour fort of Souldiers, of which fuch as were fit for service he transported to Aspracania, and caused to be burnt a Neighbouring Castle called Natia. On the fifth day after came Cheirotmetus, bringing with him fome of the Servants of John Bladisthlabus, the Son of Aaron, with Letters to the Emperour, wherein he tignified that he had taken away the they pretent to fibrit of Gabriel, and that the Kingdom of Bulgaria, now was reverted to him the Emperous who should own himself his Subject and Vasal. Basilius returned him an Anfwer in Golden Characters, after which within a little time Cheirotmetus returned and brought with him not onely Letters from John, but from the Bulgarians who owned themselves the Emperour's Subjects. And to him came Caucanus, the Brother of Domitian Caucanus lately mentioned, and was honourably entertai-

ned.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Sconstantine X. CHAP. II.

76. But for all this the Emperour being affured, that John dealt deceitfully Another Ex- with him, and was practifing matters quite contrary to his lngagements returned into Bulgaria, and wasting the Countrey of Oftrobus, Gosens and Pelagonia, put out the Eyes of as many of the Inhabitants as he took. He proceeded to Achris, the Seat of the Bulgarian Princes, which having taken and fetled all things there, he resolved to go to Dyrrachium, where matters very much required his Presence. So long as Trymalia, and the nearer Parts of Servia continued under the Government of Bladimere the Son-in-Law of Samuel, all things were there in repose, for he was a man very just, and a great lover of Peace and Vertue, but he being (through the Treachery of David the Archbishop) perfidiously murthered by his Command, after Gabriel's Death all were in great confusion and disorder, John sometimes by his Officers, and otherwhiles in his own Person falling upon the City. The Emperour purposed to visit them again, but for this time was prevented of his Journey upon this unpleasing occasion. He had lest behind him a strong Party to harass all the Parts of Pelagonia, all which the Bulgarians having drawn into an Ambush, cut them off with their Commanders, being headed by Ibatzes a man of great Nobility, and as great Valour amongst them. Basilius much concerned for this ignominious loss, returns into Pelagonia in pursuit of this Ibatzes, and from Thessalonica proceeds to Mosynopolis. He fends David Arianita, with a fufficient Power to attacque Strunpitza, who in room of it takes another Castle called Thermitza. Another Party he dispatches away under command of Xiphias, to take in the several Forts of Triaditza, and all those in the plain he took together with a Fort which they called Boion. 77. In January the Emperour returned to Constantinople, and thence sent a

The Region Fleet into Chatzaria commanded by Mongus the Son of Andronicus Ducas the Lydian, who by the affiftence of Sphengus the Brother of Bladimer, who married Bafilius his Sister, subdued that Region, having taken Tzulus the Prince thereof upper Media in the first Conflict. At the same time Senacherrimus the Prince of the upper Media (afterward called Aspracavia) not able to refift the Saracens who pressed forely upon him, gave up himfelf, his Family and Countrey into the Emperour's Hands. Hereupon for a reward he was made a Patritian, and in lieu of his quitted Dominion received the Cities of Sebastea, Larissa and Abara, with other large Revenues. Of Aspracavia was made Governour, Basilius Argyrus the Patritian, who for his ill administration or bad success was not long after put out of Command, and Nicephorus Comnenus was fent his Successour, who partly by force and partly by perswasion brought the Countrey to submit. But all other Defigns, Expeditions and Accessions seemed to the Emperour of no value, so long as Bulgaria remained unconquered, which having invaded so often in his own Perford he was much concerned in honour to have the work perfected, and for Bulgaria once that purpose could give himself but little rest. This same year being the fourmore invaded that purpose could give nimitest but little rest. This same year being the four-bythe Empe. Castle of Pernicus, which he lay before and violently attacqued for eighty days together, but those within as earnestly and pertinaciously making resistence after much loss of his men, he was forced to rise, and departed to Mosynopolis. Here having wintred and refreshed his Army, in Spring again he breaks into Bulgaria, where he takes a Castle and gets great booty out of Pelagonia, but having in vain attacqued the City of Castoria, he retreats. That which moved him fo to doe, was the Intelligence he had receiv'd, that Cracas was joyned with John having a vast Army, and that being affished by the Patzinacæ, they were resolved to make an Inrode into the Territories of the Empire. Diffurbed at this report

and Cracas was come to nothing, the Patzinacæ refusing to join with them. 78. However proceeding in his Return, after this little Paule he took by storm the Castle Setana, where had been laid up much Corn, which being removed he commanded Fire to be set to the Place. Now hearing that John was not far off, he fent against him the Coborts of the Schools (so they termed them) of the East, and of the Thessalonicians under Command of Constantine Diogenes, who was either not fo wary, or had not fo good intelligence as the Emperour. For, John had placed an Ambush for them, which Basilines understanding and solicitous for his men rode on fast before, bidding all such as were Souldiers to follow him, which being perceived by those that John had sent out, they fled in great sear to their Camp, making much Noise with these words Bezeise Tsasar, by which we

he retired, but in his way took and burnt the Castle of Bosograda, relieved Be-

rea, and having demolished several other Forts, then made an Halt, having

now received more welcome News, how that the designed Expedition of John

perour. John and all his Army thus putting themselves to the Rout, Diogenes and of the Bulgathis Men purfued them, did great Execution, and took the Hories and Baggage of John with one of his Kinfmen, which done the Emperour returned to Bodena and fo home to Constantinople on the ninth of January, the fifteenth Indiction, and the two and fortieth year of his Reign. John being by his retreat eafed much of his fears,in confidence of his good fortune goes against Dyrrachium, where ingaging in Is afterward fight he is flain, uncertain by whom, after he had born the Title of Prince or King of the Bulgarians two years and five Months. The Emperour was no fooner certified of his death by the Governour of that City but rather flew than went to Bulgaria in hope that the long looked for Prey would now fall into his Hands. And to far good fortune complied with his Wishes, that when he was come on his way no farther than Constantinople the Brother and Son of the famous Cracras, fo often mentioned, there met him to give up Pernicus and five and thirty Castles more, whom he courteoufly received, and having admitted Cracras to the Dignity of a Patritian, then held on his way to Mosynopolis. Thither came Ambassadours both trey delivered from Pelagoma, Morobifdus and Lipenius to give up other Cities; and when he up to Basilius had reached Serræ there Cracras himself met him with the Deputies of those that yielded up the five and thirty Castles, and were kindly entertained. And hither came also Dragomuzus to surrender Strumpitza, and was also made a Patritian, because he brought along with him John the Governour of Chaldia, who being taken Prisoner by Samuel had continued in Prison two and twenty years.

79. When the Emperour drew near to Strumpitza, David the Archbishop of Bulgaria met him with Letters from Mary the Widow of John which hinted that on certain conditions she was willing to quit all pretences to Bulgaria. Here also met him Bogdanus the Lord of the Castles that stood farther within the Country, who also received the Dignity of a Patritian having formerly held with the Emperour, and killed for this purpose his own Father-in-Law. He proceeded now as far as Scopia, in which leaving a strong Garrison, he returned by the Castles of Stipeius and Profacus being every where welcom'd with the Prayers and well-wishes of his new Subjects. Then he went to Achris where he was received with the lucky Acclamations of the People. This Achris was fituate upon an high Hill near to a vast Lake out of which the River Drinus issuing toward the North, after great kindness. no long space turneth Westward and entreth Ionium (by which the Historian feems to mean the Countrey lying upon the Adriatick Sea) near the Castle Iliffus. The Emperour now feized on the Treasure of the Bulgarian Princes which was very great, as befides other things feveral Rich Crowns adorned with Pearl, and an hundred Centenaries of Gold which he bestowed as a Donative upon his Souldiers. Returning to his Camp he there received the Widow of John Bladiffblabus with three Sons and fix Daughters: and she brought along with her a Bastard Son of Samuel, and two Daughters of Radomere besides six Sons one of which had his Eyes put out by John at fuch time as he flew Radomere with his Wife and his Son-in-Law. She had other three Sons by John; but they were fled into the Hill Tinorus, one of the Tops of the Ceraunick Mountains, where much pressed with difficulties by reason that the Emperour had given order to befet the Mountain they fent to him to yield, and within a while came to him as he lay at Diabolis in his Journey from the Lake Prespa, where on a Tribunal erected for this purpose he kindly received them, and comforting them with most gentle words honoured Profranus, who feems to have been the Eldest, with the Dignity of Magister, and the rest with that of Patritians. And hither was brought, whom it most concerned him to see, Ibatzes deprived of his sight; how and by whom, it's not an unpleasant Story to relate.

80. Bladisthlabus being dead, and his Wife and Children with all the Nobility having yielded themselves and Countrey into the Emperour's hands, he alone re-Ibarras onely fused to comply with the time and present posture of Affairs, and seized upon a ttanding our. Mountain most difficult of access. (Some called it Brochotus, others Pronista) where was a neat Castle of the Bulgarian Princes, with Gardens and other things of folace and divertisement. This in no little measure perplexed the Emperour, who had fufficient cause, by reason of the Man's Qualifications, to suspect the consequence of this unexpected Usurpation. "He omitted his Journey as he had " intended, and turning Southward, spent some time in soliciting him by Letters

" to consider what he did, and not to expose himself to certain destruction by enterprizing so impossible a thing on his own Head without any advice or assistence, to which heanswered ambiguously, drawing out the time in length and in ex-

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. II. Safilius, Conttantine X.

"pestation, he held Bafilius against his will five and fifty days at Diabolis. The care and anxiety the Empereur was in being taken notice of by Euftathius Daphomelus a Patritian, whom he had lately preferred to the Government of Achris, he resolved upon a strange course, to rid him of this trouble, which he communicated to none but two of his Servants whom he could trust, and he knew would fland by him in any undertaking. The Feaft of the Affumption of our Lady was folemnly observed by Ibatzes, and to it were invited as well But is reduced strangers as Neighbours, and to it though not invited Daphnomelus would go, and But it reduced the grade of the Sentinels, he openly declared who he was, and fent to and cunning let *Ibatzes* know that he was come to be merry with him. He wondred to hear that one should come of his own accord, and put himself into an Enemies Hands, but he bad them bring him in and very kindly entertained him. Morning Prayer being over, and all others gone to their Appartments, he went to him and defired that they two might discourse in some convenient and secret place, for he had a matter of great importance, and which was for his own good to Commu-

81. Ibatzes suspecting nothing but that he would join with him in his Rebellion, led him into an Orchard very thick befet with Trees, so that they could scarcely either be seen or heard, whither being come Eustathius being strong and nimble, and watching an advantage struck up his Heels, set his Knee upon his Breast, stopped his Mouth, and called his two Men who watched their motions constantly for this purpose. They thrusting their Cloths into his Mouth, forced both his Eyes out of his Head, which done they let him goe, and all three with their drawn Swords, got up into one of the highest Chambers in the House, expecting what instantly followed. For affoon as the fact was divulged, a great multitude came running together, some with Swords, some with Spears, others with Bows, not a few with Stones, fome with Wood, others with Fire, and others with other Combustible matter, Crying out cut their Throats, Burn them, Tear them Limb from Limb, Stone them, let no Body spare the Villains. Euftathius seeing and hearing this could have small hope to escape their fury, yet advised his Men not to let fall their Courage, nor by any means to relign themselves into their hands who would most certainly tear them in pieces in this Rage. " Putting his Head out of a Window by the motion of his hand he procured filence, and then told them that for his part there had not been the least enmity or grudge betwixt Ibatzes and him, the one being a Bulgarian and the other a Roman, as they should judge, being born not in Thrace or Macedonia, neighbouring Countries, but in Asia the less at a very great distance from Bulgaria. Therefore all that were wise amongst them, must needs conclude that it must needs be some extraordinary thing that had put him upon such an enterprize, and that nothing but Necesfity it self could have engaged him in so dangerous an Attempt. He rold them that what was done, was done by the Command of the Emperour, who had onely made use therein of his hands; and therefore if they were resolved to kill him, kill him they might, he was in their power, yet resolved with his Servants to fell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and fight it out to the last Breath. If they killed them, as it was no Mastery being so many to so few, they should not be unhappy in their death leaving behind them so powerfull an Avenger, against whom as it seemed they were resolved to struggle as long as " poffibly they could. This Speech especially the dread they had of the Emperour therein mentioned produced such an Alteration in their minds, that they all thrunk away by degrees, and the wifer fort withed him Profperity, and promifed obedience. Euftathius, then without any opposition carried away Ibatzes to the Emperour. He rewarded this notable fervice with the Government of Dyrrachium and all the movable goods of Ibatzes, who was committed unto Custody.

82. At the same time Nicolitzas who had been so often taken and so often difmissed, having lurked in the Mountains, and been forsaken of well-nigh all his Men (who were frighted by a Company, fent on purpose to hunt him out) of his own accord came to the Camp, and declared it was with Refolution to yield himself to the Emperour, who would not fee him but gave order that he should be kept Prisoner at The statement. Basilius having all things according to his Wish in those Parts, and given leave to as many Romans as he had found in Captivity either here to remain or to follow him, removed to Castoria. Here were brought to his prefence two Daughters of Samuel; which beholding Mary, the Widow of John, to stand by him, presently flew in her Face, and had made an end of her, if the Emring white dispersion of the Emmiltonian from the first state of the first white first with the first state of person himself had not interposed, and by good words mitigated their wrath, pro-

miling them also to provide well for them. On Mary he conferred the Honour of Zoste, and sent her with her Sons to Constantinople. Then by the Industry of

Xiphias, did he domolish all the Castles in Serviæ and Soscus, and came to the Callle of Stages, where Elamagus Prince of the Belegradi presented himself to

him in a fervile Habit with his affiftents. Thence proceeding towards Athens,

in his patlage thorough Zetunium, he beheld with Admiration the Bones of those

Bulgarians, that were flain in the Defeat given to Samuel by Nicephorus, and

much more the Wall called Scelos built on Thermopylæ, at a Place called Rupena

to restrain the Bulgarians. Arriving at Arrens, he gave Thanks to our Lady for

his good Success, and offered very largely in the Church. And thence retur-

ned to Constantinople, which he entred in Triumph through the great Doors of

the Golden Gate, with a Golden crested Crown called Tuphus (from the pride, faith Zonaras, of those that wore this kind) Mary with the Daughters of Sa-

muel, and the rest of the Bulgarians going before him. With the Shouts and

Acclamations of the People he went to the Great Church, and there having

given thanks to Almighty God, went and reposed himself in the Palace. This

Conquest of Bulgaria happened in the second Indiction, the forty fourth year of

Alleleng yum, but could not prevail. His mind was wholly bent upon Covetous-

ness and Dominion, to gratifie which immediately after his Success in Bulgaria, the Neighbouring Nation of the Chorbati, by the Hands of their two Princes,

Brothers, gave up themselves. There onely remained Sermo the Lord of Sermi-

um, who refused to row by this great stream, and therefore speedily made ship-

wreck of his life and all. Constantine Diogenes Governour of the Neighbouring Province, fent to him to defire Conference, and if he feared any deceit or Am-

buth, he defired that each should come onely with three Servants in his Com-

pany to the Rivers fide that ran by them. Sermo agreed and met him, but

when he expected a Discourse, Diogenes prevented it by thrusting a Dagger into

his fide, which he had hid in his Coat, and instantly slew him, which his Ser-

vants feeing fled as fast as they could, lest they should be serv'd in the same man-

ner. Then gathering together fuch Forces as he commanded, he went to Ser-

mium, which partly by threats and partly by promises he brought the Widow to furrender, which done she was sent away and married to one of the Principal

Citizens of Constantinople; and Diogenes was made Governour of the newly

( however ) gained Territory for his pains. In the mean time, to make him-

felf acceptable by fomething how little foever, Bafilius supplies the City abun-

pire. He presently marched against him with a complete Army, leaving behind

84. Now whether they took it ill that they were left behind, or for other more

him Xiphias and Nicephorus the Son of Bardas Phocas both Patritians.

83. After his Return Sergius the Patriarch was very earnest with him, to make good what he had promifed in case of this Conquest, that he would remit the

Basilius and Constantine. A. D. 1019.

Returns in

Triumph to

Constanti-

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantine X.

85. There did he animadvert upon the Accomplices of Phocas and Xiphias, by verts upon the confifcating their Estates, and condemning them to Prison; none he put to death but Phersa a Patritian, who had first of all sided with the Rebels, had killed four Officers of the Neighbouring Princes, and beheaded one of the Emperour's Eunuchs with his own Hands. There was also one of the Emperour's Chamber cast to the Lions, for attempting to poison him for the sake of Xiphias. A little before this, Anne the Sister of Basilius, and a Widow of Bladimer the Rossian Prince died, after whose decease Chrysochir a Kinsman of her Husbands, put Eight hundred men on board, and with them came to Constantinople, pretending he would ferve the Emperour. But he requiring that he should lay down his Arms, and then to ask what he pleased, he refused to doe it, and pasfing over the Propontis went to Abydus, where he defeated eafily him that lay there for defence of the Coasts, and then went to Lemnus, where he and all his Men were cut off deceitfully by the Fleet of the Cibyrraota, David of Achris the Governour of Samus, and Nicephorus Cabasila the Commander at Preparing for Thessalonica. After this Basilius prepared for an Expedition into Sicily, and for that an expedition purpose sent before Orestes one of his most faithfull Eunuchs, with great Forces, But he was prevented by his Destiny from following, dying in the Month of December 1987. ber, and the Ninth Indiction, after he had lived Seventy faith Cedrenus, Seventy two years faith Zonaras, and born the Title of Emperour as many, but reigned alone in effect, though his Brother also had the Name the space of fifty. He left his Bro-

ther his Successour, and defired him to see him buried in the Church of St. John the Evangelist and Divine at the Hebdomus, who therein fulfilled his will. 86. Constantine the Tenth of that Name, came to the management of the Em-

pire in the Ninth Indiction, A.D. 1026, and therein did little or no good to it, but much mischief. Being a man of most depraved manners, he neither acted, nor thought any thing worthy of his Place and Dignity. His Delight was in running Races, jesting with loose and filly drolling Persons, and drinking whole Nights together, and thus was willing to spend his time, while his Brother (who was content it should be so ) attended Affairs of State, and increased both the Reputation and Bounds of the Empire. In chusing of his Officers ( the great Tryal and Indication of a Prince) he had onely respect to those of his own humour, fuch vertuous Persons as himself, drunken Slaves and the most profligate Wretches, no Man either for his Birth, Abilities or Education, being at all confidered. Nicholas, the chief Man of his Chamberlains, he made Domeilick of the Schools, and of his Bedchamber. Nicephorus the next after him Protovestiarius, and Simeon who was in the third Place his Drungarius Bigla. One Eustathius far inferiour to these, he created Captain of the Associates. To one Spondyles he gave the Government of Antioch, and that of Iberia to one Nicetas. both Persons very infamous. These Ministers under such a Prince undid all. bringing all things into diforder, and almost ruinated the Empire, which fince the time of Romanus, had so exceedingly flourished under Nicephorus Zimisces and Bafilius. And not onely did he prefer unworthy, and scandalous Persons, but every man eminent for any worth or goodness, asmuch as in him lay, he laboured to difgrace and undoe, especially the most Noble or Illustrious Persons. He pulled out the Eyes of Constantine a Patritian, Son of the Magister Michael Burtzas, having born him malice, for discovering his naughty Courses to his Brother. And other most excellent Persons he blinded, as we shall see; for as he began so he proceeded, the same Causes ever producing the same effects, when not hindred by Incapacity of the Subjects, or the Intervention of more powerfull Accidents.

87. At this time Nicephorus Comnanus governed Aspracania (Baspracania or Basprania as it is variously written ) a Man very wise, and as valiant as any of his time, with fuch Success, that he forced all his Neighbours to live quietly about him. But after some time finding his Souldiers begin to fail in their Courage against the Saracens, by all the means he could use, he endeavoured to resulcitate in them their wonted Courage, and upbraiding them much with the Alteration, procured them not onely to promife but to take a formal Oath, that they would Condemning not forfake, but fland by him to the last extremity against the Enemy. This being reported at Constantinople, Constantine and his effeminate Ministers, incomof feveral Re- petent Judges of matters relating to War or Fortitude, put him presently out of command, and being fent for up to the City he was condemned of Treason, or a defigned Usurpation, and had his Eyes put out, to the regret of all good men: and in the same sort he dealt with Bardas a Patritian, descended from Bardas

dantly with water, by cleanfing and repairing the Aqueduct of Valentinian. But ans breaking his thoughts were quickly diverted from Employments of this Nature by a mef-Bafilius mar. fage brought, that George the Prince of the Abafgians had broken the League betwixt them, and invaded in hostile manner the adjacent Territories of the Em-

tempting reasons, they got together a power of men, and broke out into Rebellion. This much difordered the Army, and the Emperour more out of fear that they should be befet with the Rebels on one side, and on the other by the Abasgians, with whom it was reported, that they held fecret Intelligence. Basilius in this strait wrote Letters both to Xiphias and Phocas, but gave order to the meffenger so to deliver them, that the one should not know of any the other recei-A Rebellion at ved. However upon the receit of them, Phocas was fo free as to reade his to home but the Yiphias, who denying that he received any, on a certain day fent for the other to prefied and feath with him, and when he came, having before hand laid his fnares, took away his Life. Which the Emperour having understood, fent against Xiphias Theophylact, the Son of Damianus Delassenus who took him Prisoner, and sent him to Constantinople, to John the Prothonotary who shaved him, and made him a Monk in the Island of Antigonus. In this manner, Basilius freed from all danger of this Rebellion gave battel to the Abasgians, but with no Success at first; but in a second Conflict which happened on the eleventh of September, and the fixth Indiction, Lipariles their General fell, and with him, the greatest part of their Army. George fled into the more distant Mountains of Iberia, whence shortly after he fent and made his Peace, fubmitting to what Terms the Emperour pleased to impose, and gave up for an Hostage his Son Pancratius, whom Basilius honoured with the Dignity of Magister, and io departed home.

Thocas the Magister, whom he procured some of his Creatures to accuse of a Conspiracy against his Person. About the same time, George the Governour of Nawpactus, for his Folly commonly call'd Morogeorgius, by his perpetual Exactions and other Injuries so oppressed the Townsmen, that they broke out into a publick Rage against him, kill'd him and rifled his House, for which Deed the Emperour not onely used great Cruelty in punishing the Authours of the Riot, but caused the Eyes of the Bishop of the Place to be put out. There happened a Quarrel, and this was followed by a Combat betwixt Bafilius a Patritian, the Son of Romanus Sclerus, and Prusianus the Bulgarian a M gister, and Captain of the Bucellarii, which judging to be a Crime no less than Treason, he banished them both. Being told that Bafilius indeavoured to escape, he commanded his Eves to be put out; and Bafianus when he expected the like measure, he most mercifully discharged. But he pull'd out the Eyes of Romanus Curcuas, who had married Prusianus his Siller, of Bogdamis, Gleba and Gudeles, and to give himself fome diversion by variety, cut out the Tongue of one Zacharias (possibly out of his wit to make him like the Priest of that Name, who was struck dumb) pretending that they all had defigns against him.

88. But to leave this odious Subject, let us fee if we can find any other thing

he created Diogenes the Governour of Sirmium, General of Bulgaria, who falling

on them as they flragled, after much flaughter forced them to return beyond the

Isler. During his whole Reign there was a great Drought, which dried up both

Fountains and Rivers. His Brother Bafilius, how hard and difficult foever in the

case of the Allelengyum, yet herein was wont to gratiste the poorer fort, that he

did not exact Payments just when they were due, but bore with them till they

could better doe it, so that at his death, the Tribute of two years was behind.

But Constantine notwithstanding the Drought, not onely when he came to the

Government exacted all the Arrears, but forced the Payment also of three years

to come, which not onely undid the Poor but much distressed the Rich, and

infest the Islands Cyclades, which was happily defeated and diffipated by George

twelve Ships being taken. On the Ninth day of November in the twelfth Indic-

tion, the Emperour fell fuddenly fick, and being given over by Physicians, then

thought upon a Successour. A messenger was sent to setch Constantine Delassenus,

living then in Armenia, whom he deligned to create Casar, and marry him to

one of his Daughters. But Simeon fo wrought out of his Love to Romanus Argyrus,

that he altered his purpose, and another was sent to bid Delassenus slay where he

was. Romanus then was brought to Court, and leave given to chuse whether he

would loofe his Eyes or part with his Wife, and marrying the Daughter of the

Emperour be declared Cafar. He pauled at it, but his Wife fearing what might

happen to him, voluntarily shaved her self and renounced the secular Life for the

cia the Eldest being disfigured by the Plague was turned Nun, and Theodora the

youngest resused to marry Romanus, either because they were too near a Kin, as she

pretended, or for that his lawfull Wife was yet living: but Zoe the second was very

well content to accept him for her Husband, and the matter of Kindred being discus-

fed, and dispensed with by the Patriarch and Ecclesiasticks, to her he was joyned in

Marriage, and declared Emperour. The third day after the Wedding, Constantine died,

when he had lived Seventy years and upward, and Reigned three wanting one

The Parximator of publick Confequence, and worthy the mentioning, in his Reign. In his first Bulgaria, are year the Patzinacæ broke into Bulgaria, and there did much mischief, killing forced to return beyond

turn beyond

the People with feveral Officers and their Companies. Against them

turn beyond

the regented Discount the Covernous of Significant Companies.

A Great Drought.

The Saracens those that were not wont formerly to complain. And now did a Fleet of Saracens clades are de-Theodorocranus, the Governour of Samus, and Periboas, who commanded Chius,

Zoe Constant faving of his Eyes, and procuring him the Empire. Constantine had by Helena time's Daughter the Daughter of Alynius, an Eminent Patritian, three Daughters; of which Eudo-

Constantine

89. Romanus the Fourth of that Name, beyond all his expectation, together Romanus and with Zoe, took Posseilion of the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, A.D. 1028. Zoe fucceed, and at his beginning was very acceptable to his Subjects, though he had not come after fuch a Predecessour. For he not onely took away the Allelengyum, fo much complained of, which Cedrenus tells us ( I know not what ground there is to believe him ) Constantine would have done, had he not by death been prevented, but he increased the Salaries wont to be paid out of the publick Treasury to those of the Quire of St. Sophia, discharged out of Prison such as were guilty of flighter Faults, and not onely paid the publick Debts, but those of private Men, and redeemed the Captives out of Patzinacia. He did many good things relating

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relating to the Church not here to be discoursed of, relieved many that were in great poverty, or otherwise distressed, for the health of his Father-in-Law's Soul they tell us expended a great Sum of Money, and made reparation to such as he had injured either in way of Honour or Fortune. Romanus Sclerus who had Married his Sifter and had loft his Eyes by Command of Constantine, he promoted to the Dignity of a Magister, and recalled out of Banishment Nicephorus Xiphias, who was turned Monk: And now as reconciled again, God gave convenient Rain, and abundance of all fruits followed, especially of Oil. But these Acts of mercy His kindness Romanus mixed with others of severity, which being accompanied with Justice and publick safety, did not eclipse but more set off the other. Prusianus the Bulgarian for Conspiring with Theodora the Sister of the Empress, and affecting the Sovereignty was deprived of his fight, and his Mother Zostica expelled the City. Constantine Diogenes who had Married the Emperour's Brother's Daughter, and was Governour of Sirmium being removed to the Command of Thessalonica, was accufed by Orestes, one that had served Basilius, of a purpose to rebell, and for that was fent to govern the Thracians, where his Crime being clearly discovered, he was brought bound to Constantinople, and cast into the Tower, and his Complices fix or seven men of eminency were beaten, and then carried in disgrace through the City into Banishment. Theodora was also banished from Court to Pe-

90. On the last day of October a Comet appeared, seeming to move from West

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He refolves

to East, and on the same day the Roman Interest suffered much damage, under Command of Michael Spondyles the Governour of Antioch: Great Rains also fell and continued to fall till March, which caused mighty Floods every where, by which, and the rottenness of Grass, most Cattel perished, and because that the Seed corrupted in the ground, great scarcity happened the following year. The Emperour to redeem much loss and disgrace, by this time suffered in Syria, repedition into folved upon an Expedition to Berræa, fending before his Sifters Husband Conflantine Carentenus a Patritian, with a flying Company, to discover the Passages, and infest the Enemy, but not to hazard a Battel till his Arrival. While he prepares for his Journey it happens, that George the Prince of Abalgia dies, whose Widow sends away her Ambassadours to desire he would renew the League made former-The League ly with her Husband, and affign a Wife to her Son Paucratius, to which he wilby Will not rusband, and angle a video to the Helena his Brother Bafilius giantenessed lingly affenting, both renewed the League, and fent Helena his Brother Bafilius giantenessed Lin Daughter into Abafair to be Married to Pancratius, whom he honoured with his Daughter into Abasgia to be Married to Pancratius, whom he honoured with the Title of Curopalates. Now Romanus hastens his Preparation for Syria, the state of which Countrey we must declare before we bring him thither by fetching matters a little higher. The Reader is to remember, that the Emperour Nicephorus very much inlarged the Bounds of the Empire, in Syria and Phanicia, where he recovered most of the Cities, and that Zimisces following on what was begun. extended its Dominion as far as Damascus. Bastlius after them, being at first employed in Civil Broils, and afterward wholly taken up with the Bulgarian War, neglected the Eastern Parts, which gave the Saracens opportunity to lay their Heads together and confult, yet they openly attempted nothing during his Reign. But under the diffolute Government of his Brother Constantine, they neglected not their Advantage, the most potent Cities of the East now casting off the Roman Yoke, and afferting their liberty, and the Saracens openly fet upon many places, took them, and put the Garrison Souldiers to the Sword. Above all, the Governour of Berræa (or Chalep as they call'd it) plaid his Pranks, by his frequent Incurfions forely diffresting Antioch, and the adjoyning Roman Pale. Spondyles the Governour of Antioch, endeavoured to restrain him but came off with loss and diffrace. And he suffered himself to be overreached by one Afaraptius an Arabian a Prisoner in that City. This man perceiving his fickle humour vaunted of great matters he both could and would perform for the Emperour against the Saracens, if he were but fet at Liberty; and particularly shewed him a Platt of ground, on which if a Fort were but built and committed to his keeping, he doubted not but to doe wonderfull things. Spondyles not onely believed what he faid, but fet him at Liberty, built a Fort in the place, and therein putting a thousand men, gave him the Command of it, who now being where he would, enterrained Intelligence with the Ameras of Tripolis, and with Tusbere the Prince of Egypt his General, who fent a Body of men, which he having received into the Castle, they put all the Garrison to the Sword, and then received it from his Hands. After this the Saracens ranged up and down without controll. Romanus removed Spondyles, and put his Brother-in-Law Constantine Carentenus, lately said to be sent

PART IV

Romanus IV.

Romanus IV. Zoe.

thitherward with an Army, into his place, refolving to follow in Person and pro-

fecute the War. 91. He was scarcely got on his way as far as Philomilium, when Messengers The Saracens were fent to him from Berrea with Presents, to ask pardon for what was past, to promise him to return to their former obedience, and pay all the Tribute that was which is refu-due. There were feveral excellent Warriours now with him in the Army, who earnestly advised him to hearken to them, and accept their Submission, and that for very weighty Reasons, alledging, that in the Summer time Water was much wanting in Syria, that the Saracens were accustom'd to them, and could very well endure both Heat and Thirst, but the Roman Souldiers could not, especially being burthened with their heavy Armour. But Romanus, what his Predecesfour had done in the like kind, was so tickled with a fancy of the great honour he should obtain, that he would not listen to them, but held on in his Expedition, Who marches and entring Syria, incamped before a Castle called Azaezium, two days journey distant from Berrwa. Now intent upon his business, he sent out Leo Chorosphactes a Patritian, Captain of the Excubitores, to scout about, to watch the motions of the Enemy, and find out some fitter place whereon to fix; but he fell into the Ambush laid for him in the Plain, and his Party was all defeated. Incouraged herewith, the Saracens hindred his men from foraging, and knowing well enough their greatest want, from fetching in any Water, which caused them out of mere

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necessity, and for vehement thirst, to straggle up and down, though with manifest danger of their lives, which usually they lost before they returned. To restrain Which is con- and chastize their boldness Constantine Delassenus was sent with a convenient Power of men; but very fillily and cowardly managed the business, and ran back in great terrour to the Camp, which struck all the rest of the Army with such Coniternation, that now no mention was made of any Battel, but every man confidered how he might fave one. And a Council of War being called, it was resolved, that the next day they should dislodge and march to Antioch. 92. Accordingly when the day came, being the tenth of August, in the thir-

teenth Indiction, and the fecond year of Romanus, all the Gates of the Camp were open'd, and they fet forward for Antioch, most of them being fick of the Gripes, and vexed with a violent Thirst. They were no fooner come into a reach Antioch place convenient, but the Arabians set upon them, against whom they never turned Head, nor made any relistence, but the gross of the Army running away most shamefully, some were taken, others killed, and more destroyed by being born down and trodden on by their Fellows, yet one Eunuch of the Emperours is faid very floutly to have demeaned himfelf in fetching off both his Servants and Waggons which had been taken, and as for the Emperour himself he escaped, but that with great difficulty, by the Courage of his Guards, to Antioch, as he had defigned. At the same time was one George Maniaces Governour of a Province in these Parts, called Telucha. To him came about eight hundred of the Saracens, after this flight of the Emperour and his Army, told him the Emperour was taken, his Army utterly defeated, and used what Rhetorick they were able, to perswade him like a wife man to quit that Town, which he was not able to hold, if not by Break of day he would be furrounded and milerably destroyed. He seemed to take their Advice in good part, and fent them out a great quantity of Meat and Drink praying them therewith to refresh themselves that Night, and promising in the Morning to come forth and deliver up Telupha and whatever was the Emperour's into their hands. They gave credit to his words, and fetting their hearts at reft, made use of what he had sent them to excess, which being his Design, at Mid-But the Bag- night he issued out and killed them all Drunk and asseep as they lay. Two hungage is re-ta- dred and eighty Camels he took loaded with the rich Plunder of the late Encoun-ken by one ter, and causing the Ears and Noses of the slain to be cut off, he went and pre-for a Reward sented them to the Emperour, who then in his Retreat was come as far as to the is made Cap- House of Phocas in Cappadocia. He for a Reward made George Captain of the Lowtain of the lower Media. When he left Syria he made Simeon the Servant of Constantine his Fa-

ther-in-Law Damestick of the Schools, and the Command of Antioch he gave to Nicetas a Miftheia, giving it in charge to these two, that by all means they should reduce the Castle Menicus, which Musaraph had built. They attempted what he had enjoyned them, but Musaraph breaking out upon them by Night, forced them to be gone, and burnt their Engines. This Romanus took in fo evil part, Theoliftusient that he created General with full power one Theoliftus the Protospatharium, one with an Army of his most trusty Servants, and the Captain of the Associates, having raised him to take the Cate the Menicas. a great Army of Romans and other Nations together, gave him instructions to joyn

with Pinzarach the Ameras of Tripolis, who had lately revolted from the Amermumnes of Egypt, and fled to his protection, and to take in the Castle Menicus. which most of all did discontent him.

93. One Tusber a Turk, the General of Agypt, did much distress Pinzdrach, till hearing of the coming of Theoliftus he then returned home. And Musaraph durit not trust to his new Castle, but deserted it, and slying to the Mountains about Tripolis, was there found out and flain. The Castle was by his Brother's Son delivered up to Theoliftus with another called Argyrolastrum seated on a craggy Mountain, which done he returned back to Constantinople. At the same time one of his Brethren, a Protospatharian, Orestes, sent formerly by Basilius into Sicily, having no skill in matters of that Nature, for which he was fent, managed them with very ill fuccess. His Army he suffered to be Idle and Luxurious, and when their Intemperance had cast most of them into Diseases of their Bowels, then did the Saracens (who had watched but for a convenient opportunity) fet upon them and made great flaughter of them, to repair which loss the Emperour raised a great An Army fent Army out of Greece and Macedonia, and fent it into Italy, the greatest part of which into Industrial into Italy, the greatest part of which into Italy part of wh

the fifteenth Indiction to make his Estate more secure, he caused Prusianus to be shaven for a Monk, and removed his Mother out of the Monastery where she was into Thrace, and Constantine Diogenes being taken out of the Town, he also constrained to take the Religious Tonsure and Habit. A great Alteration indeed was Remanus much now observed, if not in the Humour yet in the Actions of Remanus, which were altered for the changed much for the worse after his return out of Syria. To repair his Disgrace there fustained, instead of an Emperour, to use the Expressions of Zonaras, he turn'd an Exactour and bitter Inquisitour, requiring old and out-worn Debts of the Fathers from the Children, which the length of time, it was expected, had utterly buried in Oblivion, upon which account many were driven from their Inheritances, and from having good Estates were forced to beg their Bread. Yet did he not bring any of this Money thus gotten into the Treasury, but this and much more taken out of the publick Revenue he confumed, building a stately Monastery and a Church to the Honour of our Lady, thus chopping and changing, pulling down and building up again. To Monks also he was very profuse, assigning them whole Provinces and Cities, and these the most fat and fertile of all the Empire, which was not fuitable to that fort of life which these men ought to lead, but more fit for Delicate, Effeminate, and Voluptuous Persons, as Zonaras

94. In the fifteenth Indiction and the Month of September, came Amer the Son of the Ameras or Governour of Chalepe, with great Presents to renew the Peace renewed with for that place, with promise to pay the accustomed Tribute; which Accord to the Ameris of ascertain and ratifie, was sent Theophylast an Athenian and Protospatharian, who renewed the League with that People. Zoe the Empress now went suddenly into Petrium, and there shaved her Sister Theodora, and made her a Nun; there being no other way, as it was faid, to put an end to her Plots and Discontents. Romanus Married his Brothers Daughter to the Regulus of Armenia, with a great Portion, and prepared for another Expedition into Syria. As he was on his way at Me-A Conspiracy fenalta, Theophanes the Bishop of Thessalonica, discovered a Plot to the Empress of Constantine Diogenes and Theodora her Sister, to fly into Illyricum and there to Usurp the Imperial Dignity, to which two Bishops were privy, the Metropolitan of Dyrrachium and the Bilhop of Peritheorium. Hereupon both Diogenes and the Bishops were suddenly apprehended. Diogenes when in the Palace of Blachernæ he was examined, threw himself down headlong from the Wall, rather than he would discover his Friends, and was cast out unburied amongst such as laid violent hands on themselves: The Bishops were sent away to the Emperour, and by him were difmissed. On the eight and twentieth of July, being Friday, a blazing Star was feen to traverse the Heavens from South to North so big and shining, that it illustrated all the horizon. And a little after came News, that the Arabians had by the Arabi- made an Inrode into Mesopotamia as far as Melitenæ, that the Patzinacas had pasans, Parzina- sed Ister and invaded Mysia, and the Saracens, (Arabians they are also called, these no, sensor set sper and invaded stype, and the outsides, Actional they all first with Fire em, which Names being used promiserously, had wasted all the Coalts of Hyrician with Fire em, which laft came short and Sword, and were got as far as Corcyra. The Issue of these Disturbances was, that the two former forts of these Enemies having done what they came for, returned home unhurt, but the Saracens were forely beaten by the Inhabitants of Ragustum, and Nicephorus the Son of Carantenus then Governour of Nauplium,

and having lost the greater part of their Ships, as they returned, perished by Shipwreck in the Sicilian Sea.

A great Pamine and Plagne.

A terrible

95. This very year so great a Famine and a Plague both raged through Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Armenia and Honorias that the Inhabitants left their dwellings and fought out other Habitations, whom the Emperour meeting as he returned from Mesanacta composed them to go Home again furnishing them with Money and other necessaries; and they were much relieved by Michael the Bishop of Ancyra who omitted nothing in his power for their support. On the thirteenth of August happened a terrible Earthquake. On February the twenty Earthquake. eighth in the same year another Comet appeared passing from the North toward the South with a Noise and cracking, and was seen till the fifteenth of March, having as it were a Bow above it, in which Month also The Sacarent another Earthquake fell out. At the same time the Sacarens of Africk with a Thousand Vessels and an infinite Number of Seamen and Souldiers aboard them fell upon the Islands. With part of which Nicephorus Carantenus ingaged, defeated them and fent five hundred bound in Fetters to the Emperour. This same year George Maniaces the Protospatharian, who commanded the Coasts upon Euphrates, by corrupting Salamenes a Turk the Governour of Edessa the City of Ofroena, got it into his Hands, from which he fent a yearly Tribute of fifty pounds to Constantinople. So prosperous were the Affairs of Romanus abroad, whilst at Home Bafilius Durus his Sisters Husband who had been deprived of his fight by Constantine now Plotted against his Life, though fince his

coming to the Government he had conferred on him the Dignity of Magister, and

otherwise been very kind to him; for which he and his Wife were expelled the Ci-

ty. Not long after the Emperour incouraged by the Revolt of the Ameras of Tri-

polis whom he fent with a confiderable Army into Syria, gave order to

Tecneas a Protospatharian to make War upon Egypt with his Fleet and invade the

parts about Alexandria which he did with fuch fuccess that he funk and

burnt many Vessels and returned loaden with very great Booty. In all o-

ther Quarters the Arms or fortune of Romanus was as prosperous though in

one particular accompanied with a disastre. One Alimus a Saracen, Governour

of a Fort called Percris near to Babylon, delivered the place up to the Em-

perour, but fent his Son to him expecting he should besides other gifts be

fent back dignified by the Title of a Patritian. But it so happened By rea-

fon of the Indisposition of the Emperour that the young Man coming to

Constantinople was wholly neglected, and no notice taken of him, which so in-

raged him that he returned to his Father and perswaded him, if possible to

recover the Fort into his own Hands. This, by entring into a confederacy

with the Neighbouring Perfians, and through the carelefness of Nicolas

Chryselius a Bulgarian to whom the Custody of it had been committed, he

eafily did, and put to the Sword fix Thousand Roman Souldiers that then

lay in Garrison. Now Alimus thought himself sufficiently revenged, when

thortly after Nicetas Pegonites a Patritian being fent into these Parts with an

Court because there it met with an address made by Alda the Widow of

George sometime Regulus of the Abasgians, whereby she delivered up a very

strong Castle call'd Anacuphe, for which Romanus invested her Son Demetrius

with the Dignity of a Magister. And much about the same time Carantenus

Percris near Army of Romans and Rossians lays Siege to the Place, and with fuch ear-Bulylon taken neftness and constancy inforces it, that he carries it by strength, and therein by them. kills both Alimus and his Son. The News hereof was the more welcome at

Another Victory over the got another Victory over the Saracens fix hundred of whom he fent bound Saracens.

A terrible Earthquake to be very

to the Emperour. 96. But the joy conceived for all this good fuccess was not long after allayed by the Terrour of an Earthquake which on the seventeenth day of February sorely afflicted the Cities of Syria. And fo great a famine followed throughout the which causeth East, by reason of multitudes of Locusts which devoured all the Fruits of the Earth, especially in Cappadocia, Armenia and Paphlagonia that many of the inhabitants were forced to fell their Children and to feek out new Habitations, of whom multitudes came into Thrace. The Emperour distributed three Nomisma's to every man, and commanded them to return home, which by this time they might the better doe because a vehement Wind had driven most of the Locusts into the Hellespont, the shores of which were all covered with them. Now in a manner he wholly employed himself in Works of mercy and compassion towards his People. Such Hospitals as had been erected for Poor and diseased People about Con-**Stantinople** 

by his Wife

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flantinople and had been demolished by Earthquakes or other ways he reedified for the same uses. He repaired the Aqueducts by which Water was brought into the City; his Wife fent him to another World in fuch cares and employments being bufied, after this manner. When he first arrived at the imperial Dignity, as Mentickled with Honour are wont to doe, he flattered himself with hopes of many years, though he had then arrived at fixty, and of Children therein to succeed him, though Zonaras. his Wife was nothing less than fifty. So desirous he was of having a Son, that at the first hevery earnestly used all indeavours that way, omitting no Ointments nor other means to render himself lusty and her fit for conception. He caused her to wear certain Gemms about her as made to believe them very efficacious for fecundity, she refusing nothing of this Nature but farther using Charms and Inchantments: though all proved ineffectual: which he perceiving, afterwards fearcely ever cohabited with her, or ever made her a kind Visit, being both by Nature and Age in himself little Prone to carnal Imbracements. Some years the bore this humour though with much Regrets, but at length her lust and hatred of him arose to fuch violence as to practife against his Life, being exasperated by a violent pasfion she had conceived for another Person. Romanus had about him a certain Eunuch called John who had ferved him while he was yet a private Man, and after his coming to the Empire had been preferred to great Employments. This John had four Brothers; Michael, Nicetas, Constantine and George, whereof the two later were Eunuchs as well as himself: Nicetas was a stripling; but Michael was come to Man's Estate, and a most beautifull Person. Both of them dealt in Silver and Adulterated the Coin, as the other three had formerly used a Circulatory or rambling kind of Trade. 97. John by degrees procured for his Brothers access to the Emperour who

took him into his Bedchamber. With him Zoe the Empress fell most desperately

in love, and her lust being more and more instamed by the daily light of him,

though she extremely hated John, yet could she not forbear to talk with him,

and in her discourse still seek occasion to ask questions and speak of his Brother.

John being a crafty Man perceived by the great delight she took in talking of

him, how matters stood, and giving him notice thereof charged him that if she

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Who falls in 7 preferr'd them all, and in particular made Michael Overseer of the Pantheon, and

applyed her felf any way familiarly to him, not to be shie and bashfull but entertain her with all the Carefles that Lovers are wont to doe, to the very last point, which instructions he so observed that from looks they proceeded to dalliance, and lay frequently together. As Courtiers are quick to Espy, and the Women especially curious to pry and enquire into love matters, their entertainments how

private soever could not be concealed, but from the Court to the City became the discourse of all, and in every place; the good old Emperour being the onely Man that was ignorant of it. At length from his Sifter Pulcheria, and some others he received hints, which he onely made use of so far as to ask Michael the question. Yet suspected whether there was any such matter, and, when he denied it, to make him swear, which he having done, he thought he would not forfwear himself, and thence concluded it a Calumny. Now for this perjury Michael was reported struck with a dreadfull disease, being at certain times seized with a Frenzy, a trembling and staring with his Eyes, which Romanus beholding pitied the Man and was the more confirmed in his incredulity, concluding his Wife could take no pleasure in the conversation of so miserable a Creature, who was not capable either of loving or being beloved. Others faid that he knew very well what course of Life she led, but knowing her to be a most lascivious and insatiable Woman winked at what the practifed with Michael, left being hindred from his imbracements the should profitute her felf to more. However it was, the resolved to be rid of him, that what she now enjoyed by stealth and in fear she might openly and securely own, ter is Poilon and for that purpose is said to have given him a slow working Poison which by degrees made an end of him. The Symptoms were a face much swollen, and discolour'd, short and quick Respiration, and the falling off of all his Hair, signs pregnant enough and of a violent suspicion. Yet he continued Languishing till

the fifteenth day of April, on which having according to the Custome made the

Rogæ, or paid Pensions to the Senatours, he went into a Bath and there by

some thereto appointed to make more speedy work of it was stiffed by holding

his Head a sufficient time under Water, which done he was pulled thence and

laid upon his Bed. He was speechless now but not quite dead, and the Rumour

being spred that he was dying his Wife ran for haste amongst the rest and made great

Lamentation for her dear Husband, who casting out of his Mouth some black

Michael IV

matter presently departed the World, after he had Reigned five years and fix Months in the second Indiction. A. D. 1034. In his Youth he applyed himself to learning, and was well feen in Greek Authours and the knowledge of the Civil

Laws, although he boasted himself much more knowing than he was. 98. The same Night when the office of Christ's Passion was Sung, or the Service belonging to Good Friday, Alexius the Patriarch was fent for to Court, as it were by Command of Romanus, whither being come he found the Emperour Dead, and Zoe in the Golden Room Royally furnished for so worthy an occasion, produced Michael, and required him to Marry them together. The Patriarch amazed at the fuddenness of the thing, was very backward, till John and she Bribed him by a present of fifty pounds to himself, and as much to his Cler-Zee and Mir gy; by which overcome, he folemnized the Marriage. Zee having thus intro-chael Marry duced Michael the Paphlaganian (as for Michael to Allindra to Al and are Crowned, fue- trey) both into her Bed and Throne, therein purposed to use him but as a Drudge and Servant, and resolving to Govern her self, took into the Court such Eunuchs as had ferved her Father. But she was much deceived through the industry and craft of John her Husband's Brother, who sufficiently understanding her, and mindfull of Romanus his Fate, turn'd out all these Eunuchs, and removing from her all her most trusty Women, put into their places his own Friends and Acquaintance, by which and other means he so hamper'd her, that to her great grief she could neither doe nor act any thing, not so much as go into the Bath without his knowledge and permiffion. Having thus fecured all in the Palace, he wrote Letters into all Provinces which fignified the Death of Romanus, and how by his Will and Determination Michael had succeeded in the Empire and Marriage of Zoe. All Men feemed to be fufficiently pleafed with the change, and withed prosperity to them, except Constantine Delassenus the Patritian, who took it in most high disdain that so obscure and ignoble a Fellow should be so preferred before Persons of most high Rank and Quality, of which at this time there were very many, John was much disturbed to hear how much he concerned himself, and resolved to draw him to their Party if possible, employing one Ergodotes an Eunuch, a Man very able to infinuate any thing, to him for this purpole, who offering him Oath for his Security, and requiring one from him for his Loyal deportment, was to bring him to the Empe-

> preferments he took off, and obliging fuch as were fit to doe fervice, made all the People satisfied and at his Devotion. 99. But all this notwithstanding our Writers observe, that such things hap-

pened at the very first beginning as manifestly shewed these devices how ever yet prosperous to have much displeased Almighty God. For on Easter day fell such from of Hail a terrible from of Hail that it brake down Trees, Houses and Churches in great numbers, and so destroyed the standing Corn that a great scarcity thereupon sol-

A vast Comet lowed. And on the Lord's day following appeared so great a Comet that with the light it cast it obscured all the Stars, and some imagined the Sun was returning, though it was but the third hour of the night. And the Emperour was in a grievous manner tormented with his distemper, which would not be overcome by any either spiritual or temporal means that could be used: some affirming he was possessed, and those that judged most favourably accounting it no better than a Frenzy or Lunatick Disease. Delassenus was not so easily to be brought off by Ergodotes as they imagined, requiring greater caution than his bare Oath for his fecurity, which given he fignified by a Messenger of his own that he should not refuse to come

rour, where things should be concluded and made up betwixt them, to their mu-

tual fatisfaction. In the mean time he made the Senate his own by promoting alle

the chiefest of them and the leading men to places of Dignity and Revenue. And a-

mongst the multitude as any be perceived to be in Capacity to doe mischief by

to Constantinople. To him then was fent one Constantine Phagitzes an Eunuch, the Emperour's Countreyman, and confident with the wood faid to belong to the Cross of Christ, the Linen Cloath that had his Image upon it and the Epistle which they believed he wrote to Augarus, with the Picture of the Blessed Virgin; by the Religious Opinion of which he was induced to accept of the Faith given him, and went with Del Ifenus to the Court, where being honourably received, and digni-

fied with the Title of Proconful, he was richly presented and ordered to live at his eate in hisown House near at hand. Now we are told a strange Story, how the Le-The Locusts custs which by the Wind were cast upon the Shore of the Hellespont, revived and did great mischief to the adjacent Countries, especially in the Province of

Thrace for three years, which ended, they perished about Pergamus.

100. But,

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100. But, Michael bearing onely the name, his Brother John exercised all the power of an Emperour, by virtue whereof he made his other Brother Nicetas Governour of Antioch. Nicetas going thither to enter upon his Charge the Townsmen resused to admit him, fearfull that he would with severity punish them for having lately in a Tumult killed one Sallibas who with too much rigour had gathered the publick Revenue. At length upon promise of pardon and oblivion they opened their Gates and received him, but when he had got possession without any regard to his promise he caused about an hundred Persons to be beheaded and fastned upon Poles, and fent eleven of the principal Citizens all of great Nobility (of whom Elpidius a Patritian was the chief) bound to Constantinople, having confifcated their Estates: and he wrote to his Brother John that the Gates had been shut against him not because of the Murther of Salibas but out of their Inclinations to Delassenus. He being formerly in suspicion, Credit was easily given to this fuggestion and being brought before the Emperour on the third day of August, in the second indiction, he was condemned to Banishment in the Island Prota, against which breach of Faith Constantinus Ducas his Son-in-Law proclaiming and protesting, was for his Pains cast Prisoner into a Tower. The Estates of three very eminent and rich Men in Afia the less were upon this pretence seized and assigned over to Constantine the Emperour's Brother. And Simeon the Protovestiarius one of Constantine the Emperour's Ministers for disapproving these proceedings as injurious and Breaches of Faith was expelled both from Court and City, and made a Monk at Olympus in a Monastery of his own founding. This same year for forty quake in the days together the Eastern parts were terrified with an Earthquake by which many East and a Men perished at Jerusalem, besides the ruine of Houses and Churches. In the Indiction following and the Month of September a Pillar of Fire appeared toward the

Myha as far as Theffalonica; and the Saracens of Africk by their Fleets, not a lit-

tle indamaged the Islands Cyclades.

Afrat which East with its Head inclining Southward. And at the same time the Saracens took man Territo. Myra and those of Berræa cast out the Governour whom the Emperour had sent to them: Pancratius the Abafgian to revenge the cause of Romanus his Wives Uncle broke the League and recovered such Castles and Forts as had formerly been in the hands of the Emperours: moreover the Patzinacæ having passed Ister wasted all

101. These matters were of very great consequence, but seemed nothing to John Opparolaises the Governour of Orphans, as he is flyled, who ruled all, in comparison of the dangers which at home threatened them from Delassenus, whom imagining he would never fecurely enough keep, from the Island he removed him to a Tower, and that kept with a very strong Guard: and George Maniaces he removed from Edessa, and made him Governour of the upper Media or Aspracania, to prevent the growth of interest by favour and intelligence, sending to succeed him one Leo Lependrenus, Nicetas shortly after dying in his Government of Antioch, he would intrust none with it but Constantine the other Brother, and now did he promote to the place of Protovestiarius him that onely remained of the rest, for Simeon as we said had taken upon him the monastical course of Life. To make the Government of Confantine more acceptable to those of Antioch, their fellow Citizens were released out of Prison, and the Emperour farther to establish the interest of his Family or rather to gratifie the folicitude of his Brother, who feeing him fo fickly was afraid if he died both he and his Family should be destroyed by the Empress, promoted Michael the Son of his Sister Mary to the Dignity of Cafar. He attended now little but matters of Devotion bewailing to his last hour the Murther of Romanus, for which he thought to appeare Almighty God by ted to the Dignity of Ca. good Works and Liberality to the Poor, the building of Monasteries and ofor the Empe-ther things which that Age esteemed the most valuable. But as our writers observe they profited him nothing. Indeed had he made Relignation of his ill gotten Empire which occasioned his Sin, had he put the Adulteress away which had provoked him, and in a private condition deplored his Crimes, they might have been Testimonies of his Repentance. But he still used the Company of Zoe and thought of parting with his Soul as much as the Empire. Out of ill gotten goods he made a shew of Liberality and yet vainly imagined he thereby expiated his former faults, and purchased pardon

by the purses of other Men, the publick Revenue. The Saracens 102. This same year in the Month of May did the Saracens of Africk and 102. In same year in the Month of May did the Saracens of Africk and Sicily infelf the Cyclades and the maritime Coasts of Thrace with their Incursions, Sicily the Cyclades and the maritime that the Cyclades are for five hundred being sent alive to the Emperour and were sastned upon Poles and the Cyclades are for five hundred being sent alive to the Emperour and were sastned upon Poles

Michael

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all along the Coast from Atramytium to Strobelus. This so humbled the Ameras of Sicily, that he easily admitted of Peace which John offered him by one George Probatas, who was fent Ambassadour for this purpose. The Ameras whose Name was Apolaphar Muchamet, was honoured with the Title of Magister, and being attached by his Brother Apochapfus, fent to the Emperour for affiftence, according to the Conditions of the League made betwixt them. To repress Apochapfus therefore George Maniaces was fent into Lombardy, together with Stephen a Patritian the Husband of the Emperour's Sifter, and Commander of the Fleet, and Constantine Chages, who governed the Cibyrreotæ, gave the Saracens a notable defeat at Sca. In Winter happened a mighty Frost, which incouraged the Patzinacæ to pass the River Ister, and to harass Mysia and Thrace, as far as to Macedonia, and in Summer following vast quantities of Locusts did much damage to the fruits of these Countries. No fewer times than thrice in one year, did that People make Inrodes into the Territories of the Empire, where they destroyed all things in their way, and tortured all Persons to death they took without any respect had to Sex or Age, amongst whom were five Officers of Eminence. But it fell out well for the Empire, that much about the same time, Nossifthlabus and Hierosthlabus, two Princes of the Rossians died; and Servia, which after the Death of Romanus had cast off the Yoke, was now again in the third year of Michael recover'd to it. And the publick fatisfaction for thefe things was no whit lessened by what happened in Egypt, the Amermumnes A Frace for whereof being dead, his Wife imbracing Christian Religion, together with her Son offered to make a Peace with the Romans, with whose desires Michael so far

thirty years betwist Agypt complied as to grant a Truce for thirty years. 103. The year following happened three feveral Earthquakes, whereof one

Three several was very terrible. The Saracens of Mesopotamia, uniting themselves laid siege Earthquakes. to Edeffa, which could not possibly have escaped their Hands, but that Constan-The Saracems of Mesopotatine the Emperour's Brother, sent timely Succours from Antioch, for which Care mia lay Siege and Industry he was rewarded with the Office of Domestick of the Schools of to Edeffa, the East. The Summer was so dry, that no Rain fell for fix Months together, which is reliefor removal of which Judgment, Processions and Supplications were made, but nothing fell from Heaven but a great florm of Hail which did great mischief to Trees, and damage to the Tiles of Houses. A Great scarcity hereupon following at Constantinople, John procured Corn out of Peloponnesus and Greece, much to the Relief of the Citizens. In the mean while the two Saracen Brothers in Sicily, whom we lately mentioned, making War upon each other, Apochapfus who feemed to decline, craved affillence of the Ameras of Africk, who fent it on this Condition to have part of the Island assigned him, and jointly they defeated Apolaphar, Maniaces not yet being arrived with his Auxiliaries. Apolaphar hereupon betook himself to Leo Opus the Governour of Lombardy, who with fuch force as the shortness of the time would give him leave to raise, passed over into Sicily, where he grapled with the Ameras of Africk, and repressed him, but the two Brothers beginning to look towards an Agreement, lest strangers should deprive them of what they strugled for, and to plot a-

Hartinquake. And a Famine happened which lasted till January. And a great Famine followed throughout in Thrace, Ma- Thrace, Macedonia, and all these Quarters as far as Thessaly, whereat the Bishop of cedonia, and

> Poor, and he was turned out of his Bishoprick, of the Revenues whereof so much onely was affigned him, as was convenient for his maintenance. 104. Now did Pancratius Prince of Abasgia, make War upon Jasitas Prince of the upper Iberia, whom the Emperour being obliged to succour, John sent against the Aggressour his Brother Constantine, Domestick of the Schools with all the Forces belonging to the East, yet supported by a promise, that Delassenus should with him be sent as Councellour and Assistant, which being not performed ( fo great a Jealousie was had of the Man ) his Courage and Conduct failed him, and he returned home without having any thing performed. At this time Zoe the Empress indeavoured to poison John, which was discovered, and he pu-

> gainst the Romans, he returned into Italy, and gave Scope to the Ameras to re-

new his Hossilities, which he did with all freedom, much to the lcs of the

Islanders. In the following year on the second of November, another Earthquake

Thessalonica taking advantage, and refusing to pay to his Clerks, both what he

ought and what he was able to discharge, was caught, notwithstanding all his

cunning by the Emperour. Being convict of Perjury ( in swearing he had but

thirty Pounds, though he was found to have three and thirty Centenaries of Gold-

in ready money ) all this Wealth was feifed to the use of his Creditours and the

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Michael IV. CHAP. II.

nishing sufficiently the Conspiratours had a nearer regard both to her, and his own preservation, we must not forget ( though our Authours seem to have done it all this while ) that George Maniaces arriving in Sicily, to answer the request of the Ameras of that Island, the two Brothers made Peace betwixt themselves, and jointly made War against him, procuring out of Africk a great Power of Men for this purpose. Against these Africans he had such success, that a Brook is reported to have received a Tincture from their Bloud, and animated if not ftrengthned by this Success, he presently brought under thirteen Towns, and by Degrees conquered the whole Island. At the same time in the East matters were Edessa like to in a different posture, where Edessa escaped narrowly of being taken by the Sa-

the Saracent, racens, in this manner. Parasbatzes an Iberian was Governour there; to whom but the De- came twelve Men of the Principal of their Nation with five hundred Horse, and figalis difcoas many Camels carrying Boxes on their Backs, wherein were bestowed no fewer than twelve thousand of armed Men. The pretence was that the Camels bore Presents sent to the Emperour, but the Design was to get the armed Men into the Castle, and so to make sure of the Sentinels, as to master both it and the City. Parashatzes the Governour kindly entertained the twelve Persons at a Feast, yet would not admit the Horsemen or Camels into the City, which refusal proved fo fortunate, that the Conspiracy was discovered by an Armenian Beggar, who overheard one of those in the Boxes, discoursing and asking his Fellow where they were. The Governour fecretly admonished by him to look to himself, left his Guests at their Feast, and with a sufficient Number of Men going out of the Town, pull'd the Saracens out of their Nests, and killed them in the Place. This done he returned to his Company, the last course of whose entertainment was of the same fort; for he kill'd them all, except one of the chief, whom having deprived of Hands, Ears and Nose, in that Condition he sent him to make relation

of their Success to his Countreymen.

105. In the mean time John who managed all things, was to in love with his Power and Domination, that his Jealousie and Fear to loofe it, gave him but little quiet and contentment. His fear of Delassens was grown to so great a suspicion, that he not onely broke his promise with his Brother, in sending him his assistant against the Abasgian, lest he improve any advantage put into his Hands; but thinking him too dangerous in the private Condition, as he was, refolved to deprive him of all Helpers and Abettours, and for that purpose sent into Banishment his two Brothers, and all his other Relations, being very desirous to rid himself of his whole Family. He was very cunning in his Contrivances, and not wanting to exercise his Wits for the hoarding up of Treasure, the usual Humour of Men of his Condition. No means he omitted, how indirect and unjust soever to accomplish this end. He raised the publick Revenue by greater Impositions upon Land, and other Couries unworthy as our Authours tell us to be related. In the mean The imperour bis Brother the Emperour, was vexed more than ever with his Difeafe, which notwithstanding all his Alms and Acts of Charity increased, and was more exasperated accession of a Dropsie. At the same time his People were disturbed by almost continual Earthquakes, by one of which Smirna was made a miserable spectacle, and in some provinces the Quinzy raged so much, that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the Dead. In Sicily, the War renewed by the Ameras of Carthage against Maniaces, who watching his opportunity fell upon him with fuch violence and execution, that few of his Men escaped with their Lives, and he himself got away in a little boat into Africk. Maniaces to prevent his flight, in case he should be defeated, had before the ingagement given order to Stephen the Commander of the Fleet, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperour, to hover about the Coasts and intercept him; but through his Carelesness he escaped. This so far inraged Maniaces, and transported him, that assoon as he saw him he reviled him, and to severe words added as fowre blows, which he gave him on the Head with a Cudgel. This Stephen received with fo great Indignation, that to be revenged he wrote to John, and accused him of plotting against the Emperour, to which his jealous Pate so far gave credit, that he ordered him to be sent Prisoner to Constantinople, where he was cast into close Prison, together with Basilius Theodorocranus a Patritian. The command of Sicily was given to Stephen, jointly with newed in Sici-Bastitus Pedradites an Eunuch, who so ordered their matters, that in a short by, which is space by their Rapacity, and negligence they brought all to nothing. It was wholly overman by the A. Maniaces his courie when he took any considerable Place, there to build a Fort man of Car- to keep the People in obedience. Now the People perceiving the Careless huthe Maffana mour of the two new Commanders, and provoked by their Exactions, privily

procured some Men to be fent over from Carthage, and falling upon these Forts, took them all with all the considerable Towns in the Island, Messana excepted, which was held by Catacalo Ambustus a Protospatharian, and Captain of the Armenian Legion, with three hundred Horse and five hundred Foot. To Meffana now they lay fiege, all that are capable of bearing Arms, being forced into the Field; Stephen and Pediates being fled into Lombardy.

106. For three days together Catacalo shut himself close up, and thereby caused the Saracens to believe him fearfull, and to despair of any way escaping the dan-To which the ger. They as fully fecure and judging no otherwife, than that they had him as To which the Saracons lay- fure as a Bird in a Net, neglected all Discipline, stragling up and down, making nig fiege are merry, and giving up themselves to all Jollity and Drunkenness. On the fourth by a findden day which was Whitfunday, he having finished his Devotions, took the advantage sally cut off.

offered him, and about Dinner time made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein first making to the Tent of Apolaphar their Commander, he killed him as he was drunk, and then made vast Slaughter of the ordinary fort, so as all the Countrey was overfpread with dead Bodies, fo unexpected was the Onfet: And incredible Wealth the Souldiers got in the rifling of the Camp. To leave all Sicily now in the Hands of the Saracens, Messana excepted, and to return into the East, we find Michael the Michael the Emperour at Theffalonica, fixed at the Tomb of Demetrius the Maremperor need tyr, by whose means he hoped to be freed from his Disease, and thence would he of Demerius. not stir without absolute necessity compelled him, neglecting all Affairs of State John his Brother, which were cast upon the Shoulders of John his Brother. And never did man the exercising great Cruel- manage them more to the disquiet and discontent of the Subject, whom he oppressed by all ways and Methods he could, with whose cruel Actions other sad Accidents joyning, made them very miferable. For Earthquakes and violent Storms of Wind and Rain forely distressed them, yet with this little comfort, that together with the Comets which frequently appeared, they feemed to predict the impending Fate of the Tyrants. Their Sifter Mary the Mother of Cafar as fenfible of what was coming, having in a Journey to Ephefus observed several Acts of Injustice and Oppression, thereof certified John, and was earnest with him to prevent fuch things for the time to come, for which she was much derided, he calling her Fool, telling her she talk'd like a Woman, and understood not what belonged to Government. But while he thus pleafed himself in his Craft of governing, a thing fell out which much disturbed both his Brother and him. To defray his Expenses at Theffalonica, John pur ten Centenaries of Gold aboard a Vessel, which by a Tempest was split upon the Coast of Illyricum, and Stephen

Boilthlabus Prince of Serbia (or Servia) who had lately made his escape from

Constantinople, and turning out thence Theophilus Eroticus, had made himself Ma-

fter of that Countrey, feized the Money to his own use. 107. The Emperour when he understood that he had his Money, sent and made demand of it, threatning to recover it by force if fair words would not prevail. Stephen flighted the Threats, whereupon to make them good, George Probatas an Eunuch was fent with an Army, but by his Indifcretion and want of Conduct the Defign miscarried, and having lost well nigh all his men in Straits and impassable places, he himself escaped with great difficulty. In the very same year the Bulgarians revolted upon this occasion. One Petrus Deleanus a Bulgarian, the Cedeno As-Servant of a Citizen of Constantinople running away from his Master, in all places re Dollar as far as Morabus and Belegrade (Castles of Pannonia, faith our Authour, beyond Ister, and bordering upon the Territories of the Turks) gave out that he was the natural Son of Romanus and Nephew of Samuel, by which he so moved the Bulgarian Nation, which having lately submitted unto the Yoke, was now again impatient of Servitude, that in Naissus and Scupia, the principal Towns, aswell as elsewhere, he was with lucky Acclamations proclaimed and owned as King; and as a Sacrifice to this new Idol the Romans were butchered whereever they were met with. As foon as this was known to Bafilius Synademus the Governour of Dyrrachium, he judging it was the best way to suppress the mischief in the beginning, marched out with all the Forces of the Garrison against Deleanus, but coming to a place called Debra, a Quarrel fell out betwixt him and a certain Tribune in the Army, who taking the effectual way to ruine powerfull and popular men, accused him to the Emperour of Treason, whereupon he was turn'd out of Command, and clapt up close Prisoner at Thessalonica. The Tribune by Name Michael Dermocaitas could not for his good Service and Zeal receive a leffer Reward than the Command of the Maleiactour, which he managed so extremely

ill, that the People inraged by his Cruel Exactions, rose up against him as one

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. 5 Michael IV. man, and having driven him out of Town, and knowing how the matter would be refented by the Emperour, openly revolted, making choice for their King one Teichomere a Souldier amongst them of good note both for Valour and Pru-

108. Now were there two Kings, and consequently two great Factions in Bulgaria, whereof when neither feemed able to prevail against the other by force, by cunning and flight the matter was eafily effected. Deleanus wrote kind Letters to the other, inviting him to partake of the Sovereignty, and to counterfeited a contented and felf-denying Person, that he prevailed with Teicho-Thichonurette- mere, to come to him and join their Forces together. Having now gotten a con-

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venient opportunity, he calls all the Souldiers together, and defired them that if they believed him to be descended from Samuel, and were satisfied in their Wies of De-learns who Election of him to be their King, that they would remove Teichomere, or if such was their pleasure he would willingly surrender his Interest to him, forasmuch as it was not to be thought, that Balgaria could bear two Kings together. This produced at first a great contest amongst the Souldiers, which ended yet in the choice of Deleanus to be their King, and the stoning to death of the unhappy Teichomere. Deleanus being now possessed of the Kingdom without a

Army towards Rival, led an Army presently towards Thessalonica against the Emperour, who would not flay his coming, but in a confused manner ran away to Constantinople, leaving, all his Baggage and Treasury behind to be brought after him by Manuel Takes Dyrae Ibatza one of his Domesticks, who carried it over to Deleanus. This Upstart chium, and fo diligently managed his matters, that by Forces fent under Conduct of one mott part of the Province Caucanus, he took Dyrrachium, and into Greece dispatched another Army under Command of one Anthimus. So much he prospered in his Enterprize, that the Province of Nicopolis, all except Naupatlus gave up it felf into his Hands, being impatient of the Domination of John, whole most cruel and exacting Officer they cut into pieces, and cast off the Yoke of Obedience. When Bastlint conquered Bulgaria, he made no alteration as to Taxes, but contented himself with what had been paid to Samuel in kind, in this proportion, that whoever had a Yoke of Oxen paid a Measure of Wheat, another of Milium, and a Vesfel of Wine to the publick. This John had changed into ready money, which they of Nicopolis took fo very ill, that taking their opportunity they revolted A Conspiracy, from the Emperour, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. At this different and time a great Conspiracy was hatched against the Emperour by Michael Cerularius, John Macrempolita, and many others, which being detected they were banished, and their Estates seized. And against Constanting the great Domestick, a Mutiny was raifed at Mefanallae, for which Michael Gabras, Theodofius Mefanylles,

and other Centurions lost their Eyes. And Gregory Taronita a Patritian, the

Principal contriver was covered with a raw Hide all over, but where space was left for breath and fight, and in that manner fent up to John to Constantinople. 109. In the Ninth Indiction, the Month of September, Alufianus the Patritian, the second Son of Aaron so often mentioned, and Governour of Theodostople fled fecretly and betook himself to Deleanus upon this occasion. Being accused of fome unjust proceedings, the Emperour or rather his Brother was so incensed against him, that before his Cause could be heard, he was forbidden the Court, or to come to Constantinople without leave, and more than this John scrued out of him Fifty pounds of Gold, and which vexed him most took from him a very beautifull Woman, which he kept in the Countrey. Being not able by all his solicitation to procure a redress of these grievances, he took the Armenian Habit, and passing for a Servant of Bassius Theodorocrams, got undiscovered to Ostrobus, where Deleanus then lying with an Army, very joyfully received him in appearance. He was sufficiently sentible how despicable both his counterfeir Person and Interest was in danger to prove at the appearance of one of the true Family, but perceiving all the Souldiers out of respect to his Lineage to bear him hearty affection, he saw there was no other way, but to offer him to share in the Sovereignty of the Countrey. Alufianus was wifer than to neglect to fair a beginning, and being admitted his Collegue was prefently fent with forty thousand Men against Thessalonica, which then was held by Constantine the Patritian, the Emperour's Kinfiman, who so manfully defended himself, that Alasianus having with all forts of Engines attacked it for fix Days together, perceived there was no other Course to be taken, but to starve them out. But the Defendants refolving to frustrate his expectations, made a General and unexpected Sally, and

forced him to raife his Siege with fuch lofs, that fifteen thousand of his Menare

with Deleanus

ans revolt

chufing De-

faid to be slain, and the rest ran away with him to Deleanus, the Victory being ascribed to Saint Demetrius the Martyr, whom some of the Bulgarians swore they faw fighting, like a young Man at the Head of the Roman Troops, and destroying those against whom he fought by Fire which proceeded from him, so powerfull had been the Prayers of the belieged at his Sepulchre, and efficacious the Ointment proceeding from his Tomb:

110. This defeat of Alufianus, increased the Jealousies already conceived betwixt him and Deleanus, and ripened their Hatred and Defigns; for Deleanus would not be convinced but it was out of Treachery, and the other was rendred more peevish and out of humour by the apprehension of his Malice, and of the diffrace he had received by the overthrow. Now they thought of nothing, but how to circumvent and deftroy each other, nor plotted any thing but Alufianus cir- how to get advantages to doe it. But Alufianus was before-hand with his Colcumvents De- legue, whom having invited to a Feast, when he was drunk he caused his Eyes turns to the to be put out, and not trusting to his own Interest or the Humour of the Bulgarians, then fent to the Emperour and offered to return to his obedience, provided he might be accepted, and receive rewards due to his Loyalty, which was granted, and he repaired to Michael, then lying at Mosmopolis, who conferred on him the Dignity of Magister, and to make sure of him fent him to his Brether John to Constantinople. Michael was before this resolved in Person, to make an expedition into Bulgaria, upon hearing that that Province had revolted, having this faying frequently in his Mouth, that It was a shame for him who had added nothing to the Empire, to lose any Portion of it. The Dropsie had already fo far prevailed, that he was advised by those about him to altar his purpose, which was farther urged by the Principal Senatours, but he by this opposition was the more quickened to undertake the Journey. And when on a certain Night he feemed overpowered by his Difease, and no hope there was, that he could proceed in his March the following day, to the great Who marches wonder of all Men he was in the Morning seen at the Head of his Men, and towards Bul- very stoutly led on into Bulgaria, where designing to fall upon the Revolters, and reduce them by force, this opportunity was presented of getting the Victory without fighting. For of their two Princes, the one being depoied, and the other revolted, the Bulgarians without an Head, and here and there dispersed,

very eafily returned to obedience. Deleanus having got into his Hands, he fent to The falonica. Then piercing into the more Inner Parts of the Countrey, he

came to the wooden Rampart made formerly by Manuel Ibatzes at Prilapus, to

restrain the Emperour's Incursions, but this he broke down, and having dislipated some Bulgarians who began to unite themselves, he took Ibatzes, with whom

and Deleanus he returned in Triumph to Constantinople. Having done this work,

and perceiving his time to be but short by the prevalence of his Disease, he

cast off all Cares of State, and forsaking the Palace betook himself to a Monastery of his own building, and there putting off the Purple and all Ensigns

of Majesty, was shaven for a Monk. He gave himself up to Religious Exercises,

wholly refusing to admit the Empress to his presence, and perpetually bewailed

his Sins, especially the Murther of Romanus the Emperour, till such time as his

Dropfie oppressed his Vitals, which was on the teath Day of December, in the tenth Indiction, after he had Reigned seven years and eight Months, or therea-

bouts. He of himself was mild enough in his Government, though the contrary

Humour of his Brothers made his Reign be ill spoken of. The onely Crime

Constantino-

The Empire upon Zoe.

laid to his Charge is, that about Romanus his death; which yet most ascribe more to his Brother John than him. 111. By the death of Michael, the Empire was again devolved upon Zoe, as by hereditary right. Michael firnamed Calaphates his Nephew by his Sifter, the Wife of Stephen, who ordered matters so ill in Sicily, was as we said promoted by him to the Dignity of Cæsar. Yet afterward, as if he repented of what he had done, he was ordered to live out of Constantinople, and forbidden to come to Court without licence first obtained. But when Michael was gone into the Monastery, his Brothers wrote Letters as in the Emperour's Name, whereby he was recalled into the Palace, but his Uncle John gave him his Lessen, which was by all means to please Zoe, and doe nothing without her approbation. Thus instructed, they bring him into her Presence, where he falls down at her Feet, and putting her in mind how she had adopted him for her Son, at the time of his Advancement to the Title of Cæsar, and ingage most solemnly to her, that upon the Death of his Uncle he should onely enjoy the Name of Emperour,

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. S Michael Calabut the all the Power, whom as a Slave bought with money is wont to do his

laphates Emperour.

Lady and Patroness, he would observe and obey to the utmost. She being of her felf very easie, and finding the business of Government more troublesome than she had imagined, after three days deliberation complied with them, and (adopting him for her Son, faith Cedrenus, though others write that this was done before ) caused him to be adorned with the Imperial Diadem, of which he was unworthy, not so much in respect to his obscure Birth and Family ( his Father's Trade having been to pitch Ships ) but to his disposition and manners, though before the Trial he was reputed active and industrious. As an ill Omen, of what a giddy humour he would prove, at his Coronation he was taken with fuch a Vertigo and Mist before his Eyes, that he had like to have faln into a fwoun, and with Ointments and Perfumes, could hardly be recovered. But thus did Michael Calaphates, the fifth of that Name, become Emperour of the Romans in the Tenth Indiction, A.D. M. XLI. Before his Admittion, Zoe would secure some matters her self. First John his Uncle, she removed into a Monastery. Then Constantine the Domestick of the Schools, she deprived of his Command, and confined him to his House, as she did also George the Protove-112. It's observed of the Reign of Michael, that during its continuance, there

His Character, was still an Earthquake in one part or other of the Empire. Such were his Actions, that they quickly produced an Alteration in his Fortune. He was deceitfull Zonaras Tom and highly ingratefull, having no regard either to the obligations of Nature or Calaphato. Friendship, of so lavish a Tongue, that never regarded what he said, his Heart and Lips never agreeing: In advertity most base and servile, and born to punish the Crimes of his Uncle John, and to procure the Ruine of all his Family. For some time however his Uncle had been outed by the Empress, yet he used his advice, gave him great Titles and most fair words; but either to please the Empress, or rather to gratifie his own Humour by degrees, bore himself to him after a quite contrary Fashion; being to far from giving him any respect, that he took all occasions to cross and to affront him. The onely Person of his Kindred to whom he bore any respect was his Uncle Constantine, whom he prevailed with Zoe to have recalled from his Confinement: on him he conferred the Title of Nobilissimus, and would have him near him, fuffering him to affront his Brother John in his Presence without any reprehension, which caused John to depart at a good diffance from the City. Hereupon Michael broke out into open Enmity against him. He had formerly sent for him to Court, but when he was to come, on purpose absented himself at the Theatre, to behold the Circensian Games. Now again he fent a Gally for him to give an account of his proud Carriage, and when he was come near the Palace, ordered him to be carried away into Banishment: And thus he rewarded him, by whose Craft and Design he had both received the Dignity of Cafar, and the Imperial Power. Having thus removed him, he dealt no better with his other Relations, many of whom not onely men in Sex, but bearded by reason of their Age, nay both Husbands and Fathers he caused to be gelded, and made Eunuchs. He had now obtained the Conquest over his own Kindred, but another Triumph remained, which required more than Herculean pains. This was to reduce the Empress Zoe to a private Life, and this he refolved upon by the advice and affiftence of his Uncle Constantine, and first attempted it by these means.

112. This most Ignoble (adoptive) Son causes odd rumours to be spread (fay our Authours) against his most Noble Mother, reporting her guilty of many Crimes, particularly of witchcraft and forcery, and that she Plotted to And deposing take away his Life. Having thus made his way he casts her out of the Court, banishes her into the Princes Island, causes one who had so well deserved of him to be shaven, and instead of the Purple which had descended to her from her many Ancestours, to put on the Habit of a Nun. Cedrenus writes that before he did this he resolved to try how the affections of the Citizens of Constantinople stood, after this manner. The next Lord's day after Easter he ordered a folemn Procession to be made to the Church of the Apostles, in which he appeared with his Diadem on his Head, and waited on by all the Senate. All the People ran to the shew, and those that lived in the Streets through which he passed from the Palace adorned the Walls and Windows of their Houses, as is usual, with the best and richest Hangings they had to Grace the Solemnity, and were not wanting to follow him with usual Acclamations. This the vain and miserable Man concluded to proceed from their intire af-

PART IV

fection to him, and in the night following put his device in practice in the manner formerly related. "The day following he caused a writing pub-" lickly to be read by the Prefect of the City to this purpose, that he had " banished Zoe because she was an Enemy to his Government, and removed " Alexius from the Patriarchate for consenting to her Deligns, promising " his People all protection and all good things if they remained firm in their "Duty and Allegiance to him. As the Prefect was concluding, some one at Upon which a " mongst the multitude was heard to say, We will not have Stauropta Calatumult arises in the City of places for our Emperour, but we will obey Zoe our Mother to whom the Em-" pire is justly descended by hereditary right, to which presently all the People acclaimed as with one voice. Let Calaphates his Eyes be pulled out. Then with stones and all other things that came to hand they fell upon the Prefect (this was Anastrasius, a Patritian, formerly one of the Ministers of Zoe's Fa-

ther) and had certainly kill'd him had he not speedily got away. 114. Zonaras writes that Michael, after his deposing of Zoe accounting himself secure, fell to his pleasures and former delights, and therein was suddenly furprized. For at what had happened to the Empress all the People was affected no otherwise than each one is wont to be at his own Calamity and misfortune: the Men bethought themselves of what her Ancestours had performed, and the Women concerned for her Sex as well as Birth failed not to contribute their passions for making up a publick discontent. The whole City out of a discontent broke out into a publick Rage and sedition, and every Man resolved to venture his Life in vindication of her to whom the right belonged. The Patriarch out of fear of being deposed had taken cedrenus, up his residence in the great Church, where hearing the joyfull News of those commotions he expected to hear of the deposition of Michael. Thither repaired all the Eunuchs that had belonged to the Father of Zoe, with Constantine Cabasilas the Patritian, and now they durst shew themselves to all the rest Theodora fent of the Senatours, who with Unanimous confent fent for Theodora out of Petrifor and falured um and in the Church faluted her Empress together with her Sister Zoe. Then

ther with her with all the multitude they made to the Court, thence to expell Michael, who at first was little sensible of the danger wherein he stood, till seeing the Peowho is brought back ple fo much bandy together and his Guards out of confcience incline to the fide of the Women, he was then very much affrighted. His Uncle the Nobilissimus to provide both for his own security, and his Estate, sent and setcht back Zoe into the Palace, and against the Nobility opposed some Companies of Souldiers who restrained their violence a little though with the loss of many Lives, till they brought her to the Theatre and there shewed to them their Lady and Mistress, having devested her of her vail and restored to her all the imperial Ornaments. They imagined this would quiet the People, but so far was it from it that the fight of two together, so divers as to their Birth and Education, the more inraged them, which they testified not onely by most reproachfull words but by casting of Stones and all other expressions of Fury and Indignation. 115. Michael now despairing to doe any good resolved to depart into a

Monastery, and there take the Religious Habit, but his Uncle would not permit him, telling him an Empire was not fo eafily to be parted with, that it was manfully to be defended, and to be parted with by a generous and resolute death worthy of so great a Prince. Resolution being taken accordingly, all that were in the Court were Armed, and it was effeemed very good fortune that Catacalo Ambustus was lately arrived out of Sicily with the welcome News of what had happened at Messana, whose presence and Affishence not a little incouraged the Emperour. The multitude Attacquing the Court in three feveral Parties, the defendants were also divided into so many, who being well Armed killed many of the unarmed People, who with Stones, peices of Wood or any thing they could light on ingaged with the Souldiers and three Thousand Men are said to have perished in this Attempt. But however the Citizens at length by their Numbers prevailed and breaking into the Palace made Booty all the Treasure, and what else they could there find, tore in pieces the Rolls of the Tributes and fought diligently how And force the to take Michael, who feeing that there was no more contending nor firriving Emperous to take introduction technique that there was no more contending nor intriving fly in his Pi- against fo great a stream, took a Pinace, and with the Nobilissimus fled to the nace to Studi- Monastery of Studium where they both took the Religious Habit, and so this contest ended after three days and as many nights. Zoe who was left in

ligious Habit.

the Palace having now recovered the Sovereign power distained to think that her Sifter should Reign with her, but the Senate and People would needs have it so, and she was forced to acquiesce in their Resolution and admit Theodors into the Palace. Then from an high Place did she make a speech, first to the Senate, and then to the People, giving them thanks for their great kindness expressed to her and her Family, wishing and promising them all returns of kindness, and she defired to know their opinions what should be done with the Emperour, for fuch he was, and according to the Rules of the Government for fuch he could not be denied.

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

116. The Universal Cry was that the wicked wretch as they Termed him, should be made away; some named the nailing him to a Pole, others to a Cross, and others more mercifull, propounded the faving of his Life by the loss of his Eyes. Zoe pitied the Man (as a Creature it's likely of her own making, for we naturally love those to whom we have been in the place of Parents or Benefactours) and was for sparing him; but Theodora full of Animolity for her long confinement, and delirous to vent her Anger against any one. gave order to Capanares, one who was lately made Prefect of the City, to goe speedily and pull out the Eyes of him and the Nobilissimus. His Errand and

Michael and Voyage being known, the multitude followed him to the Monastery, where the Noblissi- the two Princes upon notice of their coming betook themselves into the most much avertheir exercise of the Church of St. John Baptift, but the People the more inand are banified,

them out by the Halls than of the death of formany of their Relations and Neighbours dragged them out by the Heels through the Forum to the place called Sigma above the Monastery of Peribleptus and there pulled out their Eyes, Constantine bearing it very patiently, but Michael with Reluctancy and Lamentation desiring them to doe it to his Uncle first who had been the Authour and cause of all the Evils of which they complained, and he had the favour to close his Eyes with the fight of that Spectacle. After the blinding of them they were both banished, Constantine and others of his kindred to several places Zer afiel Theo-after he had Reigned four Months and five days. The two Empresses (or Empresses) the tenth Indiction that the Empresses (or Empresses) the two Empress

and their own Estate by bestowing Honours upon the Senatours, and distributing Money amongst the People as the case required: and commands were sent into all the Provinces that no Offices of Magistracy should be fold which before had been the ordinary course, and all Acts of Injustice and Oppression were severely forbidden. There being great occasion for Money, the Nobilissimus was fetch'd back to the Court, and being questioned concerning the publick Treasure. was by threats brought to discover three and fifty Centenaries of Gold hid at his House, which being found he was returned to the former place of his confinement. Then was Nicholas the President made Domestick of the Schools of the Tigots of East having been the Eunuch of their Father, and of the West, Constantine Cabasi-

las the Patritian. And John Maniaces whom Michael had difmissed out of Custody from a Patritian was honoured with the Dignity of Magister, and with full Authority fent General of an Army into Italy.

117. Though matters were thus well ordered, yet the State feemed not ferled except an Emperour was created, which all Men wished, and that should be lawfully married to Zoe. And the being as defirous of an Husband as they were of an Emperour had already cast her thoughts and affections upon several. The first was Constantine Delassenus, who was sent for to Court as upon some other occasion; but he spake so roughly and seemed so intractable that he was rejected. The next was one Constantine Catapano the Husband of another Woman, though her Paramour; but his Wife not enduring the thought that she should part with him in that manner chose rather by Poison to send him to another World, that neither of them might enjoy him. Being thus prevented as to him she refolved upon one Constantine Monomachus, whom John having banished to Mytilena, because a rumour was spread that he should Reign, the had recalled, and while she yet thought of Marrying the other Constantine had made Pretor or Judge of the Greeks. He was a Man both Noble as to his extraction and very Anachy is handsome. His first Wise dying he married the Niece of Romanus the Emperour ran costs. by his Brother, but by that Alliance got not any preferment; yet coming by that means often to Court he had opportunity to be in the Empress's fight and became very familiar with her, and the was fo kind to him (as to fay truth her

humour was ever free and generous) that from her bounty he received great fumms

Constantine married to

of Money. This made some suspicious and credulous Persons talk hardly of them and Michael the Successour of Romanusout of mere jealousie though for some pretended Crimes confined the Man to Lesbus where he continued all his time, and found not the other Michael that followed more favourable to him. Being now fent for to the City he was stopped at the Church of St. Michael in Damocrania Zoc, and cho- and Stephen of Pergamenus an Eunuch of the Chamber meeting him adorned him with Purple and brought him in a Pinace to Constantinople where he was Married to Zoe by one Stypes a Priest of New Rome, as Cedrenus calls him, for Allexius the Patriarch refused to solemnize the Nuptials because of the third Marriage, so terrible a matter in those days, yet did he set the Crown on his Head the day following. Thus did Constantine sirnamed Monomachus obtain the imperial Dignity on the eleventh day of June in the tenth Indiction. A. D. M. XLII. And the power of the two Sifters became extinct after it had continued fearcely three months which though it pleafed the People, out of respect to the Nobility of their House and their hatred to Michael, yet to the prudent fort seemed very uncouth and indecent. For odd they thought it to fee two Women fit together upon the Tribunal, to have all Royal Ceremonies performed to two of that fex at the same time, incircled with the usual Guards and attended by the Senatours and principal Magistrates: to see causes debated before them, all affairs of State handled in their presence; to behold them giving audience to Ambassadours, presiding in the Senate and the other publick and folemn Assemblies of the Empire. 118. The general satisfaction for having an Emperour was no whit dimini-

shed by the first Observations made upon the Carriage and Demeanour of Mono-

He obliges his machus. For the Senatours he immediately obliged by preferring them to places

of Dignity and profit, and the People by distribution of Money, as he thought he had Interest and Opportunity. For satisfaction of the Provinces he sent abroad his Edicts, by which giving notice of his Promotion, he promifed all good Offices, and the removal of all Grievances whatfoever. John the Great Actour in the days of his Brother, he removed into Lesbus, Michael his Nephew, lately deposed, into Chius, and Constantine Nobilissimus into Samus, whereby he farther pleased the People. But Wise men and such as pried nearer into his Actions and the Methods of his Government observed, that without any Prudence or grave confideration he conferred Dignities, and bestowed Money, aswell the unfit as fit, the unworthy as worthy receiving his Favours; and he never regarded whether there was Money or no Money in the Treasury. But this could not hinder him from being Popular, or not obvious to the eyes of the Vulgar, to whom And accepta- other things did farther commend him. For he frankly and freely forgave such from whom he had received Injuries when a private man; and he was so wise as to give content at home, making himself acceptable to the two Women by a Pleasant and Debonnair Carriage, and he little cared to perplex himself and source his humour by much and difficult business, but rather indulged his Pleasures and took his ease. He seemed to Countenance men of Ingenuity and Learning, though of the latter he fcarcely had received any tafte. But the Provinces were in no good condition, however matters stood at Court and in the City. On the fixth of October in the eleventh Indiction a Comet appeared traverling the Heavens from the East to the West, and kept on its Course as long as that Month continued, being afterward esteemed to forerun and predict those Calamities which shortly after happened. Stephen Boisthlabus who, as was said, escaped from Constantinople, had seized on the Mountains of Illyricum, of the Triballi and Servi, and thence like a Beast of Prey fell down upon the adjacent Territories of the Empire, and did very great mischief to the Inhabitants. Hereupon the Emperour ient Orders to Michael a Patritian the Son of Anastasius the Logotheta, and then Governour of Dyrrachium, to raise what force he could out of the adjoyning Provinces, and hunt him out. But it's both the weakness and grievous punishment of the folly of a Prince, to chuse unfit Persons for the management of business. This Michael had not the least skill in Martial Matters, was an Effeminate and Army against Dissolute Person, brought up in Idleness and Luxury and now ordered his Affairs the Triballi. like fuch a General, with fixty thousand men he marched into the Territories of the Triballi, and that through fuch difficult, rough, steep, and narrow ways, that onely two Horiemen could ride abreast. The Servi living at those Straits, observed his motion and fusiered him without Interruption to pass them into the

Champion Countrey, and there to burn and plunder at his pleasure, but watched his return and possessed themselves of all the Straits and difficult Passages. through the And when loaded with booty and without fear or wit he re-entred, they fell up-

on him and his Army with Stones, Earth, Darts, and all other things convenient from the higher ground, that of the miserable Souldiers who could not in the least defend themselves nor stir any way forty thousand were slain. The rest passing the Holes and Valleys which were now filled up with the Carkasses of their Fellows got up to the Mountains as they could, and by Night together with their Prudent General escaped.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

119. At the same time a great danger threatned the Emperour from Italy, where George Maniaces usurped the Sovereignty for these Causes and upon these occasions. When first this George was by Michael sent into Italy to assist Apolaphar the Prince of Sicily against his Brother and the Africans, he took to his affiftence five hundred Franks Commanded by one Arduin the Lord of a certain Region subject to none other, and by their assistance did he obtain all his Trophies in that War. When he was removed from his Charge, Michael Doceanus the Protospatharian, a filly Man, omitted to pay these Franks their monthly Wages as he had been wont; and when their Captain came to him, and defired him to be more courteous to the Souldiers, and not defraud them of their Wages, he contumeliously beat him, which caused the Franks to Revolt. He to chastize and reduce them would not use all the Force he might, but ingaged them with the Opfician Legion, and a part of that of the Thracians upon the River Aufidus at Cannæ, and there lost the greater part of his Army, where the Romans long before had been ignominiously beaten by *Hamsibal*. Yet did not this experiment teach him any wifedom, so as sufficiently to surnish himself for another Ingagement, but onely rallying together such as had been lately beaten with some Pissidians and Lycaonians, which made up the Legion of the Phoberati, he fell rashly upon the Franks again, now strengthned by considerable Supplies, and from them received a great Overthrow. Michael the Emperour having Information of his Conduct, fent one Boioannes to succeed him, a Man of much repute for matters of War, Descended from Boioannes, who under the Reign of Bastlius reduced all Italy as far as Rome to his obedience. But he having none but beaten and discourag'd Men to lead against the Enemy, was so far from driving them out, that he could not defend his own Posts, but was deseated at Monopolis and taken Prisoner; afhab taken ter which the Franks so bestirred themselves, that they brought under Italy, four from the Ent. Cities onely remaining to the Romans, (our Authours mean the Emperour)

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perour by the viz. Brundustum, Hidriis, Tarentum and Baris, four Cities. 120. Now Michael the Emperous being 120. Now Michael the Emperour being dead, and Calaphates deposed, Maniaces, as we said, was sent into Italy, and there, though he laboured under the fame difficulty of want of Men as those before him had done, yet so far exceeding them in the Art of a General, that he drove the Franks from Capua, Beneventum and Naples, and brought the Country into a reasonable good condition. Whilfthe employed himself there in his Command, Romanus Sclerus who was his Neighbour where his Estate lay in the Eastern Parts, who bore him mortal hatred for an Injury he thought done to him, did him such mischief as forced him upon an Attempt, the Issue of which proved destructive to him. The Sister of this Sclerus was the Emperour Monomachus his Mistress, who on her so doted, that besides all other things she desired, he preserved her Brother to be Magister and Protostrator. Pussed up with this advancement, and now thinking he might doe any thing, he both injured him in his Estate and Lands, and lay with his Wife very licenticully. Maniaces having notice hereof, boyled with Rage, and by no means could digeft the Affront, but as he was thinking how to be revenged for these Injuries his thoughts were farther employed by another, for Scierus procured him to be turn'd out of his Employment in Italy. This made him desperate, for he could not but expect fill worse at Court where his Enemy had so great an Interest, and drove him into a Resolution of Usurping and taking Arms against the Emperour. He killed him that was fent to facceed him, one Pardus a Protospa-Maniaces u-furps in Italy. tharian, a Fellow not at all fit for fuch an Employment, but onely because he was known to Monomachus, and then took the Diademe with other Enfigns of Majefly, Entring Bul. and was by the Forces of Italy which he eafily cajolled to this Service, fallited Emperour. Putting his Army Aboard he passed over into Bulgaria, with the News whereof they were so struck at Constantinople, that Letters were written to him in the Emperour's Name, which promifed Pardon to him and his Followers for all that was past, besides good Rewards, if they would return to their former obedience. But he continuing fixt in his Resolution, an Army was got together, and committed to the Conduct of Stephanus Sebaffophorus, who brought the ti-

dings of his Promotion to Monomachus when he met him at Damocranea. At a

Constantine Mono

¿machus, Zoe, &c.

Is met by Ste-place called Oftrobus they met, and then Stephen had the worst of it, Maniaces leaphen the Em- ding on his own Men, and fighting stoutly in the Head of them. And all now perours Ge-heral, and in received and acknowledged him for Emperour in the Field, when fuddenly he fell Battel woun- dow dead from his Horse, having it seems received a mortal wound in his Breast. ded, of which though not known from what Hand. Now was the Scene quite changed: they who a little before did him reverence as Emperour, now railed at him as a Traitour, and his Head being cut off, his Men submitted to the present Power. Stephen for his great Conquest returned in triumph to the City, where for a shew the Head of Maniaces was carried on the point of a Spear, and some of those whom the Death of their General, not the valour of Stephen had subdued, to encrease the Pageantry followed it as a Trophy upon Affes; the worthy Conquerour bringing up the Rere on a Milk-white Steed.

121 But into fo great danger was Monomachus brought by his Mistress, a Lady fo confiderable, that Zonaras thinks it not a thing below the Dignity of an Hifto-An account of ry to give an account of their Amours; he having Buried two Wives, had no with Sclerana mind to Marry a third, but it seems judging Fornication better than a breach of that humour fo much applauded in those days, used the company of this Woman, being a Widow, and the Kinfwoman of one of his Wives, at first privily, but afterwards without any diffimulation. She was Young, very Beautifull, and descended of the Noble Family of the Scleri, which attracted his Affections to her, but she was not at all in his debt; the testifications of her Love to him were full as large and fignificant. They could neither of them be at quiet if they were not together; and when he was Banished she followed him, not able to live but in his company, where by all her Arts she endeavoured to make his condition as easie as might be, both with her society, advice and supply of his wants. fo far as her Estate would allow, having a strange fancy all along that one day he would arrive at the Sovereignty. And when at the Sovereignty he arrived, at the height of his Prosperity he forgot not her that had been his chief comfort in his distress, but got the consent of the Empress that she might be fent for to Court and provided for, with which Zoe was well enough content, the greatness of her Age having now mortified Jealousie in her, together with her experience of the misfortunes which this life affords. Now was Sclerana removed from Mitylena to the City, where at first she was in no splendour either as to House or Attendance, but by degrees was ferved like an Empress, and her House turned as into a Court. For Monomachus, where she lay built very sumptuously both for her convenience, and that under pretence of overfeeing his Workmen he might have oftner occafions to make her Vifits. At first he was shie and cautious of being discovered in his Amours, but at length cast off all dissimulation, and used her not as a Concubine and Vice-wife, but as one to whom he had been lawfully Married. Now all the Treasury is at her Command, and not enduring her absence hardly for a moment, he obtains the confent of the Empress for bringing her into the Court, where by his endeavours a great friendship was contracted betwixt them, so as Zoe grudged her neither the Name nor Honours of an Empress, and contented her felf with his company when she knew he was not with his Mistress. Thus lived he and his Sclerana together, hoping still for a nearer conjunction, at least which would more fatisfie the World, when on a fudden death prevented it, fnatching her away, to his great discontentment, a little before the Civil War of Maniaces. occasioned by his Power and Intercession for her Brother, as some write, though by a Sedition there happened upon her account it appears that the lived longer. 122. But the Civil War raifed by Maniaces was not all the Difficulty where-

with the Emperour strugled at the same time. Theophilus Eroticus the Governour of Cyprus, a man greedy of Novelty, when he heard of the Death of Calaphates. and the confusion which thereupon happened, thinking it a seasonable time for putting in practice what he had defigned, put all the Inhabitants of the Island into a Tumult, and excited them to the Murther of Theophylast a Protospatharian, a Judge there, and the Chief Collectour of the Tributes. But it succeeded well that Constantine Chages a Patritian being ready at Hand, without any more trouble to the Emperour or much adoe, seduced the Island, and therein taking the Rebel brought him to Conflantinople, where a Woman's Coat was put upon him. and therein he was shewn at the Circensian Games, which done, and his Estate confifcated, he was then difmiffed. On the fecond of May following the Eyes of John the Brother and Great Minister of Michael the Paphlagonian were put out, iome fay by command of Theodora, but as most affirmed by order of Monomachus himself, out of revenge for his long Confinement, which misfortune he sur-

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vived but eleven days. In the month of July Stephen Sabastophorus was accused of Conspiring against the Emperour, to prefer Leo a Patritian to his Place, and make the Son of Lampus Governour of Melitena; for which Stephen was condemned to a Monastick life, having all his Estate seized, and Lampus was cruelly tortured, shewed up and down the Forum, and deprived of his Eyes, after which The Reffiant he foon died. At the fame time, the fame month the Roffians again took Arms, who had for a long time held fo good correspondence with the Empire, that there was mutual commerce, and the Merchants went to and fro without the least Interruption. Now it happened that at Constantinople there was a quarrel amongst the Trades-men, and it fo fell out, that one of those Scythian Merchants was killed. The Prince of the Countrey, Bladimer by Name, a passionate Man and restless, took the matter so heinously, that without any delay he raised all his Subjects that were fit to bear Arms, and befides procuring many Auxiliaries out of the Northern Nations, an Army of a hundred thousand Men he put into their usual Boats, whereof each was made of one Tree, and fo proceeded against the City. The Emperour assoon as he knew of his Design sent to him, and offered all reafonable fatisfaction if he would lay down Arms, and pressed him much not for flight causes to break that Peace which for so many years had been preserved inviolable betwixt the Nations; but he returning a fawcy Answer, and treating the Messengers with much disrespect, he then provided for his own security. All Scythian Merchants and others that were spread up and down the Empire he caused to be secured for sear of any Conspiracy. Then got he ready all the Gallies and Vesselshe could compass, and putting aboard as many Forces as the time would permit him, he himself in a Pinnace led them against the Enemy, whom he found in the Straits about Pharus. Besides his Fleet a strong Party of Horse

waited and attended his motions all along the Shore. 123. There the Fleets faced each other, but neither would begin the Fight:

the Scythians keeping themselves within the Haven, and the Romans attending what course they would Steer. The time being spent, and Night approaching, the Emperour fent to Bladimer the fecond time to move him to Peace, but he as peremptorily and fawcily as ever, rejected his offer, declaring he would not lay down Arms except he should have paid down three Pounds of Gold for every Man he had with him. This Answer being so insolent and Extravagant, Monachus prepared himself to Fight. He gave order to Basilius Theodorocranus a Magister, with three swift Gallies to make a gentle onset to skirmish with the Rossians, and pro-

voke them to Fight, to fee how they would order their matters. But he instead of skirmishing passed into the middle of them, burnt with Wild-fire seven of their Vessels, sunk other three with all the Men in them, and took another, having either killed or driven out all those that were aboard. Then did the Emperour make up to them with his whole Fleet, which perceiving, they concluded that if they could not fustain the violence of three Gallies, they should

never be able to endure the whole shock, and therefore shifted for themselves as they could, ran upon the Rocks and Shelves, and loft most of their Vessels; and fuch as escaped to the Shore the Emperour's Horse fell upon and killed so many,

that fifteen thousand of their dead Bodies were afterwards found upon the Shore. The Scythians being thus defeated, after a farther stay of two days the Emperour returned to Constantinople, leaving a sufficient Power under command of Nicho-

las one of the Chamber, and Theodorocranus with orders to look well to the Maritime Coast, not to suffer the Barbarians to land, and that the whole Fleet should be still in the Bay of Pharus. But however it happened, twenty four Triremes

separated from the rest of the Fleet, pursued the Enemy so far till they passed the Bay wherein they lay, and were driven beyond them. The Scythians perceiving frozed by the this, and how Wind and all things ferved, refolved to intercept their passage, which they eafily did in the Straits, by lying thick from one shore to the other.

There being no way to escape, Constantine Caballarius a Patritian, the Captain of the Cibyrraota with his and other Gallies endeavoured to make a passage, but was killed as he manfully fought, and his Ship with four others, together with the

Men fell into the Hands of the Rossians; the other Ships were split upon the Rocks or run ashore. The Men were some drowned, some killed or taken by the Enemy, and fuch as escaped came in much shame and consternation to their Friends. The Roslians having beyond all expectation done so much mischief, made the more

comfortable Retreat. But being forced to return aswell by Land as by Sea (so many of their Vessels had miscarried) they fell into the Territories of the Government of Catacalo, Besta Ambustus, who then commanded the Coast about Ister,

LII 2

Conftantine Mono-

and were most of them killed and taken, of the later of which he fent five Hundred bound in Chains to the Emperour, having, to his great Commendation when first these Scythians arrived, been very watchfull in his Charge, so as to hinder their landing, and destroy many of them. And his Care and Industry. he continued to this very last.

124. In the twelfth Indiction the Month of September, the second year of Monomachus, so great a Tempest happened, that in a manner destroyed all the Grapes of that year. On the Ninth Day of March following, which was confecrated to the Memory of the forty Martyrs, the Emperour being about his Devotion, was stopped by a Sedition of the People. Going on Foot in Procession accompanied with his Guards, and followed by the Acclamations of the People, from the Palace to the Church of our Saviour in Chalce, he there took Horse to pass on to the Church of the Martyrs, when from amongst the Mul-A Tumult in titude this Voice was heard. We will not have Sclerana be Empress, nor our Sothe city of Constantinople vereign Ladies Zoe and Theodora Porphyrogenita, to die upon her Account, which cast all into Confusion and Tumults, wherein the Rabble demanded the Life of Zee and Theo- the Emperour, and they had taken it had not the two Empresses shewed themfelves to them from an high place, and by good words appealed them. But the Emperour was frighted from his Procession, and was glad in an whole Skin Constantine to escape into the Palace. The following year, including the challenges the honour to make challenge of a City which he found belonged to the Empire upand Armenia on this occasion. At such time as George Prince of the Abasgians, made War upon the Romans, he was affisted by one Jobanefices, the Lord of a City called belonging to the Empire. Anium. But when Basilius the Emperour invaded Iberia, and was too hard for George, then Jobanefices fearing he should be punished for what he had done fled to the Emperour, and gave up himself with the Keys of the City into his Hands. which rendition Bafilius, accepting, honoured him with the Dignity of a Magifter, and made him Governour of Anium and Armenia the Great for his Life, with this caution of writing, that after his death it should revolve upon the Empire as Part thereof. But Bafilius being dead, and many years after him Johanefices, his Son Cacicius entred upon the Government, and it being not observed kept his Fathers Territories in good Peace and Friendship with the Romans. Now Monomachus finding the writing in the Archives, was refolved to make demand of the Restitution of Anium, and all the Great Armenia as the Heir of Bafilius. Cacicius professed himself the Friend and Servant of the Emperour, but feeking for Excuses and Delays, Monomachus resolved to recover his Right by Force of Arms, and committed an Army to the Conduct of Michael Besta, Fasites newly designed Governour of Iberia, with order to make War upon Ca-

125. Cacicius considering into what straits he was brought, made all preparations he could for defence, and had rather the better of Jasites, to whose aid then was fent Nicholas Domestick of the Schools, formerly of the Chamber to Constantine the Emperour with a great Army, to suppress Cacicius by mere Numbers if nothing else will doe it, and moreover the Emperour wrote Letters to Aplespharius the Governour of Tibium, and that Persarmenia which lies upon the River Araxes, to fall upon him on his fide the Countrey. Aplespharius wrote back again, that on this Condition he would doe it, if the Emperour would under his Hand make a grant to him of whatfoever he should take from Cacicius, which he did accordingly, an Instrument being written and confirmed by the And fending Golden Bulla. He having received this, applied himself to his work, and took thither an Armany Castles and Forts belonging to Cacicius, who being thus beset on all sides, delivered up. and despairing to extricate himself out of such difficulties, made Peace with Nicholas, and by him giving up himself and the City to the Emperour, afterward went to him, and from him receiving the Dignity of a Magister, with Ample Revenues from Cappadocia, and elsewhere, lived thenceforth a quiet and peaceable Life. Now did Monomachus demand the Castles and Forts, which Aplespharius had taken as part of the Dominion of Anium, which he refusing to surrender, and alledging the Golden Bull whereby they were granted to him, Command was fent to Nicholas, with the Roman and Iberian Forces, and those that had belonged to Cacicius to make War upon him, and recover them by Force. Nicholas accordingly felf within the Walls, and beforehand lays all the Ground adjoining under Water by Sluces made from the River, and he places in the Vineyards which were

Then they lay fends Jasites to lay siege to Tibium. Aplespharius being a very good Souldier, Siege to Tibi- and knowing himself not in a condition to graple with the Romans, keeps him-

on higher Ground a Number of Archers, whom he bid expect the fign he should give them by Trumpet, and in this posture expect the coming of the Enemy. The Officers of the Romans finding him close in the Town, and the Grounds under Water, concluded it was out of fear and desperation, and hasted without order to get to the Walls by the ways that were left passable, and take posfession of what was already their own. Then did Aplespharius give the sign to those he had placed in Ambush, who from the Vineyards with Arrows, Darts and Stones, made great flaughter of these unwary Men, who were so intangled in Thickets, Ditches and Water, that not able to defend themselves or fly, an innumerable Number of them there perished, and Jasites with some other Officers, escaped with the News of the Adventure and Success to Nicholas. The Emperour having notice of the Defeat, put both Nicholas and Jasites out of their Offices, and in place of the latter made Ambustus Governour of Iberia. In the Meydalls int. Room of Nicholas he made General one Constantine Captain of the great Soda- grant agyar. lity, as it was termed, an Eunuch descended from the Saracens, but most faithfull to him, who had much ferved him when yet in a private Condition. These coming sufficiently furnished into the Province, thought not fit to lay siege to Tibium the principal Town, but took in feveral Forts belonging to Anium, very firong and fituate on Craggy Rocks, which Aplespharius often attempted to relieve; but in vain. Thence they removed to a strong Castle near to Tibium, called Chelidonium, about which they drew a Trench, and had taken it or starved out

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

the Defendants; but that the Usurpation of Tornicius in the West, obstructed both this and other Proceedings 126. This Leo Tornicius being formerly Governour of Iberia, had upon a fur-

CHAP. II.

Orestes the Son of Agamemnon) he had the Macedonians much at his Devotion, who exceedingly efteemed him, for he was a Man both beautifull and of excellent parts, and Zonaras. had a certain way peculiar to himfelf of gaining love from those with whom he conversed: but what got him most Reverence, a Report or Prophecy went about, that in time he should come to be Emperour. These and other things caused Monomachus his Kinsman much to distaste him. On the other side, Eupropia the Emperour's Sister used him with great respect: being a Woman indeed of a very generous mind, very noble and rich, but not at all acceptable to her Brother, who stood in awe of her, because of her eminent Wisedom. And to be even with him, the neither received any thing from, nor frequented the Court, but when she met him was wont to carry it very high towards him, would rebuke and chide him, and when he fell into passion for her so doing, would by silence contemn and dissemble it. He perceiving her great affection to Tornicius, on purpose to separate them made him Governour of Iberia, where all things profpering under him, and he flourishing in great repute, thence some took occasion of calumniating him to the Emperour, who caused him to be shaven and to take the Habit of a Monk. But the Macedonians, as was said, being much addicted

mize of a Conspiracy for advancing himself been turn'd out of Command, been

shaven and put into a Monastery, though the Emperour's near Kinsman by his

Mother. His dwelling having been at Adrianople (formerly called Orestias, from

Leo Torniciss to him, carried away by Night out of Constantinople, and at Adrianople saluted him Emperour, whither great Confluence there was made of Souldiers from all those Parts, either through defire of Plunder and Innovation, out of love to him or hatred to Monomachus who had much distasted, and as much distrusted of late the military Men. Thus incouraged, he resolved with all speed to march for Constant inople, which he had great hopes would instantly be put into his Hands by the Citizens, who for certain Causes bore neither at present any good will to the Emperour, and the Armies of the East had their Hands suffici-Laying Siege ently full in those Quarters. With these hopes he incamped before the City, to Constantie with intention to use violence if fair words would not prevail. The next Mornalds

ning coming up with his Army to the Walls about Blachernæ, he summoned the Town, and by great promises invited those that kept the Gates to open them; but they not onely refusing, but reviling him with ill Language, he then

gave the Onfet.

127. The Emperour all this while was very folicitous, not being (at least as he thought) fufficiently provided for fo furprizing a Mischief. In the first place he sent into Iberia to Constantine, to come to him with all the speed he could make, whatever his business at present should be. But for making effectual opposition against the Enemy now endeavouring to scale the Walls, he brought the Citizens and others together, not exceeding a thousand Men. Now as to the Management of this affair, ac-

The Turks

counts are very different. Cedrenus writes of his going out into the Field, with a contemptible Number in respect of the Enemy, and how his Men were beaten back, and driven into the Trench, he himself with difficulty escaping into the City, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had the Usurper profecuted his Victory; not onely the Gates, but the Walls themselves about Blachernæ, being left desolate. On the other side Zonaras tells us, that the Emperour never went out of the City, but in his Imperialibus shewed himself upon the Wall, thinking thereby to strike some awe into the Rebels. But the Macedonians on the contrary, being accustomed to scurrility, with bitter Invectives reviled him, singing Songs, and using Gestures, chosen for such an occasion, and sung nis vic-tory is forced fuch as iffued out with Lofs and Ignominy they beat in again, or else killed or drowned them in the Trench before they could there arrive. But this opportunity which now in a manner begged his acceptance, Tornicius did not improve, pursuing those that fallied to the Walls, but never considering whether he could goe any farther. Monomachus seeing this, laid hold of the Advantage to bring the Citizens upon the Wall again, and to re-inforce the City, having narrowly escaped the shot of an Arrow, which fell upon one of the under Servants of his Bedchamber, though without any hurt. The day following, Tornicius renewed the Affault, but had no more any fuch advantage, for he was both repulsed, and was nigh being killed by a Stone of a Talent weight, which was cast out of an Engine, by which danger he was so affrighted and discouraged for want of Success, and above all when he perceived, that his Men began to fall off from him to the Emperour, that fearing to be delivered up into his Hands, he raifed his fiege And retreat to and retreated to Arcadiopolis, where he joined Forces with John Batatzes. All the Cities of Macedonia and Thrace had submitted to him, Redestus excepted, which now he fent feveral of his Captains and Kinfmen to befiege, and afterward followed with all his Army, but attacked it without Success. By this time the Eastern Forces were arrived, and the Emperour sent them directly into Thrace against him, under Command of Michael Jasites the Magister, who incamping himself against him at Arcadiople, would not suffer his Men to doe any Injury to the Countreymen, fuch of Tornicius his Souldiers as he took he used very civily, and by good words and promife of Pardon, endeavoured to draw away all the rest. Now Winter was at hand, and the Arts of Jasites had such influence upon them, that they began to confider, that they could not undergo both the Incommodities of the Season, the want of Provisions, and sustain the Violence of fo powerfull an Enemy all together, by degrees they fell off to the There he is Magifler. For some time, notwithstanding, Tornicius would not quit his hopes, his follower, as long as obscure Persons onely revolted. But when the great Commanders of and punished for his Rebel. his Army fell off, then with Batatzes who alone stuck by him, he consulted how to escape, and when that could not be they betook themselves into a Church, whence Jastes caused them to be fetcht, and sent them bound to the Emperour. On Christmas-Eve by his Command their Eyes were put out, such as were most eminent in the Rebellion, were ignominiously led about the Forum, then banished, and their Estates confiscated. The ordinary fort were all sent away into their own Countries. 128. Thus was Monomachus happily delivered from this Civil War, but another

from abroad now fell upon him, to the Empire the most mischievous of all others. because made upon it by the Turks, who in conclusion by their furious and victorious Arms put an end to it, and erected one of their own in its Place. The Turks, fay our Authours, were an Hunnish Nation, inhabiting the Northern Parts of the Mountain Caucasus, most populous and free, as having never submitted the Neck to the Yoke of any Person or People, but laid one of their own upon feveral others by Degrees, and first upon this occasion. After such time as the Saracens had overturned the Kingdom of the Persians, and had not onely subdued Persia, but Media, Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Africk, and no small Part of Europe it self, they began to fall out among themselves, and their vast Empire was divided into several Portions, so that Spain, Africk, Egypt, Babylon and Persia had their several Princes, and these Wars one with another. At such time as Basilius was Emperour, Muchumator Mahomet the Son of Imbrael, was Prince of Persia, the Chorasmi, Oretani and Media, having War with the Indians and Babylonians, and put hard to it fent to the Prince of the Tarks for affiftence, defia Turk attits ring three thousand Men, which he accordingly fent him under Command of the Saracens Tragelipax, or Tangrelipix Mucalet the Son of Michael, hoping by this means to have a Pallage opened into Perfia, which was hitherto stopped by the feveral CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantine Monotrialstrong Forts which stood upon the River Araxes. Mahomet making use of these

Auxiliaries eafily mastered Pifastrius Prince of the Arabians whose Men could not endure the force of their Arrows. After this he would have used them against the Indians; but they defired to be difmiffed and to have the Garrison removed from the Bridge of Araxes by which they must of necessity pass, and when he refused, and went to offer violence, they revolted and betook themselves to the Wilderness of Carbonitis and the Mountains, not daring to abide a Battel because they were so small a Number. Upon the Saracens they fell down continually, and did much mischief to the adjacent Parts, so that to destroy them Muchumet fent an Army of twenty Thousand Men commanded by ten of the most Noble of his Nation. The Captains thought it not fafe to enter the Defart being not provided of necessaries for so desolate a place, but incamped themselves at the entrance, which Tangrolipix understanding fell upon them by night when they little expected it, easily defeated them, and finding in their Camp many Chariots and Horfes with much Money, now would not like a Fugitive practife Robberies and make incursions by stealth, but openly shew himself as a fair Warriour. And all Maletantours and discontented Persons that could, now came in to him from the Neighbouring Countries, especially such as loved to maintain themselves by Rapine and Vice lence, so that in a short time his force was increased to fifty Thousand Men.

129. Mahomet inraged at the defeat put out the Eyes of the ten Commanders and threatned such Souldiers as had escaped to lead and shew them abroad in Womens Cloaths, which caused whem now when he prepared to renew the War to run from him to Tangrolipix, who now came and offered Mahomet Battel. He notwithstanding the revolt of these Men had got another Army together of Saracens, Persians, Caberians and Arabians, of about five hundred Thousand and with an hundred Elephants bearing Turrets on their backs gave Battel to his Enemy in a place called Aspachan, which was fought with much vigour on both fides, but he riding about to animate his Souldiers chanced to fall from his Horse and broke his Neck, whereby the Quarrel was decided, for his Army then sub-And one ing mitted and Tangrolipix by universal consent was declared King of Persia and all Ma-Mahomet is homet's Dominions. Tangrolipia thus promoted presently cleared the Bridge of declared sui-

of all the Do- having fufficiently firengthened himself he took the Title of Sultan (by which minions of the Absolute Emperour or King of Kings is meant) and inflaving the Saracens and Perfians divided all the Countrey amongst the Turks. Having here settled his Affairs he resolved to make War upon the Neighbouring Princes and first over-Seizes on the threw in feveral Battels and killed him of Babylon whose Dominions he then seized Dominions of into his hands. After this he fent Cuthimuses (his Brother's some call him, others his Uncle's Son) against the Arabians from whom he received a notable deseat, and in his flight asked leave of Stephen a Patritian the Emperour's Governour of Media (at that time called Baspracan) to pass through that Countrey, which he denying, he made his way by force and worfting Sephen who opposed him took him Prisoner, and in his passage through Trabrezium sold him to the Lord of the Place. Returning to the Sultan he excused himself of the blow received from the Arabians, whom he would undertake to fubdue if he might but be fent the fecond time; and by the way he spake of Baspracan, how sertile a Countrey it was and easie to be Conquered being held by Women, as he termed those Romani Souldiers with whom he had fought.

130. But the Sultan was so inraged at him that he designed to put him to death for the loss in Arabia, and as for Media, he feared to make War against the Romans being awed by the fame which the Emperours Nicephorus, Zimisces and Bafilius had obtained in the World, and concluding with himself that the valour and power of the Empire was still the same. But while he deliberated hereof Cuthimuses for fear, fled and seized on a City in the Countrey of the Chorasmit But is beaten called Pafar, a very strong place. When now the Sultan was moving against the Arabians who had the same success against him, as his Kinsman, and he returned home with the like difgrace. This should have made him have better thoughts of Cuthimuses, but he belieged him in Pasar, whence he made many sallies, and did much damage to the Sultan, who now besides this Iron in the Fire made himfelf still more work by sending an Army of about twenty Thousand Men to Then he fends Conquer Media under command of Afan the Deaf his Brother's Son. Afan enan Army into tring the Countrey destroyed all things in his way, sparing neither Sex nor Age.

The Countrey was then Governed by Aaron Besta the Son of Bladisthlabus and Brother of Prusiamus, who finding himself too weak to graple with the Turks

Which is

wrote to Catacalo Besta, Ambustus the Governour of Axium and Iberia to come to his aid with all the speed he could make, which he accordingly did, using great expedition. When they came together and it was propounded whether they should fall upon the Turks by night or openly give them Battel by day, Catacalo was pleafed with neither but advised to have the Camp left with the Baggage and carriage Beafts and to lie in Ambush till the Turks should be busie in the Plunder of it. The Device took so well that Asan coming to give them Battel and perceiving there was no body left in their Camp, prefumed they were fled out of fear, Which is cut and boldly bad his men enter and feize on the Booty. Then did the Romans about vening rife from their Ambush and taking them in so much disorder killed most of them with their Captain, very few escaping through the Mountains into the Cities of Persarmenia. 131. The Sultan was grievously perplexed at the News yet to repair his loss

by better fuccess he got together of an Army an hundred Thousand Men confifting of Turks, Caberi and Limnitæ, which he committed to Abram Alim his half Brother for a fecond attempt upon Media. Upon notice of their coming Aaron and Ambustus again united their forces and Councils. Catacalo's advice was to fight them e'er they came into the Roman Territories while they were weary, a great part of them wanted Horses, and such Horses as wanted shooes whereas the Roman Souldier was full of courage animated by his late fuccess. On the contrary Aaron affirmed that they ought by no means to hazard a Battel against such a multitude, but that all the strong places were to be fortified, and all they had was to be put within the Walls till they could fend to the Emperour, and from him receive orders what to doe in so difficult a case. This course was taken, and having put all the Women and Children and all their best

things into the strong places they two sent to the Emperour, and withdrew into a plain of Iberia by the Natives called Ofurtru. The Emperour wrote back to them that they should attempt nothing till Liparites Prince of part of Iberia should joyn with them to whom he fent as he was a Friend and Ally of the Empire not to fail it at this time. Liparites at his Leisure raised his Men when in the mean time Abram having entred Media, and perceiving that the Roman forces had out of fear withdrawn themselves into Iberia resolved to march after them with all speed, and fight them e'er they should be increased by Accession of new supplies: The Captains having notice hereof, lest they should be surprized before the coming of Liparites wrote to him to hasten, and betook themselves to a place, very difficult of Access. Alim not being able to come at them, went to Artze a Village of great capacity wherein lived a great Number of Merchants and Tradimen not onely of the Countrey, but Syrians also, and Armenians, and of other Nations, and the inhabitants trufting to their Numbers though they had no Walls floutly defended themselves, by stopping up the Passages, and from their Houses casting down Stones, Wood and Darts upon the Turks, whom thus they held in play for fix days together. This coming to the Ears of Ambustus in the Roman Camp he most earnestly urged that they might not stay for the Loitering Liparites, but take this advantage while the Turks were thus busied at the Village, and fall upon them: but Aaron refused to joyn with him affirming he would doe no-

thing but what he was warranted by the Emperour.

132. Abram finding what he did not expect, so great resistence, and that he could not by force of Arms Conquer one Village, the Wealth of which he most vehemently thrifted after, refolved to confume all he could not get and fet it on fire, by which the inhabitants being forced out; (though an hundred and fifty Thousand are said to have perished partly slain by the Sword and partly burnt in the fire, into which many it's reported cast themselves) he found much Silver and other things that were not combustible. Besides he got many Horses and by the Turks. other Cattel, and fo led away his Army well inriched in quest of the Romans. Liparites being by this time come to them, they were come down into the Plain, and had pitched at the Foot of an Hill on which stood a Castle called Capetrum. The Turks now marching in no order but running in Herds together, Ambustus moved that in this condition they might fall upon them; but now Liparites refuled to fight out of a superstitious humour, because it was Saturday which he reckoned amongst unlucky days, being the eighteenth of September and the second Indiction, in the feventh year of Monomachus. But Abram understanding by his Scouts where, and in what condition the Enemy lay, marched up to them They meet and in due order of Battel, which they perceiving, put themselves how unwillingly ingaging the Roman Army are defeated. foever into the like posture to receive them : Ambustus led the Right and Aaron

of Paguman to revolt from Tyrach. 134. With these two Tribes he Ingaged and Fought Tyrach, affisted by eleven,

the Left Wing; the middle of the Battel being left to the Conduct of Liparites, To Ambustus was opposite Abram himself, to Aaron another of the Turkish Commanders called Chorosanites, and to Liparites one Aspam Selarius the half Brother of Abram. The fight began a little before Sunfet, and both Ambustus and Aaron deseated their Opposites, and pursued them till Cocks crow. But Liparites inraged for the loss of a Kinsman, to be revenged ingaged more desperately than prudently and was taken Prisoner, being much expected by his Friends who returning from the pursuit and lighting from their Horses gave God thanks for the Victory in these words, singing, What God is so great as our God: Expecting with great longing to hear what was become of Liparites whom at first they concluded to be in pursuit of the Enemy they were at length put out of all doubt by the coming of one that had ferved under him who affirmed him taken and led away bound to fuch place as he that took him pleased. The Roman Captains not-But take Cap- withflanding their Victory were fo struck with the News, that passing that night the Liparity without fleep, in the Morning they consulted what was to be done; and all resolved Roman Gene- to depart home. Thereupon Aaron with his Men returned to Ibane the Metropolis of Baspracan or Media, and Catacalo with his went back to Anium. But Abram overjoyed that he had taken Liparites, and thereupon thinking himself the most happy Man alive, omitting all other business conveyed him himself five days Sending him Journey, and then fent him away to the Sultan who made a shew of joy for the tothe Sultan, taking of fo confiderable a Man; but envying his Brother the good fortune, as he had formerly Stomached Cutlumusus for his bad, resolved to make him also away, and for that watched his opportunity.

133. The Emperour having News of the Captivity of Liparites desired above measure to have him freed, and for that purpose sent one to the Sultan with Pre-

fents of the value of his Ransom offering also to make a Peace and Alliance with him. The Sultan that he might feem a generous Prince rather than a Man of violence and Robbery fent him Liparites Gratis, receiving the Presents that were an Ambatta-dour from the fent him, but he gave them all to his Prifoner, advising him to have him in his mind, and no more to bear Arms against the Turks. And he fent in Ambassage to the Emperour their Seriph, who had the same Relation to their Califph, as the Syncellus at Constantinople in old time had to the Patriarcli, succeeding him in ordinary course when he died. The Seriph at his audience speaking many things arrogantly and boastingly according to their fashion required, that the Romans should become Tributaries to his Master, and when the Emperour would hear of no such matter returned home. This Hint caused Monomachus in expectation of War to provide for the fecurity of the Provinces, when violence was offered to them by an Enemy in another Quarter, the Patzinacæ a People of Scythia. This People being of that fort of Scythians then termed Royal, the most powerfull of them all was divided into thirteen Tribes, which though they all made up one Nation, yet each received Denomination from its own Prince. They possessed beyond Isler the Champion extending from Borysthenes to Pannonia, not being any where fixt but wandring from place to place, and always dwelling in Tents. Their Prince at this time was Tyrach the Son of Kilter a Man of Noble extract, but very Lazy and of the Parzi- heavy. But there was one Kegenes the Son of Baltzar, by Birth obscure, but of great fame for Arms which he had obtained in his Conduct against the Uzzian Hunnish Nation whom making incursions he had often repulsed with great loss, Tyrach not daring to shew his Head, but lurking in the Fenns about Ister. The People reverencing Tyrach for his extraction, but much more admiring the other for his valour, he grew so jealous of him that he resolved to take his Life, which often attempting fecretly without fuccess, at length he openly fent a Company to feize, and kill him. But Kegenes having timely notice of their coming made his escape into the Fenns of Borysthenes whence he fent and procured his Friends and his own Tribe called the Tribe of Belemarne with another which had the name

being oppressed with multitudes and being defeated, resolved the onely means of his fafety, was to go over to the Emperour. He went to Dorostolus, and there passing Putting him into a River Island with his Men to the Number of twenty Thousand, sent to Micharunning min-felf under the el the Son of Anastasius Governour of the Countrey to let him know who he was, Protection of and the reason of his coming, which was to put himself into the Emperour's protection of and the reason of his coming, which was to put himself into the Emperour's protection. the Emperour. tion, whose interest he doubted not very much to promote. The Governour having communicated his defires to the Emperour received orders to receive him courteoully with his Men, to provide them of all necessaries and send him to Constantinople

War is de-

The Sultan

where he was entertained with all the kindness he could expect. He promised to be Baptized and to perswade his Countreymen also to turn Christians, and was Honoured with the Dignity of Patritian: then were affigned to him three Castles with large Grounds on the Bank of Ister and he and all his Men received Baptism. When he was conveniently fetled he made frequent inrodes into the Territories of Tyrach, where he killed all the Men, and fold the Women and Children to the Romans for flaves. Hereupon Tyrach fent the Emperour to exposulate for that being a Friend and Ally of the Patzinacæ he had received their Enemy and Fugitive, and required that he would not any more afford him any affiltence for the invalion of their Countrey; otherwise he denounced War against him. Of this message the Emperour made very light, and laught at it as unreasonable, wheregainst the Re- upon the Messengers departed as they came. He wrote to Michael and Kegenes to look narrowly to the Bank of Ister, and to fend him word in case any considerable Army made any attempt to pass that River, to prevent which he sent an hundred Gallies to hover about those Coasts. But to render these Gallies useless, Tyrach expected the coming of Winter and a Frost, which having crusted over the River to the thickness of fifteen Cubits, he then passed over with all the Power he could make, and with his Numbers, which amounted to eight hundred thousand Men, overwhelmed, as it were, the Roman Provinces. The Emperour having speedy notice hereof, as speedily sent away to Constantine Arianites the Magister and Governour of Adrianople, and to Bafilius Monachus the General of Bulgaria, with the Forces of Macedonia and Bulgaria to join themselves with Michael and Kegenes, which accordingly they did. The Roman Armies being united, Kegenes as he saw his advantages, being better acquainted than any other with the humour of his Countrey Men, made many Assaults upon them, who having on this side the River light upon Wine and Drinks made with Honey, of which before they had never tafted, thereof drank fo intemperately, that great multitudes of them died every day. This being made known to Kegenes, he prevailed with the other Captains to fall upon them now when they were diffressed by Cold and Sickness; though with some Reluctancy, to ingage in Fight with so great Multitudes.

Wherein Ty- 135. A fudden and fierce onfet being made upon them, they were fo much thererach, the King with affrighted that this added to their other distress, they threw down their and the whole Arms, and yielded aswell Tyrach and the most Noble, as the rest of the multitude. Parzinace are Kegenes very vehemently urged that they should all be put to Death, which he executed on many upon whom he light, with this faying, that A Snake is to be killed in Winter while he cannot move his Tail, lest when Summer comes (animated afresh by the heat of the Sun) he doe more mischief. But the Roman Captains abhorring fo great cruelty, thought fit they should be bestowed in the Desart places of Bulgaria, a Tribute put upon them, by which a good Revenue would accrue to the Emperour, and he might be furnisht with Souldiers against the Turks or other Enemies. They prevailed against Kegenes, who yet to doe what lay in his power, killed all he had taken except fuch as he could make Money of, and went his way. The rest of the multitude Bafilius the Governour of Bulgaria disperfed through the Plains of Sardica, Naifus and Eutzapelus, taking from them all their Weapons left they should afterward attempt any thing. Tyrach and an hundred and forty others were fent up to Constantinople, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperour, Bartized, had Honours and Wealth conferred on them, and lived with greater content and pleasure than formerly. But by this time the Sultan displeased by the Answer to his Message, had gathered Forces out of Persia and Babylonia, and renewed the War: Monomachus upon notice, bewho sending fides other preparations caused fifteen thousand of the lately Conquered Patzinacæ fifteen thou- to be Armed, and giving them four Commanders of those who abode at Constannance against tinople, whom he richly presented and adorned with costly Armour, sent them him, they re-into Iberia under Conduct of Constantine Hadrobalanus a Patritian. They went turn back in on their way as far as Melitena, but drawing near to Damatrys, and confulting what to doe with themselves, they abhorred so much the thoughts of going

with his Horse, swom over it being narrow, for they had no Boats, and by a prodigious adventure got back to *Traditza*. There arming their Companions as they could they did much mischief to the Roman Territores, and some of them After which a removing to the River Ofmus, and the Countrey lying about Ister, thence they Truce with made excursions into Thrace and Macedonia, having the better of such Captains them for thiras opposed them, till at length they made a Truce with the Romans for thirty years.

into Iberia, by the Advice of Catalune one of their Officers they resolved to re-

turn back to their Countreymen, and following his example in taking the Sea

The Constantinopolitan Roman CHAP. II. Empire.

Conftantine Monc-

136. In the mean time the Sultan was with all his Force entred into Iberia, where the Inhabitants had shut up themselves and their Wealth in the strong The Sullan is Towns, so that being come as far as Comium, and there understanding that the repelled every Roman Army was to Rendefvouz at Cæfarea, he would not venture to proceed, but

returned in great wrath because he could perform no greater things. Passing into Baaspracan or Media, and there finding all in the same posture, in Indignation he was resolved to attacque some of the Garrisons, and sell upon a City called Mantzikierte, fituate in a Champion Soil, fortified by a triple Wall, and furnished Siege to Managikierie, largely with Water and all other necessaries, of which the Inhabitants had timely provided themselves. Thinking because of its situation with ease to become Master of it, he attacqued it with all forts of Engines for thirty days without intermission; but nothing could he gain upon it, the valour and industry of Basilius a Patritian the Governour, a very prudent Person frustrating all his Attempts. Wearied with the frequent Repulses he received, he purposed to raise his Siege, when Alcan the Captain of the Corasmii begged of him but to continue it one day longer, and commit it to his management, which was readily granted. By break of day Alcan having his men and all things in readiness, placed the Sultan and the most eminent Persons about him on an Hill near the Eastern Gate to be Spectatours of what should follow; and then to that Gate applied all his Engines and Devices, because in that place the Wall seemed lower, and the place where he should stand somewhat higher, so that it afforded advantage to doe execution upon those within the Walls. The Army he divided into two parts, whereof the one he ordered to fland upon that Ground to shoot into the Town, the other with Forks and other ruftical Infruments to bear up a fort of Engine called Læʃa, and bear it to the Walls. This Læʃa was a kind of Hurdle or Tent made of Boughs, and above covered with an Ox Hide, born with Feet or Pillars which itood upon Wheels. This they were to thrust to the Walls, which under covert of it they were to demolish; for he concluded that all Arrows or Darts would be kept off by the Hide above, and they might work at the Walls as he pleafed, especially seeing his Archers placed upon that advantageous Ground would not permit any to appear upon the Battlements. But Bafilius perceiving what he aim'd at, gave order to fuch as were to defend the Walls not to appear nor shew themselves, but to have in readiness great Stones, Arrows and Darts, and expect the sign, which was, Christ belp us; and he had prepared some very great Beams which were sharpned at one end. Now Alcan seemed to himself by his showrs of Arrows, to have driven all from the Battlements, and therefore the Lafa were put to the Walls, which being come so near that they could not go back, Basslins gave the watch-word, and out came they that had the guidante of the Beams, and let them fall upon the Lafa: then did others plye them with great Stones and other things, whereby the Tops of them were quite broken, and they within were exposed to all Arrows, Darts and other things that came to Hand, and all perished, amongst whom Alcan himself: he being known by the goodness of his Armour, two Young Men iffued out and by his Hair drew him in at the Gate, which done, Bafilius caused his Head to be cut off and shot amongst the Turks. At the fight of it the Sultan was much troubled, and broke up his Siege, pretending he was called away by more urgent Affairs, and threatning the next fpring with

greater Forces to make another Journey into the Roman Territories. 137. The Emperour being folicitous about his return, and defirous to be Revenged of Aplesphar, who having broken the League made with Constantine, had invaded his Dominions, gathered all the Forces of the East together, and over them appointed for Commander one Nicephorius an Eunuch, and formerly his Chaplain when a private Man, but who fince had for love of the World renounced his Orders. Him he now graced with the Title of Governour and General of the Camp; and sent him into the East, not because of any valour or skill he had, but because he they were called, and Cantzacium, light not tipon the Turks (for they upon hearing what Preparations were made against them under Command of Abimilech the Brother of Cutlumusus, were returned Home) but forced Aplesphar within the Walls, and wasting the Countrey, compelled him again to make Peace, and renew the League, for confirmation whereof he gave up as Hoslage Artastras the Son of Phatlum his Brother, Prince of the Region of Cantzacium, whom having received, Nicephorus as having performed enough, returned to Conflantinople. In the mean time the Patzinaca, as we hinted, passing over Hamas, and viewing the Plain which lay betwixt it and Ister, and extends it self as far as the Sea; and perceiving how

Mmm 2

Constantine Mono.

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The Pargins-well it was Wooded and Watered, there fare down (the Inhabitants called it, ce make fresh An hundred Hills) and thence made Incursions into the Dominions of the Emincursions inmeurious in the fubjects of which they not a little molested. Upon this occasion Keupon which genes was fent for by the Emperour to Confult, and lying with his Forces in a Kegenes in first field near to the City, while as yet he knew not wherefore he was fent, three for to Conof the Patzinacæ his Countreymen made an attempt upon his life, and wounded him by Night though not mortally, for some of his Guard coming timely in, they struck not courageously, but endeavouring to escape, as much more Assistance came in with Baltzar the Son of Kegenes, they were taken. They appealed to the Emperour; whereupon Baltzar put his Father into a Chariot with four Wheels, and after him drew them bound, and so with all his Horse, he himself, together with his Brother Galin followed on Foot, and entred the City till they came to the Cirque, then leaving there the rest, he himself went to the Emperour. At fight of him the Emperour demanded why he had not at first put to Death the Affassinates, to which he answered, because they had appealed unto him. Hereupon Monomachus grew suspicious, and sent immediately for the Men, who being asked the cause of the Attempt, affirmed they did it for his sake, and for the Empire and City, to which Kegenes was a Traitour, having a design by break of Day to have entred, killed all, and with the Plunder to return to his own Countrey-138. Now whereas the Emperour should have made strict Inquisition, and sif-

And is there ted out the matter, he gave credit to the improbable and ill coherent tales of kept Prisoner, these Fellows, and causing Kegenes to be brought to Court, under pretence of Cure and Physick, kept him close up, separated his Sons the one from the other, and pretending great kindness to his Men, and flattering them with large allowance of Meat and Drink, endeavoured by degrees, and as he could to diffarm them, and commit the principal of them to custody, giving free leave in the mean time to the Assalinates to go where ever they pleased. Yet thought he for all this to cover his defign, though the Patzinacæ proved far more cunning, Buthis Fol. and deceived the Deceiver as he thought himself. They took very thankfully lowers return what he fent them, and made shew of much contentment and obedience; but to their Countourist County Confidering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations,
treymen, maconfidering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations,
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treymen, maconfidering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations,
treymen, maconfidering they are the confidering the confidering they are the confidering the king frem in- and by Night got them away from the Camp, and travelling hard on the third Day by great Journeys passed the Hæmus, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. Now being all united and having Arms sufficient, they came over the Mountain to a Caitle called Aula, not far from Adrianople, and thence wasted the Countries adjacent, which affoon as Constantine Arcianites the Magister and General of the West understood, he drew out some Forces against them, and lighting upon some Straglers and Parties had at first the better of them, but Ingaging their main Body near a Fort called Dampolis, there he was defeated, with the loss of many men; and returning to Adrianople gave notice thereof to the Emperour, fignifying that there was necessity of bringing another Army into the Field, and that no good could be expected from those who had been already beaten against so resolved and numerous an Enemy. The Emperour had had notice of the defeat before his Letters arrived, and had fent to Tyrach and the other Noblemen of the Patzinacæ, then residing at Constantinople, whom having richly Prefented they engaged by Oath to pacific and quiet their Nation. He lent also for all the Forces of the East, which having passed over from Abydus and Chry-Copolis, he then affigned them Nicephorus the Rectour for their Captain, to whom

had prepared Ropes and Thongs wherewith to lead away their Prisoners. 139. In the mean time Tyrach and the rest of the Nobility whom the Empe- Ingens Cedre-139. In the mean time 131 and the lost of the Confine with the rest for Historia Sorrour had dismissed were come to the Patzinacz, and conspired with the rest for Historia Sorrour the best promotion of the Affairs of their Countrey, so far were they from ac-lize Curopacomplishing what they had fworn at their departure. Constantine consulting what late supplement was fittest to be done, Ambustus was for falling on them while they were yet dispersed and out of order, which the General out of Gallantry resused, saying that

he joyned Catacalo the General of the East, and Erbebius a Frank Captain of his

Countreymen, yet so as to be obedient to his Orders. Constantine marching with his Army over Hamus, came to a place called Diacene, and there incamped and

fortified himself, purposing the day following to leave all his Baggage there, and

so with the Army disintangled from all Incumbrances to Fight the Enemy, whom he so contemned as not fearing to have the better of them, it onely per-

plexed him how to prevent their running away, and escaping his Victorious

Arms. Nay the Souldiers being as confident as their Captain; fome of them

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They would run away into the Woods, and for his part he had no Dogs to Hunt them out. But this fault was quickly amended, for the Patzinacæ drew up in order towards him, and then the next Morning he prepared to give them Battel. He himself led the middle Battel, Ambustus the Right, and Francopullus the Lest

Wing; but without much labour they lost the day, the Romans ignominiously, Bur is pur to betaking themselves to their Heels, onely Ambulus and those about him fighting manfully were flain: the Patzinacæ durst not make any considerable pursuit for fear of Ambushes, hardly imagining they could be earnest in running upon so little provocation. The Emperour at the News was much nerled, but not able to recall what he had done in the choice of a General, resolved if possible to repair the loss the following year. In the third Indiction, and the eighth year of his Reign he sent for his Army out of the Eastern Parts, which he committed to the Conduct of Constantine Captain of the Friends or Associates, and com- Emberge. manded him to joyn with the Forces still in Thrace, and chastize (if possible) the obstinate Patzinacae. He went to Adrianople, and there uniting his Forces, incamped himself within a Rampart; and the Patzinaca hearing of his coming, shortly after came up to him on the eighth day of June. While he was in a Council of War confulting what to doe, Samuel Burtzes one of his Officers without any orders led the Foot he Commanded, he fet upon the Enemy, who far exceeding him in numbers fore distressed him, so that he sent several Messengers to the General for Affiftence, who though he could have wished him punished for his rashness, yet considering it was the Emperour's business, concluded he must not neglect it, and so was constrained to give the Signal for Battel.

140. He went in to the Succour of Burtzes, but could not prevail against the obstinate Enemy, who much animated by vanquishing the Foot already, easily Which are al- difcouraged the Horfe, fo that Horfe and Foot both ran ignominiously within the Rampart, and there secured themselves, after the Loss of many Men and several Persons of Eminence, as Michael Doccianus a Patritian, and Constantinus Arcianitus the Magister, who died on the third Day after of his Wounds. The Patzinacæ besieged them in the Rampart, and had certainly taken it, but that they were discouraged by an accident, an arrow out of an Engine killing one Sultzus, and his Horse under him, when at the same time it chanced, that Glabas Nicetas drew near with some Succours from Adrianople, which they imagining to be Bafilius with the Forces of Bulgaria, would not abide his coming, but dispersed themselves. While matters went thus abroad, at home in the City, a Conspiracy was discovered against the Emperour, whereof were Authours, Nicephorus and Michael the Sons of Nicephorus, with others of their Relations. Inquisition was made after all Offenders, but none were punished, but Nicephorus A Configurey

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A C Danger, fet himself wholly to vindicate the Honour of the Empire against the Patzinacæ. Kegenes he took out of Prison and sent him to them, he ingaging to take them off from their outrageous Courses. All the Forces he could raise out of his own Subjects, and his Allies he caused to be got together, in particular the Franks and Barangi, over every Nation he appointed for Commander some recree of the the remarks and Barangs, over every Nation ne appointed for Commander some Empire laga. Eminent Person of their own, and over all made General Nicephorus Bryennius a ged against Patritian, whom upon this occasion he called Ethnarch, and sent him against the Patrimacon, who now very much desident as a superior of the patrimacon. Parzinacæ, who now very much despising the Romans, freely and without any fear laid all walle they could come at in Macedonia and Thrace. Their Cruelty Who had the they exercised more than ever, not sparing the Infants that hung at the

Kegenes re-leafed out of

boldnefs to Breaft, and some of them were so bold as to come as far as Catasyrra, not far configurations diffant from Configuration end were paid well for their boldness. For the Emperour fet out a Party against them, collected out of his own Guards, and others under Command of John, sirnamed Philosophus a Patritian, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Chamber of Zoe the Empress, which falling on them by Night when drunk and sleepy, made an end of them all, and sent up Cart-loads of their Heads to Monomachus.

141. But in the mean time Kegenes to perform his promise made to the Emperour, came near to his Countreymen and fent to them to let them know his mind, to which they returning this Answer; and confirming it by Oath that they would be governed by him, he trufted and went to them, but was no fooner come, but they cut him to pieces, and those very small ones. Bryennius coming to Adrianople, took care for preservation of the Countrey; for the Emperour thinking not yet enough done, fent after him Michael a Patritian, and Acoluthus, or Captain of his Guards, with a new fupply, and to have the chief Command,

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but with Order to be carefull how he ingaged in Battel, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with Bryennius, fet upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called Goloa, and another near a Castle named Toplittheir rarties being cutoff zus, which so discouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Counthey makenot trey, lying at the Foot of Hamus, but transferred all their Power and Rage into Macedonia, which they wasted with a select Party, able if need were to result all ons to openiny as heretofore, opposers they could expect from thence. Bryennius and Michael having notice of this their Cunning, by Night discamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to Chariopolis which they entred, and as the Patzinacæ merily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be. fell upon them as they lay fleeping and fecure, and eafily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about fo licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by flealth.

142. The Emperour was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them. but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosome. There was one Romanus Boilas, who being an obscure man ferved in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, Cedrenus tells us, but Zonaras will have him a Stammerer, not able to speak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it feems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, affoon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This fo far imboldned him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senatour. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition; till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again aswell as their Original and Principles. Being Senatour he was never quiet till he became the most inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted not opportunity, ( having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms ) by the death of the prefent Prince to bring his ends about, fo he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conscience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then posfessed with a vehement desire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be diffatisfied with the Emperour. To fuch as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having onely tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make A Conspiracy it known. But such as approved of the thing he incouraged to the utmost, nay at home but obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conspiratours, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his complices, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperour for some time lhewed fome averseness or distatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity.

143. In the mean time ( to return a little into the East ) the Sultan as we faid bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother Abram, continually fought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to Cutlumusus his Kinsman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the Sultan. They gave him Battel at a Place called Pasar, but there Abram was taken Prisoner and put to death. Cutlumusus with six thousand Men, and Melech Abram's Son sent to the Emperour, defiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in Persarmenia called Carle, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the Sultan with an Army pursuing him came into Iberia, whom to avoid he fled as far as Saba and Arabia the Happy. In Iberia the Sultan laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the

Emperour recalled Michael Acoluthus out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in Chaldia gathering together the dispersed Franks and Barange, used his indeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The Sultar having News of his fudden Arrival, concluded with himself that he meant to fight, and confidered that should he ingage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his difrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to Tabresium. At the same time Michaelas the Son of Stephen, and his Successour in his Principality over the Triballi and Serbi, entred into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of Protospatharius, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the Roman Empire. At the same time the Prince of Egypt courted him with Presents. But Another Ex. nothing gave him or could give him fatisfaction, fo long as the Patzinacæ still went unpunished, to chastize whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General Michael Acoluthus, and besides this he commanded Basilius Syncellus. with the Bulgarian Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The Patzinacæ having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called Great Prischlava, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the Romans besieged them till they were weary, and began to be in diffress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consulta-

tion what was to be done. It was refolved that the Siege should be raifed, and But with great accordingly a deep filence being injoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to Tyrach, who fent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass, and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when she fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell Syncellus; those that escaped got with Michael to Adrianople. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loss and Difgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations fo great, that he refolved if poslible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers whereever

At last a truce he could. They from a Fugitive understanding his Resolutions, to divert so great for 30 years is a florm as was gathering, fent and defired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

144. The Truce was very feafonable, confidering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and Constantine vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an the Emperour vality can away, the certain Argument of a weak and cane prince. He had an isveryprofule ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Difcretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of to whom, when, or how much, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to St. George in Mangana, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of visiting and overfeeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his Sclerana, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained. to recruit which he invented feveral mean, fordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be fure the East was lost through his He disbands Miscarriage in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the the Souldiers Boders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, be-Frontiers to cause they maintained so many Souldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the Roman Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Souldiers, and diffolved the Garrifons of fuch Parts, particularly the Army of Iberia, so necessary for resistence of the Turks, consisting of sifty thousand Men. they were disbanded by Leo Serblius, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a

Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadfull warning to all profuse Princes. Zoe the Em- Zoe the Empress dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her. and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

but with Order to be carefull how he ingaged in Battel, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with Bryennius, fet upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called Goloa, and another near a Castle named Toplittheir rathes being cutoff zus, which so discouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Counthey make not trey, lying at the Foot of Hamus, but transferred all their Power and Rage into their Incursions to openly one openly open open of they could expect from thence. Bryennius and Michael having notice of this their Cunning, by Night discamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to Chariopolis which they entred, and as the Patzinacæ merily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay fleeping and fecure, and eafily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about so licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by flealth.

142. The Emperour was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosome. There was one Romanus Boilas, who being an obscure man ferved in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, Cedrenus tells us, but Zonaras will have him a Stammerer, not able to fpeak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it feems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, affoon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This fo far imboldned him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senatour. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition, till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again afwell as their Original and Principles. Being Senatour he was never quiet till he became the most inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted not opportunity, ( having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms ) by the death of the present Prince to bring his ends about, so he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conscience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then posfelfed with a vehement defire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be disfatisfied with the Emperour. To such as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having onely tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make A Conspiracy it known. But such as approved of the thing he incouraged to the utmost, nay at home but obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it discovered and in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one

of the Conspiratours, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his complices, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperour for some time shewed some averseness or distatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity. 143. In the mean time ( to return a little into the East ) the Sultan as we faid

bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother Abram, continually fought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to Cutlumufus his Kinfman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the Sultan. They gave him Battel at a Place called Pasar, but there Abram was taken Prisoner and put to death. Cutlumusus with six thousand Men, and Melech Abram's Son sent to the Emperour, defiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in Persarmenia called Carfe, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the Sultan with an Army pursuing him came into Iberia, whom to avoid he fled as far as Saba and Arabia the Happy. In Iberia the Sultan laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the

Emperour recalled Michael Acoluthus out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in Chaldia gathering together the dispersed Franks and Barangi, used his indeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The Sultar having News of his fudden Arrival, concluded with himfelf that he meant to fight, and confidered that should he ingage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his difrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to Tabresium. At the same time Michaelas the Son of Stephen, and his Successour in his Principality over the Triballi and Serbi, entred into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of Protospatharius, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the Roman Empire. At the same time the Prince of Agypt courted him with Presents. But Another Ex. nothing gave him or could give him fatisfaction, fo long as the Patzinacæ still went unpunished, to chastize whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General Michael Acoluthus, and besides this he commanded Basilius Syncellus. with the Bulgarian Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The Patzinacæ having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called Great Prischlava, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the Romans belieged them till they were weary, and began to be in diffress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consultation what was to be done. It was refolved that the Siege should be raised, and But with great accordingly a deep filence being injoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to Tyrach, who fent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass, and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when she sled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell Syncellus; those that escaped got with Michael to Adrianople. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Lofs and Difgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations fo great, that he refolved if poslible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers whereever

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantine Monominal Chap, Zoe, Ge.

At last a truce he could. They from a Fugitive understanding his Resolutions, to divert so great oncluded. a florm as was gathering, fent and defired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

144. The Truce was very feafonable, confidering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and Constantine vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an the Emperour value value away, the certain Argument of a weak and eath Prince. He had an is very profile, ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Difcretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of to whom, when, or how much, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to St. George in Mangana, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of vifiting and overfeeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his Scleræna, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained. to recruit which he invented feveral mean, fordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be fure the East was lost through his He disbands Miscarriage in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the the Souldiers Boders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, beupon the Boders especially, were tree from 1 fluid and impositions for this account, be-fronten to cause they maintained so many Souldiers to keep the Strains, to watch the Roman Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Souldiers, and diffolved the Garrifons of fuch Parts, particularly the Army of Iberia, so necessary for resistence of the Turks, consisting of fifty thousand Men, they were disbanded by Lee Serblius, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadfull warning to all profuse Princes.

Zoe the Em- Zoe the Empress dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

Theodora, Michael

out of the moisture of her Tomb a Mushrome sprung up he affirmed it an evidence fent from Heaven that she was there received amongst the intelligent Powers. But his love was fo great to her that prefently after her Death he made choice of another object inamoured of the Daughter of a certain Alan Prince, which then lay as an Hostage at Constantinople, that he brought her into the Palace : called her Augusta, gave her Royal maintenance, and had it not been for the Awe and respect he bore to Theodora, or especially for the Infamy of a fourth Marriage he had made her Empress and given her a Diadem. But the Domination of this new Lady was not long lived. For after his death, she was reduced into the State and condition she was in before, except she made use of her time and saved any

thing, the short space that her Beauty ruled.

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145. For now Monomachus grew towards his end, being almost quite spent by the Gout, which prefently after his advancement so seized on his Limbs that he could neither stand nor go, but was held up or carried when ever he had occasion to stir. Afterward his intemperance toward Women increasing the diffemper. the humour fell also into his Hands and upon his Shoulders, and at length tormented him throughout both in all his Joynts, and inwardly in his fide, so that he could not but with great pain and trouble fetch his Breath. His case now feeming desperate both to himself and others, those that were about him confulted about a Successour. The chief Man now in favour and power was one John the Principal Logotheta, an Eunuch and otherwise a pityfull fellow, of obscure Original, and as despicable as to his parts, utterly as unfit for business as to write or speak according to true Grammar; but him the Emperour intrusted with all and defigned him Prince of the Senate, having removed from the place of chief Minister one Lictrudes a Person of quite different Qualifications because he was wont to deal plainly with him, and oppose any thing he knew contrary to reason. This John together with Constantine the Protonotarius Dromi, Basilius the Caniclei Præfectus and others, perceiving him drawing on, put him in mind of fetling matters and recommended to him Nicephorus the Proteuon (or Primate, as one might call him, but that this Title is appropriate to Ecclefiasticks as the most fit Person to succeed him, to which he assenting they sent notice to him then being at his Government in Bulgaria fecretly as they thought and without the knowledge of Theodora. But she wanted not Friends to let her know their contrivance Constantine how private foever, and leaving Monomachus dying in this new Monastery she dies, Theodora entred a Pinace and accompanied with feveral that were faithfull to her went to the great Palace in Constantinople where she was published, declared and owned rightfull Em- Empress by all, as right Heir to her Ancestours. This News thereof brought to Monomachus increased his distemper and he lived little longer than to testifie his forrow by a figh, with which he ended his days after he had Reigned twelve years and eight months. That we may not dismiss him without his due commendations as well as tax him for his faults, the provision he made for the Poor, for the Aged and Strangers in his Monastery is applauded by our Writers. And whereas the Revenues of the great Church were so lost and diminished that Service was there onely faid on the Lord's day, he so provided for it that Mass was there every day celebrated, and for the Communion he largely supplied the Altar with Plate, adorned with Gemms and Pearl very richly. Yet his Reign is ill fpoken of for the reasons above alledged, and was more taken notice of by the People for fome ill Accidents that happened toward the end thereof. For in the feventh and eighth Indictions fo great a Plague there raged in the City that the quick could scarcely Bury the Dead. And in the Summer of the seventh so great Tempefts, that they killed both much Cattel and some Men.

146. Theodora Porphyrogenita having got possession of what the People granted to be her Inheritance, first punished those that had been for the promotion of Nicephorus, by the Confifcation of their Estates and Banishment. Then to her Eunuchs did she distribute the greatest Places and Offices in the Empire. Theodorus the makes Domestick of the Schools of the East, and sends him thither to restrain She lettles her the inrodes of the Turks, taking away from the Magister Isaacius Commenus the Government. Mastership of the Camp. For Monomachus had Transported all the Macedonian forces into the East under Macedonian Captains, amongst which was also Bryennius, a certain Rumour or Prophecy running abroad, that the Turks should be suppressed by fuch an Army as Alexander the Great used in Conquering the Persians. She made Nicetas the Logotheta Dromi, Manuel the Drungarius Biglæ, and for his great abilities the employed Leo Strabofpondylus as her Master of State, who had formerly ferved the Emperour Michael. Affilted by these and other Officers though she was

very old, yet would she govern her felf, and refused to make any Emperour. To Les the committed the chief management of all affairs; but the her felf would fir upon the judgment feat, give Audience and answer to Ambassadours, create Magistrates, pronounce Laws, and interpose her Opinion and Resolution both in , publick and private matters : and her Government fucceeded well enough. For against her no man opposed himself, nor disobeyed her, and she maintained her Authority seizing the Estate and banishing Bryennius because upon hearing of the Death of Monomachus he had with the Macedonians under his command removed to Chrysopolis without her orders. No Nation made War upon her, neither did any publick Calamity happen in her time, the feafons of the year being all good and natural. Though old as she was yet being of a strong constitution and able enough for buliness, she promised her self many years. But though herein she flattered her self and was flattered into this belief, it's said, by a Monk, yet e'er two years came to an end she found she was deceived, being seized with the Iliack Pasfion, a disease always dangerous, and which caused the Physicians to despair of her recovery. Then did those about her consider whom to prefer to the Government Naming Mi- by whom these happy days might be continued. They pitched upon Michael ticus for her Stratioticus one of Constantinople, innocent and harmless, but utterly unfit for such an employment both in respect of his ignorance, for from his youth he had onely been used to War; and his great Age, for he was very Decrepit. But the Euruchs and Leo judging him fit for their turn because they could govern him at their

pleasure, they perswaded Theodora to make him Emperour, which she did by ador-

ning him with a Diadem, after he had given his Oath to doe nothing without

their knowledge and consent. These matters finished Theodora ended her Life

when she had Reigned one year and nine months about the end of August.

147. Michael Stratioticus by her death became Emperour and Monarch, and was for fuch declared on the last day of August in the ninth Indiction, A.D. M. LVI. As foon as the News of his promotion came to the Ears of Theodofius the President, the Cousin German of Monomachus he was thereby so much disturbed as not confidering the difficulty of the thing he undertook nor what danger he incurred, he got together his dependants, Servants and fuch of his Friends whom Theo- laid things little to heart, and in the Evening with that Train at his Heels passed dofine the Preand that the Empire of right descended upon him as being next in Bloud to the late Emperour. Coming to the Prætorium he broke open the Prison, and let out the Malefactours to affift him, which he did also at Chalce. In the mean time the Eunuchs in the Palace having received the Alarm made what Preparations they could to suppress him, both by Land and Water, which he understanding turned from the way leading thither and went to the great Church where he hoped to be received and owned by the Patriarch and Clergy. But things fell out quite otherwise; for when he came to the Church, they shut the Doors upon him; and though upon occasions of Innovation many people used to slock and run together, yet none now appeared, and on the contrary fuch as had appeared for him began by degrees to defert him and fall off. So that at length being by all deferted he But is punish, betook himself with his Son to the Church, not as a Prince but a suppliant, and et for his fel. was thence taken away very speedily and confined to Pergamus as a place of Ba-

nishment. After which fort the chiefest of those who had taken part with him

were punished. And for his folly he became a Song to the ordinary fort, 148. Stratioticus thus freed from this rash Adventurer was Emperour without the contradictions of any. To shew that he was govern'd by those that rais'd him, fuch things as they understood he did very well, but in fuch matters as he himself had been continually versed none did ever worse. The Senatours as they were Men of interest and influence he promoted, such generally as were not fit for fo great Employments as those to which he preferred them; using the same course and method to Men of more ordinary Rank. But as to military Men, he acted quite otherwise, his own Companions, nay his equals once, Men of considerable commands in the Armies. To these Officers when they came into the City he did not shew the least respect either by act or deed, and the two principal he much disgusted, Men both of them of great Nobility, bearing the Title of Magifter, and by their skill and actions having as much Reputation as their places were usually capable of. These were Isaacius Comnenus and Ambustus Catacalo, the latter of which in a meeting of Officers in Easter ( when the Emperour's bounty was wont to appear towards Men of this quality and Employment) he deprived of his Government of Antioch, and into his place immediately put Micha-

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ving to him the firname of Uranus that he might feem to derive his Descent from that Noble Family. Catacalo he accused as having very badly discharged his Office, in that the Numbers of Souldiers were diminished in his time, and he gave no content to those that had business with him; and when the most Ancient and most eminent Officers of the Army stood up in his Defence he fell into opprobrious Language both against him and them, wherein he did not spare Comnenus. This carriage very much discouraged some and provoked others of the Army, who could hear of the Liberality of this new Emperour unto others but not receive fo much as one good word from him themselves, though Men of his own Profession; yet did they not thence conceive so great Indignation as to Plot or design any thing against him till another Tryal. So Writes Zonaras, from whom Cedrenus differs in this that he gave Comnenus and Catacalo ill Language, for he Writes that he gave them two good words, but would not gratifie them in any thing they defired. And he farther instances in others he disobliged. Bryennius he recalled out of Banishment, gave him the command of the Cappadocians, and with the Mace-The Turks of Daniminent, gave min the Command of the Cappaacetans, and with the Mace-infelt the Box. donian Legions fient him against the Turks, a Commander of whom Samuch by name, now much infested the Borders of the Empire. But when he earnestly defired him to have his Estate restored which Theodora had taken from him he refused, and when still more importunately he urged him to it, he put him off with that Common faying, that Wages are not to be required till the work be done, whereby he fo exasperated him that he expected but an opportunity to be reven-

el his Kinsman whom at the same time he preferred to the Dignity of a Magister, gi-

149. Imprudent also was his carriage to Francopulus Erbebius who had done very good fervice under Maniaces in Sicily, and studied the Interest of the Empire. He defired of him to be Honoured with the Dignity of a Magister, which he not onely refused to confer on him, but with Scoffs and much scorn rejected him, which Affront being a Barbarian (faith our Writer) and impatient in his nature, Revolts to the he took fo heinously that not thinking what others were attempting, to be revenged he got him Home into Armenia, and drawing over to him three hundred of those Franks that served the Emperour went into Media and joyned himself with Samuch the Turk to make War upon the Romans. For fome time they accorded, but at length as commonly it happens differences arose, and were multiplied betwixt the two feveral Nations, and they began to Plot, and contrive means how to affront and at last to destroy each other. Samuch seemed to carry it fair, but Erbedius never trusted him, but dayly expected the Turks would make some attempt upon him and his Men, whom he charged ever to look to themselves, not so much as to Sleep or Eat but with their Weapons at Hand. At length the thing broke out and the Turks fet upon the Franks as they were at Dinner who aware of their coming and having their Horses ready, instantly mounted, fought with and deseated them, killing the greater part; the rest escaped into a Town not far off called Chlear. Erbebius after the pursuit was earnest for returning to their Camp, but it happening that there being a League and friendship betwixt him and the Ameras of that Town, his Men would needs go thither to refresh themfelves. He most vehemently endeavoured to disswade them, urging that they were by no means to trust those that were of a different Religion and Nation, who would make no difficulty at all of breaking their Oath, they counting it a matter of Piety and Merit to kill as many Christians as they could. But there was no good to be done, they continued obstinate, and he was forced to go with them into the Town, all he could doe was to beg of them to be vigilant and carefull, always to be upon their Guard. But they once got in fell to their Baths and Cups which invited Aponafar the Ameras to take the advantage offered him, fo that Communicating his Defign with Samuch and the Saracens living thereabouts, he gave fecret orders to those that lodged the Franks to lay hold of and bind fast their Guests, or if that could not be done to kill them. The fign being given, some accordingly they make fast and others they kill; the rest escaping by leaping down from the Walls. Erbebius was taken and kept as a Prisoner. This advantage the Ameras made of what he had done to curry favour with the Emperour. He fent him word he wasat his fervice and in Testimony of the Reality thereof, had destroyed those that had been Traitours to him, and at present had their Captain fast in Prison.

150. But Stratioticus his rough and crabbed Carriage produced fuch effects in a short space that he had but small cause to rejoyce at the Calamity of the Franks. The Eastern Officers being rejected by him as was faid now betook themselves to Leo Strabos pondylus the Protos yncellus and chief manager of affairs

Michael's unmakes them

under him defiring his mediation in their behalf that they might not be the onely Men that must be neglected, and not taste of his Liberality, which they could not but take notice was very large towards others, who had neither watcht nor fought as they had done, and endured all manner of hardships from their very Childhood. Leo heard them and had so much of the Courtier as to commend every Man a part and speak of his valour and Merits; but did nothing of their business, submitting to the Emperour's humour who would neither allow them good deeds nor good words, which at a small expence he might have done. This made them outrageous fo as first to revile Stratioticus one to another, and from reproachfull words to pass to exhortations to stand by one another, and revenge fo great Injustice, which Combination they confirmed by Oath secretly in the Church. By the advice of Ambustus they Communicated their Design to Bryennius as one who could affift them with a numerous Army, and eafily gained his concurrence. When they confulted whom to prefer to be Emperour, Ambustus had all their fuffrages, as one who by his Age, valour and experience excelled all others, but he really adverse to the burthen; named Isaacius Comnenus as the fittest Person they could chuse, and to him they all assented; which done and confirmed by Oath they received Provisions from the Emperour and departed each to his Quarters as was imagined. Amongst the rest Bryennius went to his charge and with him was fent Fohn Opfaras a Patritian with Gold to pay his Souldiers. Bryennius at the Muster required so much to be given to every Souldier, which John refused, affirming he would fully obey the Emperour's Orders, and contending together about this matter Bryennius grew fo Angry that he fell upon him and pulling him down to the Ground by his Hair and Beard foundly buffeted him. which done he committed him to Custody and afterward distributed the Gold to his Souldiers as he pleased. At that time it happened that Lycanthes a Patritian who commanded the Licaonians and Pysidians was near at hand with his Forces, and hearing what had happened, concluded with himself that none but one who Aimed at the Sovereignty it felf would have committed fuch an Arbitrary and Infolent Act, and being utterly Ignorant of what the other Commanders of the East had resolved, with a sufficient power fell upon the Camp of Bryennius, took him and delivered him into the Hands of Opjaras whom he had fet at liberty, who colouring his Revenge with a pretence of Loyalty put out his Eyes and fent him to

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

151. But the chief Officers of the Eastern Parts, such as Romanus Sclerus, Burtzes, Bataneiates, the Sons of Bafilius Argyrus and the rest understanding what had passed, having hitherto concealed their Inclinations, and expected the time when to stir, when they heard what had befallen Bryennius concluded that upon Examination he would reveal the conspiracy, and therefore thought it safest to prevent fuch a discovery by a timely rising. They all went into Paphlagonia to Castamo the House of Commenus, and compelled him to goe along with them to a spatious Plain called Guvaria, whither from all parts adjacent they fent for the Souldiery, and then by universal consent saluted him Emperour on the eighth day of June in the tenth Indiction. Having taken the Title he incamped himself as strongly as he could in the place, expecting the forces of the rest of the Conspiratours, especially of Ambustus, at whose slowness he conceived some diffidence, which was shortly changed into a supposed certainty by a Message he received that he had changed his mind, broken his (unlawfull) Oath, and refolving to adhere to Stratioticus was gathering together an Army for suppression of the Confederates. This mightily perplexed Comnenus when he confidered how dangerous an Enemy he should have at his Back, and therefore fortifying himself in his Camp he resolved not to stir till he heard farther. But Ambustus had not changed his mind, but mistakes caufed disorder on both sides. For Ambustus in his way from Constantinople meeting one of the Emperour's Messengers had sent a blunt message by him to Nicetas the Logotheta Dromi which fufficiently discovered the Defign; and when he came into the East and found not Comnenus stirring or as it seemed at all concerned, he imagined that he and the rest had changed their Resolutions and would declare nothing, so that he should be left to shift for himself alone, and be condemned out of his own Mouth. Therefore he was much concerned how to avoid the Danger; for he neither had any Army in readiness, those Forts he had being unable to graple with the Emperour, neither had he had any Communication as yet with the other Souldiers of the Eastern parts that lay about his Government, therefore not knowing how to trust them he had been very flow and wary in Preparations, and this was the cause of his Delay. Besides, there lay near him in their Winter

the Emperour together with the Relation of what had passed.

Quarters, two Regiments of Franks and one of Roffians, of which he stood in great fear, left upon discovery of his Design they should seize him, and send him to the Emperour. But when by Degrees he thought he had secured himself, then first he broke his mind to his Servants and Dependants, and having got about him about a thousand Men, then he try'd the Inclinations of such as he could less trust, first to bring over the Officers and Governours, and then the ordinary fort. He counterfeited Letters as from the Emperour, by which he was ordered with three Regiments of the Affociates, and two of the Colonierses and Chaldeans, to go against Samueh. Those with their Officers, he either by Promifes or Threats procured to take the Military oath to him, and having furnisht himself with an Army of several Nations, then marcht towards Comnenus, having fent to let him know he was on his way. 152. Comnenus distrustfull and much out of heart before, was much elevated

by this Message, and having joined his Forces with his, now set about his Work as being out of Danger. Yet did he commit his Wife and his Treasure, to his Brother John to be kept in a Castle called Pemolissa, seated on a Rock near the Who march- River Alys. He having taken order for railing of Money throughout the East, and appointed his Receivers, passed the River Sangarius, and being every where received with applause and acclamations by flow Journeys moved toward Nice, which he defired to get into his Hands to be a Receptacle for him upon occasion, and therefore he gave time to those that had adhered to the Emperour to remove from it, which they did affoon as they heard of his coming, the Souldiers to their particular Homes to look to the Safety of their Houses, Wives and Children, and the Officers to the Emperour with News of what happened, amongst whom the most eminent was Lycanthes, Captain of the Eastern Troops, Theophylact Maniaces and Pniemius Iberus, Captains of the Troops of the Charstani. Stratioticus having Intelligence of the Revolt made by almost the whole Force of the Empire, yet refused to offer any Conditions of Peace, but prepared for a vigo-Cauteth Mi- rous reliftence. All the Western Regiments he sent for, and gave the Command of chael the Em-perour to fend them to Macedonians, Persons of greatest Quality and Experience in matters relating for the Wef- to War, and now most wisely he Courted both Officers and Souldiers, presenting tern Forces to them with good Gifts. In the fame manner he treated the Charsiani, and such of the Eastern Forces as had not revolted, of whom he appointed Commander Theodorus the Domestick of the East, the Eunuch of Theodora the Empress, joyning with him Aaron Ducas the Magister, Brother to Comnenus his Wife, a Man of a very great experience. These being sent against the Revolters came to Nicomedia, and thence sent some to break down the Bridge of Sangarius, that Comnenus being forced to go about, they might be fure not to miss him. From Nicomedia they removed to the Mountain Sopho, and there incamped themselves, and prepared for Fight. Comnenus having notice hereof immediately got into Nice, and there left all his Baggage and Carriages, and having strongly fortified the City, removed and incamped himself some twelve Furlongs distant from it towards the North. The Armies being near together, feveral Parties of them knowing one another used Arguments on both sides to draw off their opposites, these of the Emperour's side reviling Comnenus as a Traitour, and they of his Party despising the Emperour, as a despicable doting old Man, ruled by Eu-

go abroad, which the Domestick and the Macedonians especially judged to proceed from fear, and therefore refolved to give him Battel. The rest assenting, they removed and pitched at a Place called Petroa, fome fifteen Furlongs diftant from the Enemy. Comnenus his Men now calling for Battel aswell as they he led our, and prepared to fight. The left Wing he committed to Ambuftus, the right Whom a Bat- to Romanus Sclerus, and he himself led the middle Battel. The Domestick and Aaron in forming their Battalia committed their left Wing to Bafilius Trachaniotes, then Captain of the West, and the most eminent of all the Macedonians, and the right Wing Aaron led himself assisted by these Officers, Lycanthes, Pyemius and Randulph the Patritian a Frank. They fought in a Place called Ades by the Inhabitants, and at first Aaron seemed to have gotten the Day, for he beat the oppofite Wing, took Romanus Sclerus Prisoner, and drove them back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtained a full Victory had he not been too cautious, for Comnenus had also the worst of it, and had thoughts of flying

back to Nice. But Ambultus bore down all opposite to him where he fought,

153. The Captains on both fides at first incouraged this Discourse, but when Comnenus found that it did no good, he would not permit his Men fo freely to

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In which Com- and pursuing them to their Camp broke into it, and having plundered their Tents cut them down, which fight fo animated Comnenus and his Souldiers, and on the contrary discouraged the Souldiers of Aaron, that the Emperour's Party was defeated, a great Multitude falling in the Fight, and especially of Macedonians both Officers and Souldiers; and not a few were taken Prisoners. This ill Success so perplexed Michael, that he had sent to Commenus and offered to lay down. if those about him had not kept him from it, and urged him rather to dye than quit the Supreme Dignity. However certain of the chiefest Senatours, and Men of the greatest Wisedom were sent to treat with him, viz. Constantine Leichudes, Theodorus Alopus who had both the Title of Proedri or Presidents, and Constantine Psellus chief of the Philosophers, who offered him to be adopted Caefar, The Empe- and Pardon and Indemnity to all his Followers. The Souldiers would not hear co rour offering this, nor permit as they faid, that their General should be seen in an Habit inseriour to what he wore at present, which yet they were thought to speak more out of Flattery than Defign. However Comnenus took the Messengers aside and told them as a fecret, that he should very willingly admit of their Proposals, provided the Emperour would indulge him fome of his Power, fo as to be able to reward those that had served him.

154. And Zonaras reports, that to deceive his Souldiers he gave them two feveral Answers in Writing, of which that which was made known, with Scorn rejected the Conditions, but the other accepted them. The old Man was overjoyed to hear of his Acceptance, and returned, that it should not be long before he took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, though for some Reasons at first he must defer it. With which Message he sent the Senatours back together with Promife of Confirmation of what had been granted before, and of establishing the Officers of Comnenus in their present Employments. Comnenus and all the reit liked well enough of it, and required a Confirmation by a Golden Ball; onely Ambulius oppoled, who would by all means have the old Man depoled, and contended that whom they had already depriv'd by Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit to the Throne, and he urged that if they laid down their Arms, the Issue would be that Comnenus would be poyson'd, and they for their shares should have their Eyes pull'd out of their Heads. And to this Cedrenus adds, that the Senatours themselves did prevaricate and perswade Ambustus, that he should thus oppose the Articles of the Treaty, and moreover made Comnenus to believe, that the People at Conflantinople did greatly affect him, where should he but once shew his Face, the old Man would quickly be deposed, and he be put into his place with universal satisfaction and applause. While thus the Negotiation was diffurbed, the Emperour himself by his false and underhand dealing, went about to prevent what he had so readily promised, and by endeavouring to keep by But not inten- deceitfull means loft all. By gifts aswell as good words and promises, he now endeavoured to oblige all the People, and having fo made his way caused both Senatours, and the Citizens to subscribe a Writing, and take an Oath with direfull

Imprecations, that they would never give to Comnenus the Title of Emperour. nor own him for their Sovereign Lord, which they took being overpowered, and Comnenus far distant as yet from the City. But he being now come nearer, and lodging at Damatrys within less than a Days Journey, by break of day several Senatours and others came to the great Church, and required the Patriarch to come to them to consult of an important Assair. The Patriarch shut his Doors, and refused to come to them, but sent two of his Kinsmen to know their business, on whom the Company by this time much increased laid hands, and threatned to strangle them except he would come down. Hereat he came down in Pontificalibus, as he pretended unwillingly, though fome were of opinion that he did but counterfeit, and they compassing him about required him to go from them to the Emperour, and demand back again the Writing which they had fubscribed, for seeing he had declared Comnenus should be his Successour, they must either incur Perjury or very much danger by opposing him. The Patriarch bid them be of good chear, and gave them good words, and this appeared also to be a pretended and feigned business. For omitting this they shortly after declared by Common consent, Commenus to be Emperour, and all that opposed him should lose their Estates, and be accounted Enemies of the But is forced Roman Empire. This the Patriarch procured and decreed in the Church, and to it by the Revolters and fent Messengers both to Commenus and Stratioricus, to the one that he would the Patriarch, hafte to the City, and to the other that he would refign, and depart from the Palace which did not belong to him; whereby he shewed that he had been

as Cedrenus calls them, that went to Stratioticus, delivering their Message, he demanded what the Patriarch would give him in exchange for the Empire, to which they replied The Kingdom of Heaven, whereupon he put off the Purple and Violet shoes, and took the Habit of a private Man; although Cedrenus idlely thinks the Patriarch's promife to have been scarcely valid, except he had returned to a private Life at the beginning of the Defection, and thereby prevented the effusion of so much Bloud as had been shed before his confirained Refignation; as if a lawfull Prince was bound to give way to an Ufurupon wnich Aliebael Strat per. Stratioticus being departed to his own House in the Castle, after he had Reigned one year, Ambustus Curopalates by order of Comnenus, the next Day being the last of August, in the Tenth Indiction, A.D. M.LVII. together with nenus affunes many Noblemen took possession of the Palace. At Evening Comnenus himself the Govern- made his Entry, and the next Day being the first of September, in the Eleventh Indiction, going in a solemn Procession to the great Church, and there being on a Scaffold crowned by the Patriarch, was declared Emperour of the Romans.

Here the History of Cedrenus leaves him and us.

155. Isaacius Comnenus having obtained the Empire, is said to have ascribed it not to Almighty God but himself, and his military skill, which they thence gather, zonaras. because he immediately caused Money to be stamped with his Image, holding a drawn Sword. But fuch Men as had affifted him he largely rewarded, and took care when they had their Money that they departed home, lest being together in the City they should devise some new thing, and make any Commotion amongft the People. The Patriarch he exceedingly Reverenced, and highly preferred his Nephews. Whereas the provision of things for the Church formerly belonged to the Oeconomis, and Keeper of the Vessels, whom the Emperour was wont to Name; for his fake left the Disposition of these matters abfolutely to the Patriarch. His Wife he now named Empress, and to his Brother John gave the Offices of Curopalates and Grand Domestick. Whereas he took notice that his Predecessours ever fince the time of Basilius Porphyrogenitus, had ill distributed and employed the Revenue, making odd Assignments, as of fome to Monasteries and the rest to the gratifying of their pleasures and Appetites whereby the Treasury was ever kept empty, he would doe this not by degrees, as a good States-man imitates a skilfull Physician, but on a sudden and all at once, as if he had stamped the Sword in his Hand upon the Coin, not so much to fignifie what a Fighter, but a Reformer and Cutter of ill Members and Diftempers from the Commonwealth he meant to be. The Acts of Stratioticus he abrogated without deftinction, took away all he had given, and not onely his, but the Acts of other Emperours he refeinded, therein sparing neither the Senatour, if concerned nor those of the Common fort. Daily in those courses he grew more fevere, and at length fell upon the Monasteries to which he affigned onely Necesfaries, and took the rest of their Revenues to his own use. By these means he incurred the Odium of all forts, and forgetting on what Rock his Predecessour had fplit of Souldiers as well as of the rest, no advice, reprehension, fear or hatred being of power fufficient to restrain him. As for reprehensions he wanted them not, the Patriarch being very infolent in that Point, that if he had not what he asked he would not onely upbraid him, but threaten as he had let him up to pull him down again, which he not brooking, and to prevent mischief Banished the Prelate together with his Nephews, whom yet he restored to their former Dignities again, when shortly after their Uncle died. He preferred to be Patriarch Canstantine Lichudes the President and Protovestiarius, but not till such times as he had wrung out of his Hands the Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted by Monomachus, to his Monastery of Mangana.

156. He had some Bickerings with the Hungarians and Patzinacæ, both of whom without much trouble asked Peace. But as he lay at the end of September at Lobrius, fo great a quantity of Rain and Snow fell, that he and his Army were both in danger to miscarry, and he was just but removed from under a great Oak when the Tree fell, for which to testifie his Deliverance he built a Church to St. Theila, on whose Day he escaped the Danger, but such a Building as testified the meanness of his Spirit, which his Cousin and Successour John the Son of Alexius afterward repaired most Magnificently, in the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Not long after Commenus devested himself of the Empire, which how it came about, Writers do not agree. Most faid that as he was Hunting he was blafted with a Wind or with Lightning, and thence contracted fuch a

He had fome

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Distemper, that despairing of Recovery, and sensible how he came by his Powchufes Con. er, to Obliterate his Offence in some manner, he laid down what he had unfantine Du- justly taken up. And in the choice of a Successour he would not be swayed by any carnal report, neither making choice of John his Kinsman, Theodorus Docignus his Sifter's Son, nor his Daughter's Husband, but pitched upon Constantine Ducas the President, whom he thought very sit and able for the discharge of so great a Place, and then retired into a Monastery, where he discharged all the meanest Offices, and lived the remainder of his Days, after he had Reigned two years and three months. A Man, to speak of his good aswell as bad qualities. very Stout, arrogant in his Disposition, very quick in dispatch of Business, and most skilfull in Military matters; not Learned himself, but a lover and encourager of Learned Men. A Man exceeding Chaft, infortuch as being from Home falling ill, and told by Phylicians that the Company of a Woman would relieve him, he refused utterly to meddle with any other than his own Wife, whose Name was Aecatharina, a Lady very Vertuous and Religious. When his Ambitious affecting the Empire was objected to him, he faid, that, He could not bear the Reign of a Fellow-Servant who denied him his just Reward. 157. Constantine (Ducas) the Twelsth of that Name, thus without any trouble

Ducas Empe- became Emperour of Constantinople, in the thirteenth Indiction, A. D. M.LX. He began his Reign with a Promotion of feveral Persons, and Restitution of those whom Comnenus had spoiled of their Dignities. Yet was his Life presently laid at by some Conspiratours, who to make him come by Boat out of the Countrey where he was diverting himself, made a story be told him that there was an Infurrection in the City; and then had corrupted the Masters of his A Conspiracy Gally, called Protocarabi to Drown him. He hearing of the Tumult hasted indeed to Constantinople; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, so as against his 'deed to Constantinople; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, so as Person, but he took another Boat, and the Conspiratours meeting it resolved to run over his Boat, and so to fink him, which they were attempting, when those in the Vesfel with him by their loud cries and warning fo affrighted the Rowers, that they had no power but to obey. Yet upon Discovery of the Treason, he contented himself onely by confiscating the Estates of the Traitours. He boasted himself to be Descended of the Family of the Ancient Duca, Andronicus Pantherius and Constantine, but that Family when Constantine affected the Empire, was fubverted in the Reign of Constantine the Son of Leo the Philosopher, yet under Age, no Heirs Male being left; fo that his Ancestours were faid to claim from a Woman, and he was thought no Genuine and true Ducas, but as it were fuch by adulteration, and therefore by most was by way of Diminution not called Duca but Duciza, But he was a Man Pious towards God, of good Morals, and a lover of Justice: of none of the quickest Wits, but a lover of plain dealing and fincere Men, but loved Money exceedingly; and it was his care how to invent ways of encreasing He is excee- his Treasure. Two things therefore he especially employed himself in: in encrea-

ding Covetons, fing the Publick Revenue, by felling Places, and new farming out the Cuftoms: moftruine of and in hearing of Caufes and deciding Controverfies, wherein he did not always the Empire. observe the Prescript of Laws, but sometime used his Will for Law, and otherwhiles had respect to Persons. And as he was hard and tenacious, this was his Maxim, " By no means to make War, but by fair means to take off all Nations " from their Hostilities, both to save the great expence of Expeditions, and that " he might not be diverted from attending the Trade of getting Money. This caused him to neglect his Musters, and even to Disband the most Valiant and fit for Service, as it happened, whereby the Barbarous Nations grew more bold.

and got Ground of this Roman Empire.

158. In the East some of the Provinces were harassed, and some subdued by the Neighbouring Nations: neither were those of the West in a good condition. because the Souldiers were both sew and lazy. The Vzi a Scythian People having Beaten and taken Prisoners Magister Nicephorus Bataniates and Magister Bafilius Apocapes passed the River Ister, and having wasted all the Countrey near to it, proceeded into Macedonia, and thence into Greece, making havock of all things, which though it much troubled the Emperour, yet that he might not spend any thing would he not raise any Forces, saying, that The Enemy could not be Beaten back, but endeavoured by Gifts to take off their Captains. But being reviled for fuffering the Empire out of his miserableness to miscarry, he marched out of the City against the Enemy, but as is reported, with no more than an hundred and fifty Men, and for getting more, and Conquering the Barbarians, betook himself rather to his Prayers than any other means, and they so well succeeded,

there was no Enemy left against which to fend it; for the Patzinacæ and Bul-

September, by which many Churches and Houses were overturned. In the month of May, the fourth Indiction appeared a Comet, following the Sun, at first of the bigness of the full Moon, but as its Tail encreased, so the Body of it seemed to diminish: it was seen for forty days with its Tail turned toward the East. By this time the Emperour had contracted a Disease, which made him despair

garians had faln upon the Vzi, wearied and weakned, and had utterly cut them off, stroyed by the their Captains hardly escaping over Ister. This happened in the fixth year of his Patrimace and Bulgari. Reign, preceded by a great Earthquake which happened on the twenty third of

three Sons.

of life, and to apply himself to settle matters relating to the Government and Succession. By Eudocia his Wife he had three Sons, whereof Michael and being Sickly appoints his Andronicus when a private Man, but Constantine after he was Emperour, who upon this account was the onely Porphyrogenitus, and for that cause was first Constantine, adorned with Ensigns of Empire. Afterwards he named Emperours the other two, and left the Empire to them all, but Named his Wife their Empress under the tu- and Lady, and left the management of Affairs to her, for which she seemed to ition of their him fit, aswell as for the Education of her Children: but first he took an Monthe Eudo-cia to faceded Oath from her committed to Writing, and left with the Patriarch, that she him. would not Marry again: as he exacted the like from the Senatours, that they would admit none but his Sons for Emperours. He had made his Brother Cæsar. and used him as his Councillour and Affistant in his most important and secret business. Though he himself was unlearned, yet he reverenced Learned Men, being wont to fay, that He had rather been enobled by Learning than Sovereignty. For fuch as Conspired against him he said he would use them no worse than to And dies, A.D. use them for Slaves, the Laws having deprived them of Liberty. Dying after M. LXVII. a Reign of seven years and fix months, leaving (as we said) the Administration to his Wife, so that as we began the Second Part of our History with a Constantine, we conclude this with one; and as we began this Part with a Woman, at the Time of Charles the Great, so now we end at one in the Year M. LXVII. the year following the Conquest of England by Duke William the Norman.

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